

WHITE HORSE STREET, STEPNEY, AT THE TURN OF THE 20th CENTURY

This paper examines White Horse Street, Stepney, at the turn of the twentieth century, in order to discover more about the area and the people who lived there, including their origins, occupations, and housing situation. This is done primarily through an analysis of the 1901 census. The census analysis focuses on the part of White Horse Street lying north of Commercial Road East and south of Stepney High Street, which coincides approximately with the present White Horse Road.

THE AREA

White Horse Street was the main street of the medieval village of Stepney, centred around St Dunstan's Church. Until the nineteenth century, although there were buildings along White Horse Street itself, the surrounding area was mainly open fields.

Development started at the beginning of the nineteenth century with the opening of the new docks and the Commercial Road. The Mercers' Company owned much land in the Stepney area, and having been required to sell some for the making of the Commercial Road, went on to commission housing development on its remaining 90 acres. Between 1817 and 1850, 1,100 houses were built on the Mercers' Estate in Stepney, and White Horse Street itself was redeveloped.¹

The population of the area thus increased greatly in the nineteenth century as a result both of its own development, and of house demolition and overcrowding elsewhere in East London. Mass immigration from Eastern Europe after 1881 was an additional population pressure, leading to an expansion outwards from Whitechapel. By the end of the nineteenth century, there was growing alarm about the numbers of 'aliens' in East London, culminating in the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration in 1902-3, and the Aliens Act of 1905. The Royal Commission on Alien Immigration stated that 18.18% of the population of Stepney were foreigners, but it is important to be clear that this referred to the Metropolitan Borough of Stepney, which included other places, like Whitechapel, as well as Stepney proper.

RESIDENTS OF WHITE HORSE STREET, STEPNEY, 1901

PLACES OF BIRTH

Table 1 shows the places of birth of heads of household, resident in White Horse Street in 1901. It can be seen that 133 (88%) of the 151 heads of household were born in England, 90 of them in London. Only 14 heads of household were born outside England, Wales and Scotland, and only 8 of these were from Eastern Europe, with a further 3 from Germany. The number of foreigners was therefore very small.

¹ Imray, Jean M, 'The Mercers' Company and East London, 1750-1850: an exercise in urban development', *East London Papers*, IX, 1966, p.3-25

The largest cluster was in Burton's Entry, which consisted of 4 cottages at the rear of numbers 93 and 95 White Horse Street, which were houses with shops. 3 of the 5 heads of household in the cottages were from Poland, and the head of household at number 93 was from Russia. It is probable that all these tenants had the same landlord.²

Looking at White Horse Street as a whole, it appears that not only was the number of foreigners small, but also the number of Jews, for there were not many English-born heads of household with distinctively Jewish names. (See Appendix 3)

Table 1: Places of Birth of Heads of Household, White Horse Street, Stepney, 1901

Place of Birth of Head	Burton's Entry	Model Dwellings	Almshouses	Rest of White Horse St	Total
Stepney (including Ratcliff & Mile End)	1		6	24	31
Other or unspecified London	1	6	5	47	59
Surrey (not in London)		2			2
Elsewhere in England		2	6	33	41
Wales				2	2
Scotland		1	1		2
Ireland				2	2
Russia				4	4
Poland	3	1			4
Germany				3	3
India				1	1
Total	5	12	18	116	151

Residents of the Model Dwellings

The Model Dwellings were situated at 76-78 White Horse Street, consisting of 2 three-storey brown brick buildings, subdivided into 12 flats. They were built in the 1890s by Nathaniel and Ralph Davis, the youngest of 6 Jewish brothers who were prolific builders in the East End.³ Witness statements to the Royal Commission on Alien Immigration of 1902-3 contain numerous complaints about the transformation of areas, which were once English, by an influx of 'aliens'. The Davis Brothers were cited as contributing to this, by letting to foreigners, in one case allegedly putting up a notice board saying "No English need apply".⁴ Although this case referred to two of the other brothers (Israel and

² These properties were advertised for sale (leasehold) together in 1893. *The Standard*, 20 July 1893, p.10

³ Watson, Isobel, 'Rebuilding London: Abraham Davis and his Brothers, 1881-1924', *London Journal*, 29, (1), 2004, p.62-84

⁴ House of Commons Parliamentary Papers. *Royal Commission on Alien Immigration*. Vol 2, 1903, p.149, paras 4396 and following

Hyman), N and R Davis were also explicitly criticised for letting to foreigners in properties previously occupied by English tenants.⁵

Another witness to the Royal Commission, a factory inspector, countered these criticisms and praised the Davis brothers as good landlords. He said: “I should like to say, so far as the places put up by Messrs. Davis are concerned (I have read that they have been criticised here), as far as I know, all their places are simply models; the districts have benefited considerably by them, and in no case, in not a single instance, has the rent exacted been, in my opinion, unreasonable. Both myself and the local officers in Stepney have generally regarded Messrs. Davis as good landlords, always willing to do anything that has been asked of them in the way of improving their places, and the rents have pretty nearly always been reasonable under the circumstances. There has been no distinction, so far as I know, so far as Messrs. Davis or any other persons are concerned, as to whether a man was a native or an alien.”⁶

Certainly, when we look at the occupants of the Model Dwellings in White Horse Street in 1901, we can see that, in this case at least, there was no tendency to favour either foreigners or Jews.

OCCUPATIONS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Table 2 shows the occupations of heads of household, resident in White Horse Street in 1901. Of the 129 heads of household who were working, 43.4% were employed in 4 sectors. By far the largest occupation was tailoring, with 14% of working heads of household engaged in it, as well as other family members. Particular work specified included coat, trousers, shirt, waistcoat, and button hole making. The next largest occupational groups were dock workers (10.8%, including watermen and lightermen, but excluding warehousemen and watchmen), followed by shopkeepers (9.3%), and tobacco pipe makers (also 9.3%).

Pipe Making

The two largest occupations of tailoring and dock work were typical of the surrounding area. However, the number of pipe makers in White Horse Street was due to there being a pipe making works at number 49, White Horse Street, with workers resident at numbers 45-49. The premises were described as follows: “Adjoining [the Limehouse District Board of Works] stood ... some quaint old eighteenth-century houses, two of which were occupied by a clay pipe manufacturer, and passers-by would often see the lumps of white Cornish clay taken into the premises through a trap-door under the parlour window.”⁷ The pipe making business in White Horse Street was run by members of the Ford family from the 1820s until 1909. They also had pipe making premises in Mile End Road from

⁵ Ibid, p.629, para 17247

⁶ Ibid, p.396, para 11735

⁷ Maddocks, Sidney, ‘White Horse Street’, *The Copartnership Herald*, Vol V, no 52, June 1935

1841 until 1905. The pipes were exported to North America, including the Hudson's Bay Company.⁸ Other businesses in White Horse St. are shown in Appendix 2.

Table 2: Occupations of Heads of Household, White Horse Street, Stepney, 1901

Occupation of Head	Burton's Entry	Model Dwellings	Alms-houses	Rest of White Horse St	Total
Tailoring Trades	2	1	3	12	18
Tobacco Pipe Makers				12	12
Glass Trade		1		2	3
Watermen & Lightermen				3	3
Labourers at Docks	1			10	11
Railway Workers				2	2
Engineering				4	4
Building Trades				8	8
Other Labourers (eg Ironworks; Colour Works; Water Works)				5	5
Printers				4	4
Food Making & Packaging (eg Jam; Confectionery; Mineral Water)				3	3
Other 'Makers': Cabinet M; Surgical Instrument M; Shoe M; Harness M; Sail M.				5	5
Policemen		2			2
Caretakers, Watchmen & Warehousemen			1	6	7
School Teacher, Doctor, Clergyman				3	3
Clerks & Officials (eg Inspectors)		3		3	6
Licensed Victuallers				2	2
Shopkeepers, including Bakers		1		11	12
Milkmen		1		1	2
Carmen & Coachmen & Horsekeepers	1	1		3	5
Laundresses & Charwomen etc				7	7
Other Occupation*	1	1		3	5
Living on own Means			3	1	4
Other Retired			11	1	12
No occupation recorded		1		5	6
Total	5	12	18	116	151

* Coal Weighman, Tinker, Hotel Waiter, Oil & Colorman, Coffee License Agent

⁸ Walker, Ian C, 'Ford Family of Pipemakers', *The London Archaeologist*, 1968

WOMEN

Table 3 shows the occupations of the 43 female heads of household, living in White Horse Street in 1901. Of the 21 with an occupation recorded, 47% were working in tailoring trades, and 28% were laundresses or charwomen.

Table 3: Occupations of Female Heads of Household, White Horse Street, Stepney, 1901

Occupation of Head	Burton's Entry	Model Dwellings	Alms-houses	Rest of White Horse St	Total
Tailoring Trades		1	3	6	10
Tobacco Pipe Makers				2	2
Food Making & Packaging (eg Jam; Confectionery; Mineral Water)				2	2
Shopkeepers, including Bakers				1	1
Laundresses & Charwomen etc				6	6
Other Occupation*					
Living on own Means			3	1	4
Other Retired			11	1	12
No occupation recorded		1		5	6
Total					43

Of the 89 wives of heads of household, only 14 (15.7%) had an occupation recorded. These were tailoring trades (N = 5); clay pipe finishers (N = 4); shopkeepers (N = 2); housekeepers (N = 2); and matron (N = 1).

Residents of the Almshouses

There were 2 sets of almshouses in White Horse Street – Lady Jane Mico's Almshouses; and Stepney Meeting Almshouses.

The Lady Jane Mico's Almshouses were located on the west side of White Horse Street, facing St Dunstan's Churchyard. They originated in a bequest from Lady Jane Mico in 1670, although this was administered and subsidised by the Mercers' Company. The 10 Almshouses were originally built in 1691, and rebuilt in 1854, on both occasions by the Mercers' Company. Lady Mico specified that the Almshouses were to be for poor widows of London, aged 50 or above, and the Mercers' Company for a time added the qualification that they be widows of Freemen of the City. As well as accommodation, the widows received a pension.

In 1901, there were 9 female heads of household resident in the Lady Jane Mico's almshouses. They were all widows, aged between 66 and 84, and all recorded as "Charity Pensioner". All but one of the women had 3 rooms, and the other had 4. Most

of the women were living alone, but two each had an elderly sister resident, one a daughter, and one a granddaughter.

Stepney Meeting Almshouses were located near the northern corner of White Horse Street with Salmon Lane. Stepney Meeting was an Independent Puritan Church, which had a Meeting House in Stepney from 1674. It opened a burial ground on the east side of White Horse Street in 1779, and built Almshouses for 8 women nearby.

In 1901, there were 8 female heads of household resident. Only 2 of them were widows, the rest being single. They were all aged between 57 and 88, with the exception of Elizabeth Marrant, who was only 36. Only 1 of the 8 female heads of household was recorded as a pensioner, and she was also still working as a needlewoman. 2 others were also working, 1 as a shirt machinist and 1 as a mantle finisher. 2 were recorded as “living on own means”, and the remaining 3 as retired. Most of the women had 2 rooms, but two of the women had 3, and one had 1. They were all living alone, apart from Elizabeth Marrant, whose sister was resident.

The occupants of the almshouses were thus comparatively well off in terms of living space per person, and the residents of the Lady Jane Mico’s almshouses were also fortunate in receiving a pension. In contrast, it is sobering to remember the fate that could befall people in later life, as is shown in the case of William Rogers.

William Rogers, Army Pensioner (born c.1835)

William Rogers was an Army pensioner, who worked in the Tower Hamlets Dispensary in White Horse Street in 1891. He worked from 7 in the morning until 10 at night, seven days a week, and sometimes all night. At first, William lived on the premises, but said he was made to leave, after being caught smoking a clay pipe by the vicar. In November 1891, he was living at a lodging-house in London Street, Ratcliff, and told the proprietor of the lodging-house, Cornelius Donovan, that he was starving. When the proprietor subsequently found William collapsed, he informed the relieving officer, who had him taken to the workhouse, where he died. At the inquest, the proprietor showed some dry crusts that he had found in William Rogers’ belongings. The jury’s verdict was that he had died from exhaustion consequent upon starvation. Comments by the coroner and jury are worth repeating:

“The coroner – What do you say is the cause of death? Witness – Exhaustion from starvation. The coroner – A pretty end for a defender of his country to come to. A juror – Yes, but it is the way the poor Army pensioner very often dies. The coroner remarked that it was rather a disgrace to them as Englishmen that one of their own defenders should die like the deceased had done, more especially as the man was working for a charitable institution. Several of the jurors said it was a great disgrace, and the coroner told his officer to call at the Tower Hamlets Dispensary and see what account they would give of the case.”⁹

⁹ *The Times*, 7 Nov, 1891, p.6

IMMIGRANTS FROM EASTERN EUROPE AND GERMANY

In White Horse Street in 1901, there were 11 heads of household from Eastern Europe and Germany – 4 from Russia, 4 from Poland, and 3 from Germany. Appendix 1 gives information about each of the immigrant heads of household, including when they arrived in England, the number of people in the household, and the number of rooms occupied. The earliest arrival was probably August Nitz from Germany, who arrived some time between 1872 and 1876. The most recent was probably Hyman Lucking from Russia, who arrived after 1897.

Of the 10 heads of household who were working, 8 of them were tailors, all but 1 of them men. This contrasts with the gender distribution of the 10 non-immigrant heads of household who worked in tailoring, all but 1 of whom were women.

None of the immigrant heads of household were recorded as employers. 7 were recorded as workers and 3 as working on their own account. The latter were Christopher Prummer from Germany who was a shopkeeper, a baker; Simon Schneider from Russia, a tailor; and August Nitz from Germany, also a tailor.

Simon Schneider (born c.1864, Russia)

Simon Schneider was born in Russia c.1864. Simon, his wife Leah, and son Nathan, arrived in England some time between 1886, when Nathan was born in Russia, and 1889, when son Reuben was born in St George in the East.

In 1891, the family was living at 76, Berner Street (now Henriques Street), St George in the East. Simon was working as a tailor. It is striking that many of their neighbours were also from Russia, and that most of these were also tailors. Most of the tailors in the neighbourhood were recorded as “employed” (ie. workers), although Israel Wineberg, a Russian living nearby at 49, Everard Street, was an employer. Simon was recorded as “neither employer nor employed” (ie. self-employed). Although Simon is said not to be an employer, the family had 2 boarders from Russia living with them, who were tailors, so it is possible that they were working for him.

In 1901, the Schneider family was living at 93, White Horse Street. Simon was still a tailor, recorded as working on his own account, and at home. No-one else in the household had an occupation recorded, although Simon’s son Nathan was now 15. There were several people employed in tailoring living in Burton’s Entry, the cottages at the rear of 93 and 95 White Horse Street. They were all said to be “workers”, but who they were working for is not clear. Living at number 4, Burton’s Entry, William Raices, from Poland, was a tailor’s presser, his son Alexander, was a tailor’s machinist, and his daughter, Annie, aged 14, was a tailoress. The Raices family were all born in Poland and had been living in England for less than 10 years. At number 3, Burton’s Entry, Woolf Cohen, from Poland, was a tailor’s cutter. None of his family had an occupation recorded, the eldest child being only 12.

By 1911, the Schneider family was living at 164, Brighton Road, Croydon. Schneider Simon & Son, tailors, was listed in the Surrey Directory at the same address.¹⁰ Leah Schneider died in Croydon in 1924, aged 59. Simon died in 1933, aged 69, also in Croydon.

The Schneider family thus migrated progressively outwards, beginning in St George in the East, surrounded by their fellow countrymen, and later moving first to Stepney, and then to Croydon.

August Nitz (born c.1841, Germany)

August Nitz was born in Germany c.1841. August, his wife Frederika (aka Louisa), and sons Paul and Otto arrived in England some time between 1872, when son Otto was born in Germany, and 1876, when daughter Martha was born in Whitechapel. By 1879, they had moved to St George in the East, and by 1881, they were resident at 80, White Horse Street, where they remained for the next 20 or more years.

August's occupation throughout these years was as a tailor. In 1891, he was recorded as an employer. August's 2 eldest sons were also tailors, so it is probable that they were working for their father. A young German woman, who was a tailoress, was boarding with the family, so she may have been working for August too. Also living in the household were a live-in domestic servant, and 6 younger children, 5 of whom were scholars.

In 1901, August was a trousers maker, said to be working on his own account, at home. Other members of the family were also involved. August's wife, daughter Martha, and son William, were all trousers makers, and son Richard, a trousers presser, all working at home. Not all the Nitz children were employed in tailoring – one son was an apprentice lighterman, and another was a stockbroker's clerk. A German widow, also a trousers maker, was living in the same house, although a different household, so she may have been working for August too.

By 1911, the Nitz family had moved to 88, Spey Street, Bromley, Poplar. August Nitz died in Poplar in 1915, aged 74. His wife died in 1917, aged 73, also in Poplar.

The Nitz family thus followed a familiar pattern of outward migration, starting off in Whitechapel and St George in the East, and then moving first to Stepney, and later to Bromley.

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¹⁰ Kelly's Directory of Surrey, 1913

APPENDIX 1:

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, WHITE HORSE STREET, STEPNEY, 1901, WHO WERE BORN IN EASTERN EUROPE AND GERMANY

House No	Name of Head	Year & Place of Birth	When came to England	Occupation of Head	Number of People in Household	Number of Rooms
75	PHILIPS Thomas	1859, Russia	After 1886	Tailor (Worker)	6 (including 1 Visitor)	4
	LUCKING Hyman	1866, Russia	After 1897	Tailor (Worker. At Home)	6 (including 1 Visitor)	2
1 Burtons Entry	COHEN Emanuel	1874, Poland	Not known	Tinker? (Worker)	1	1
3 Burtons Entry	COHEN Woolf	1865, Poland	By 1889	Tailor's Cutter (Worker)	7	4
4 Burtons Entry	RAICES William	1860, Poland	After 1891	Tailor's Presser (Worker)	8 (including 3 Boarders)	3
93	SCHNEIDER Simon	1864, Russia	Between 1886 and 1889	Tailor (Own Account. At Home)	8	4
105	PRUMMER Christopher	1855, Germany	By 1881	Shopkeeper Baker (Own Account. At Home)	8 (including Uncle & Aunt)	4
133	GREENWALD Barnett	1864, Russia	By 1890	Tailor (Worker. At Home)	11 (including 3 Boarders)	Number not given*
MODEL DWELLINGS 76 C	MOSES Muriel	1857, Poland	Between 1878 and 1884	-	6 (including 1 Visitor)	3
80	NITZ August	1841, Germany	Between 1872 and 1876	Tailor Trousers Maker (Own Account. At Home)	8	Number not given*
	SCHWANEBACK Otilie [female]	1866, Germany	By 1891	Trousers Maker (Worker)	3	1

* Information on number of rooms was only recorded if less than 5

The largest number of people per room was 3. These households are highlighted in the table above. William Racies' household is also highlighted because, although there were slightly less than 3 people per room, 3 members of the household were boarders.

APPENDIX 2:

BUSINESSES & PUBLIC BUILDINGS IN WHITE HORSE STREET, STEPNEY, 1899 (Common Retail Shops Omitted)

WHITE HORSE ST (WEST SIDE)		
25	Robinson Joseph	Harness Maker
37	Morris Bros	Cowkeeper
<i>Here is Commercial Road East</i>		
39	<i>People's Co-operative Society Ltd (branch)</i>	
41	Paine Mrs Augusta	China etc Dealer
	<i>Board of Works for the Limehouse District</i>	
49	Ford Thomas	Tobacco Pipe Maker
51	<i>Hamlet of Ratcliff National School</i>	
59	Grinyer Geo	Telegraph Engineer
71	<i>Horse and Groom, Wm Geo Berry</i>	
73	Brotherton Fredk Jn	Wire Worker
75	Goldblatt Barnett	Chandler's Shop
77	Leader William & Co	China & Glass Dealers
79	<i>Ross Valve Co</i>	Engineers
81	Bruce & Co	Packing Case Makers
85	Taylor Michael Arthur	Builder
95	Ireland Henry	Laundry
125	Golding David	Bootmaker
<i>Here is Stepney High Street</i>		
	<i>Fish and the Ring, Herbert Walter Dorling</i>	
153	Whitby Thomas	Corn Dealer
155	Hatch Edward	Clothier
WHITE HORSE ST (EAST SIDE)		
	Batger & Co	Who. Confectioners
	<i>Motts American Cyder Company</i>	
22	Symons John & Co	Cider Mas
	<i>St James Sunday School</i>	
24	Curtis John S & Sons	Builders
30 & 36	Hargreave Henry	Tool etc Dealer
32	Studholm Abraham	Tailor
<i>Here is Commercial Road East</i>		

40	Evans Charles	Corn Chandler
48	<i>White Horse</i> , Francis Tucker	
50	Layton Mrs Hrrt	Marine Store Dealer
52	Edwards George Chas	Saddler
58	Smith Albert	Shirt Dresser
72	Phillips Alfd	Mineral Water Ma
74	Humphreys Thomas & Co	Printers
76	Jenson Mrs Eleanor	Dressmaker
82	<i>Nursing Institution</i>	
	<i>Tower Hamlets Dispensary</i>	
<i>Here is Salmon's Lane</i>		
	<i>Stepney Meeting Almshouses</i>	
<i>Here is Matlock Street</i>		
94	<i>Colet Arms</i> , Mrs Jane Frances Craighead	
104	Levison Lewis	Boot and Shoe Dealer
108	Knight John	Dairyman
	<i>Welsh Calvinistic Methodist Chapel</i>	
108B	Reed William Hy	Surgeon
114	Gaunt Bros	Carpenters
116	Tremain Arthur	Bootmaker
118	Smith Peter	Tarpaulin Maker
120	Blow Thomas Henry	Builder
130	Kitchener William	Confectioner
132	Nodroum Robt Samuel	Corndlr
136	<i>Blue Anchor</i> , Jsph Edwd Crow	
136	Kefford George	Shoeing Smith
140	Oakley William	Coffee Rooms
142	Beard James	Shirt Maker
148	Morgan Jenkin	Dairy
168	Jenkins Chas Edwin	Eel Pie Shop
170	Pratt Thos Manning	Confectioner
172	<i>Tee-To-Tum Tea Stores</i>	

Extracted from Post Office London Directory, 1899

APPENDIX 3:

**HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, WHITE HORSE STREET, STEPNEY, 1901
(From Commercial Road East to Stepney High Street)**

House No	Name of Head	Year & Place of Birth	Occupation of Head	Working Wife?	Extended Family, Servant, Boarder?
WEST SIDE					
41	HUNT John	1863, St Luke	Traveller in Glass	N/A	
Board of Works Offices	STOKES Thomas	1840, Worcestersh	Messenger Public Official	Housekeeper	
45	MARTIN Jesse	1851, Mile End	Pipe Maker in Clay	No	
	JAMES Thomas	1855, Bath	Pipe Maker in Clay	Clay Pipe Finisher	
	FITT Henry John	1878, Mile End	Pipe Maker in Clay	No	
	BUCK Wm E	1852, Ratcliff	Pipe Maker in Clay	Coat Button Holer	
47	PHILLIPS William	1846, Cardiff	Clay Pipe Maker	Clay Pipe Finisher	
	BOND Mary Ann	1842, Ratcliff	Clay Pipe Trimmer	N/A	
	BURCH Mary	1829, Westminster	Clay Pipe Finisher	N/A	
	STEER Albert Edward	1875, Hackney	Warehouseman Clay Pipe		
49	FORD Thos	1838, Stepney	Clay Pipe Manufacturer (Employer)	N/A	
	HAMILTON George	1841, Cumberland	Clay Pipe Maker	Clay Pipe Finisher	
	KELLY Thomas	1848, Limehouse	Clay Pipe Maker	Clay Pipe Finisher	
	STEER William GT	1846, St Geo East	Clay Pipe Maker	No	Gr-dau
Green-coat School	WATLING John Amos	1847, Suffolk	School keeper	No	
59	RUSSELL Charles	1869, Cambsh	Electrician	N/A	Boarder
61	ALLSOP John	1846, Stepney	Dock Labourer	N/A	
	TATE Minnie GL	1872, Stepney	Coat Machinist	N/A	
63	TAYLOR Walter	1873, Stepney	Brick layer	No	F Serv, age 13
65	WALKER Charles	1833, Stepney	Shirt Dresser?	Shirt Dresser?	Boarder
67	PAVITT George O	1867, St Geo	Sanitary Inspector	No	

		East			
69	EYRE Jacob T	1842, Cornwall	Blacksmith in Engineers Works	No	
Horse & Groom Inn	BERRY Wm G	1842, St Luke	Licensed Victualler	No	F Serv, age 24
73	BROTHERTON Fredk J	1858, Shoreditch	Wire Worker	No	
75	PHILIPS Thomas	1859, Russia	Tailor	No	Visitor
	LUCKING Hyman	1866, Russia	Tailor	No	Visitor
77	LEADEN William	1844, Isleworth, Mdx	Shopkeeper, China & Glass	No	
79	SWANTON Hugh	1861, Ireland	Hydraulic Engineer (Employer)	N/A	
81	ARCHER Eliza	1861, Poplar	Shopkeeper Haberdasher	N/A	Boarder
83	COLES Edward	1861, Bucks	Warehouseman Shirt ?	Shirt maker	
	BLANEY William	1876, Spitalfields	Cabinet Maker	No	
85	TAYLOR Michael A	1844, Hereford	Builder (Employer)	No	
87	SOLOMON Morris	1844, Whitechapel	Lithographic Printer ?	No	
	TREND William	1841, Devon	Engine Driver Railway	N/A	
89	SKINNER David	1832, Ratcliff	Coal Weighman	N/A	
	CATTON Alice	1880, Poplar	Confectionery Packer	N/A	
	POWELL Benjamin J	1863, Stepney	Waterside Labourer at Docks	No	
91	STANDLEY George	1851, Norfolk	Cheesemonger Shopkeeper	No	
1 Burtons Entry	COHEN Emanuel	1874, Poland	Tinker?	N/A	
	WOOD George	1874, Stepney	Carman general	No	
2 Burtons Entry	PHILIPS Isaac	1856, Spitalfields	Dock Labourer	No	
3 Burtons Entry	COHEN Woolf	1865, Poland	Tailor's Cutter	No	
4 Burtons Entry	RAICES William	1860, Poland	Tailor's Presser	No	3 Boarders
93	SCHNEIDER Simon	1864, Russia	Tailor	No	
95	IRELAND Elizabeth	1846, Ireland	Laundress	N/A	
97	GILBY Robert	1845, St Geo East	Dock Labourer	No	
	STUNT John	1879, London	General Labourer Build	No	Visitor
	WOOD George	1855, Lambeth	Dock Labourer	No	
99	WALLIS Joseph	1862, Bristol	Milkman	No	
	RALPH Henry	1852, Stepney	Engineer's Labourer	N/A	
	BALKWELL Ellen	1882,	Factory Worker Jam	N/A	

		Whitechapel	Labeller		
	McCARTHY David	1848, Ratcliff	Ship rigger	N/A	
101	LOW Martha	1854, Stepney	Laundress	N/A	
	HARRISON Emily	1860, St Geo East	Charwomen	N/A	
	TROWELL John	1875, Northants	Labourer, Colour Works	No	
103	BERRY Samuel	1845, Woolwich	Lighterman Barge	No	Moth-in-law
	LEADER Henry C	1868, Kennington	Labourer "Stationery" HM Naval Depot	No	
105	PRUMMER Christopher	1855, Germany	Shopkeeper Baker	N/A	Uncle & Aunt
107	BARSBY Walter	1879, Chelsea	General Labourer	Shopkeeper Oil Stores	
	REED Andrew	1870, Northumberla	Stevedore Dock L	No	
109	ANDERSON Jane	1867, Hackney	Laundress	N/A	
	WEBSTER Samuel	1872, Yorkshr	Surgical Instrument Maker	No	
111	SHAW Fredk W	1857, London	Carman general	No	Boarder
	TARBUCK Catherine	1863, Houndsditch	Charwoman	N/A	
113	FRANCIS Sarah A	1843, Norfolk	Laundress	N/A	
	REYNOLDS Albert	1876, Stepney	Coal? Porter	No	
115	CHURCHER John Saml	1853, Kent	Watchman of Barges	No	
	KERLEY Jonas W	1853, Essex	General Labourer at Docks	No	
117	BUSH Herbert James	1870, Norfolk	Watchman at Docks	No	
	DORSET Esther Eliz	1835, Whitechapel	-	N/A	
119	POCOCK John R	1867, Lambeth	Waterman & Lighterman	No	Sister
	HENNEM William T	1863, Stepney	Carman general	No	
121	MILLS Alfred	1862, Spitalfields	Labourer Ironworks	No	Boarder
	BURKE John D	1864, Poplar	Dock Labourer	No	
123	BEDWELL Charles	1860, Bethnal Green	House Painter & Decorator	No	Brother & Nephew
	BAYLEY Mary A	1836, Bethnal Green	Tailoress		
	BROWN William	1867, Stepney	Hotel Waiter	No	
125	GOLDING David	1840, Beds	Shoemaker Boot M	No	Boarder
	MILLS George Walter	1873, London	Taker/taken? Off Newspaper Printer	No	
127	RUDD Harriett J	1844, Suffolk	-	N/A	4 Boarders
129	KEEBLE Sarah	1848, Islington	-	N/A	

131	READ Frank E	1862, Shoreditch	Lavatory Attendant	N/A	
	HEDGES John K	1846, Limehouse	Carpenter	No	Niece
133	GREENWALD Barnett	1864, Russia	Tailor	Tailoress	3 Boarders
135	POGE Alfred J	1866, Bethnal Green	House Decorator	No	
10 Lady Micos Houses	JORDAN Elizabeth H	1828, Ratcliff	Charity Pensioner	N/A	
9 LMH	WEBBER Matilda Ann	1835, Hounslow	Charity Pensioner	N/A	
8 LMH	GRAY Susannah	1831, Essex	Charity Pensioner	N/A	Sister
7 LMH	WILLIAMS Mary	1823, Suffolk	Charity Pensioner	N/A	
6 LMH	MORGAN Hannah E	1820, London	Charity Pensioner	N/A	
5 LMH	CARVER Elizabeth	1824, Kent	Charity Pensioner	N/A	
4 LMH	FISHER Elizabeth S	1817, Mile End New T	Charity Pensioner	N/A	Sister
3 LMH	HARGREAVES Mary J	1822, Yorksh	Charity Pensioner	N/A	Gr-dau
2 LMH	WATTS Ann A	1836, London	Charity Pensioner	N/A	
1 LMH	EGAN Thomas J	1859, London	Caretaker of Almshouses	Matron of Almshouses	Visitor
EAST SIDE					
38	TUNGETT Edward	1863, St Geo East	Greengrocer	No	
40	WOOLLEY Edward W	1861, St Geo East	Shopkeeper Corn Chandler	No	Moth-in- law
42	HORSKINS Thomas J	1860, Kensington	Baker (shopkeeper)	No	M serv age 39
44	BENNY John W	1851, Woolwich	Shopkeeper ironmongery cutlery	No	Niece
46	RAYLOR James	1878, Yorksh	Butcher	No	
48 [The White Horse]	TUCKER Francis	1837, Devon	Licensed Victualler	No	Niece + 1 F serv, age 22
50	HOLLAND George	1854, Essex	Trenchman East London Water Works	Marine Store Dealer	
52	EDWARDS George C	1853, Norfolk	Harness Maker	No	
54	HEWITT John	1838, Essex	Newsagent (shopkeeper)	No	
56	WILKE Charles	1858, Bethnal Green	Hairdresser (Employer)	No	Boarder + M serv, age 29
58	NOLAN Elizabeth W	1850, Birmingham	-	N/A	
60	ARCHER Henry	1831, Stepney	Oil and Colorman	No	

62	KERSHAW John	1863, Cheshire	Schoolmaster. (Public Elementary School.)	No	
64	JONES Marion	1847, Chatham	Dressmaker	N/A	
	HEAL Henry E	1845, Bermondsey	Sailmaker	N/A	
	NEWLAND Alice	1847, Mile End Old Town	Waistcoat Maker	N/A	
	CHARLEY Joseph	1873, Mile End Old Town	Builder's Labourer	No	
66	GRINYER Frederick	1875, Liverpool	Electrical Engineer	No	B-in-law
	BROWN Arthur E	1875, Mile End Old Town	Clerk (Commercial)	No	
	TIZLEY Charles W	1876, St Geo East	Railway Carter	No	
68	COOMBES George F	1850, Bethnal Green	Ironmonger's Warehouseman	No	S-in-law; M-in-law; 2 boarders
	COREA Rebecca	1827, Ratcliff	Living on own means	N/A	
70	COUGHLIN Dennis	1857, Ratcliff	Lighterman	No	
	MIDWINTER Sarah	1833, St Luke	-	N/A	
	IDENDEN Eliza	1846, St Geo East	Plain Needlework	N/A	
72	PHILLIPS Albert J	1849, Bethnal Green	Mineral Water Maker	No	
74	BETTS James	1862, Staffs	Printer (Letterpress Machine)	No	B-in-law
MODEL DWELLINGS 76 A	TOPP John B	1868, Dalston	Baker Bread Maker	No	
76 B	BROWN George Henry	1870 Notts	Police Sergeant (Met)	N/A	
76 C	MOSES Muriel	1857, Poland	-	N/A	Visitor
76 D	HYDE Joseph H	1878, Shadwell	Clerk (Mercantile)	No	Visitor
76 E	HENDERSON Ellen J	1854, Rotherhithe	Machinist Household Linen	N/A	
76 F	GOULD Henry	1867, Paddington	Milk Carrier	No	
78 A	COOPER George C	1871, Kennington	Builders Clerk of Works	No	
78 B	GRIGG Henry E	1867, Lingfield, Surrey	Forman Horsekeeper	No	
78 C	COOPER Alfred	1856, Farnham,	Police Sergeant (Met)	No	

		Surrey			
78 D	LEWIS Howard	1844, Bethnal Green	Builders Timekeeper	No	
78 E	MORTIMER Peter	1850, Scotland	Coffee License Agent	N/A	
78 F Last MD	BEAVAN Arthur	1841, Birmingham	Glasscutter	No	
80	NITZ August	1841, Germany	Tailor Trousers Maker	Tailoress	
	SCHWANEBACK Otilie	1866, Germany	Trousers Maker	N/A	
82	CLAXTON Hugh Albert	1863, India	Clergyman (Church of England)	N/A	2 Sisters F Serv, 52
84	FORD William	1869, Kent	Tobacco Pipe Manufacturer (Worker)	No	Nephew
	BURTON Mary Anne	1843, London City	Retired Charwoman	N/A	
86	DUNFORD Edmund J	1859, Gloucesters	Printer Compositor	No	2 Boarders
86	LEADER Herbert F	1885, Ratcliff	China & Glass Assistant	N/A	
Glass & bottle Warehse					
Tower Hamlets Dispensary	JONES Alfred	1874, Cardiff	Resident Medical Officer	N/A	Visitor
	GRIMSDICK George	1860, Wilts	Coachman (Domestic)	Housekeeper	Visitor
88	REED Amelia	1840, Mile End Old Town	Living on own Means	N/A	
	MORRANT Elizabeth	1865, Kent	Shirt Machinist	N/A	Sister
90	GRANT Agnes	1826, Ratcliff	Retired Charwoman	N/A	
	TREADWELL Betsy J	1837, Essex	Needlewoman (Worker & Pensioner)	N/A	
	PEAT Helen	1821, Stepney	Retired Seamstress	N/A	
92	HAMPTON Rebecca	1835, Homerton	Living on own Means	N/A	
	DAVIES Maria	1815, Stepney	Ditto. (Retired Crape Worker)	N/A	
	NELSON Alice	1844, Scotland	Mantle Finisher	N/A	

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