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POVERTY



POVERTY

A STUDY OF TOWN LIFE

BY

B. SEEBOHM ROWNTREE

London

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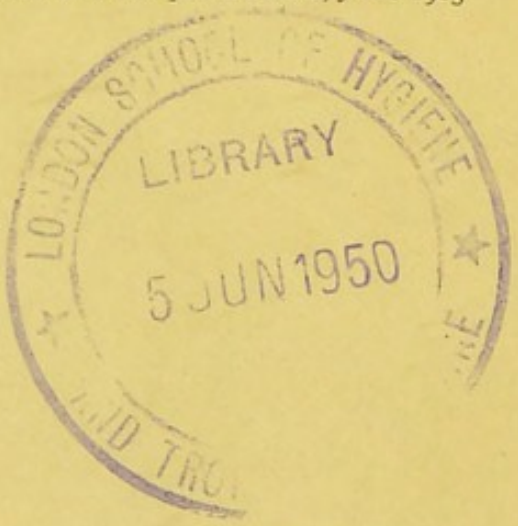
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PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The present edition is substantially the same as the first. A few additional questions have, however, been dealt with. In response to suggestions made to the writer, information is given (pp. 375-383) regarding the probable effect of Old Age Pensions upon poverty in York.

On pp. 384-387 an Abstract Statement of the York City Accounts is given, showing under a few main heads the sources of income and items of expenditure, and the percentage which each of the latter bears to the total expenditure of the City.

In Appendix D, tables have been added showing the marriage ages in various countries; and some information relative to workhouse dietaries is given in Appendix I.

INTRODUCTION

My object in undertaking the investigation detailed in this volume was, if possible, to throw some light upon the conditions which govern the life of the wage-earning classes in provincial towns, and especially upon the problem of poverty.

At the outset I had to decide whether to collect information on the "extensive" method or on the "intensive." In other words, the choice lay between gathering together and analysing such statistics regarding towns in the United Kingdom as were to be found in Government Returns, Reports of Medical Officers of Health, the records of the various branches of the Charity Organisation Society, etc., etc., or studying in detail the conditions of a single typical town.

A very little inquiry sufficed to show that any picture of the condition of the working classes of provincial England based on the former method would be very incomplete and of doubtful service. On the other hand, the great value of Mr. Charles

Booth's classical work on *The Life and Labour of the People of London* led me to hope that a similar investigation made for a provincial town might be of use, as it was impossible to judge how far the general conclusions arrived at by Mr. Booth in respect of the metropolis would be found applicable to smaller urban populations.

Having satisfied myself that the conditions of life obtaining in my native city of York were not exceptional, and that they might be taken as fairly representative of the conditions existing in many, if not most, of our provincial towns,[1] I decided to undertake a detailed investigation into the social and economic conditions of the wage-earning classes in that city.

Amongst other questions upon which I desired to obtain information were the following:—What was the true measure of the poverty in the city, both in extent and depth? How much of it was due to insufficiency of income and how much to improvidence? How many families were sunk in a poverty so acute that their members suffered from a chronic insufficiency of food and clothing? If physical deterioration combined with a high death-rate ensued, was it possible to estimate such results with approximate accuracy?

[1] A large amount of evidence upon this point will be found throughout the volume.

It soon became evident that if these and groups of allied questions were to be answered with any fulness and accuracy, nothing short of a house-to-house inquiry extending to the whole of the working-class population of the city would suffice. I decided therefore to undertake this, and to try to obtain information regarding the housing, occupation, and earnings of every wage-earning family in York, together with the number and age of the children in each family. These particulars, obtained in the autumn of 1899, extended to 11,560 families living in 388 streets and comprising a population of 46,754. The present volume is the outcome of these inquiries. The comparative smallness of the population in York enabled the inquiry to be carried out with an amount of detail that was impossible in London.

I am much indebted to Mr. Charles Booth and his associates for valuable suggestions given from time to time during the progress of this investigation. In a letter received from Mr. Booth, which is printed on p. 300, he shows the relation which exists between the York figures and those which he had obtained for London. It is unnecessary to point out the significance and importance of the facts which Mr. Booth thus brings out.

As a primary object of my inquiry has been to ascertain not only the proportion of the population

living in poverty, but the nature of that poverty, I have divided the population so living into two classes:—

(*a*) Families whose total earnings are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. Poverty falling under this head I have described as "primary" poverty.

(*b*) Families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of them is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful. Poverty falling under this head is described as "secondary" poverty.

In order to ascertain the proportion of the former, it was necessary, in addition to knowing the earnings of each family, to arrive at the minimum sum necessary to maintain families of various sizes in a state of physical efficiency. This involved a preliminary inquiry into the quantity and kinds of food which in the light of the most recent and complete investigations were requisite for that purpose. It involved also a knowledge of the rents paid, and a detailed and careful estimate of the necessary expenditure upon all items other than food and rent. In Chapters IV. and V. details are given regarding the numbers in "primary" and "secondary" poverty, together

with an analysis of the immediate causes to which their poverty is due.

The second part of my inquiry referred to the social conditions under which the wage-earning classes are living. Among other matters the question of housing and the relation of poverty to the health standard are dealt with.

Chapter VIII. deals with workmen's budgets, and especially the *diet* of the working classes. The latter is a question so intimately associated with the problem of poverty that I felt it was important to study it in some detail. I therefore obtained exact information regarding the quantity, character, and cost of the food consumed by eighteen families belonging to all sections of the working classes, from the poorest upwards. I also obtained information regarding six families belonging to the servant-keeping class. The information covered periods varying from one week to two years; the majority of the budgets were kept for at least three weeks, and the greatest care was exercised to ensure accuracy.

In order to enable the reader to form an independent judgment as to how far the conditions in York may be taken as fairly representative of those which obtain in other provincial towns, particulars throwing light upon this question are given in the Supplementary Chapter.

In conclusion, I desire to thank those, and they

are many, who have helped me both in the collection of information and by suggestions and criticisms. Especially must I express my thanks to my Secretary, Miss Harlock, who has given me the most untiring assistance throughout the inquiry, and to Mr. Charles Booth, who has advised me as to methods of investigation and has read through most of my proofs, and whose unrivalled experience in connection with his inquiry in London has rendered his help and criticism especially valuable.

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CHAPTER I

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CITY OF YORK

THE city of York covers an area of 3692 acres. On April 1, 1899, it contained about 15,000 houses, with an estimated population of 75,812,[1] and for municipal purposes is divided into six wards.

Originally the city was contained within the walls, but the area they now enclose is only about one-tenth of the area within the present municipal boundary, though as much as one-third of the population reside within the walls. Canon Raine has given us an interesting picture of life in York, in the days before the city had extended beyond the walls.[2]

"I do not think," he says, "that the walls by which the old palisades on the mounds were replaced were taken in hand before the thirteenth century; indeed there is direct evidence that the greater part of them

[1] This figure is the estimate of the Medical Officer of Health, corrected by him in accordance with the result of the 1901 census.

[2] *York*, by James Raine, M.A., D.C.L. "Historic Towns" Series, pp. 204-206. 2nd edition, 1893.

were constructed during the reigns of the first three Edwards. They still remain, in spite of many changes, a fair and most picturesque representation of the mediæval fortifications of the city. But the deep trench by which they were guarded has in many places been entirely obliterated.

"Within these walls there grew into existence, century after century, a great and beautiful city. The larger portion of the population gathered around the Minster, which was the favourite side, not only for association's sake but for safety. The area, however, was a very limited one for general use. The Minster, St. Leonard's Hospital, and other religious buildings, all lay within enclosures of their own, a series of stone pens which prevented the extension of the city. Hence the destruction of all the old Roman buildings, as they occupied ground which was required for building purposes, to say nothing of the evil reputation which clung to heathen structures; hence the narrow streets, barely wide enough to permit the passage of a single cart. Room and protection were wanted, and health and comfort were sacrificed to secure them. Many of the streets are called gates, or ways, a name which has come down from the old English people. Stone houses were of the utmost rarity. The domestic buildings were flimsy structures of wood, of post and pan work, many of which may still be seen in Fossgate and the Shambles. The name of Pavement, given to one particular part of the city, points to a

time when it alone possessed a flooring of cobbles.[1] Go beneath the surface in the York streets, and you will find that the most solid part is a vast accumulation of bones. These were thrown out of the houses close at hand, and served the purpose of metal, as we call it, for the roads. In front of every house was the dunghill appurtenant to it, which was cleared away twice or thrice a year by official order, or when some great person visited the city. Before many a house was a clog, or stump of wood, on which its owner often sat and gossiped with his neighbours, catching at every fragment of news, but not always daring to repeat it. Parochial matters, the doings in the council and the trade guild, buying and selling, would be their chief topics of conversation. Their dialect was so strongly marked that the southerner shrank, in assumed superiority, from what he could not understand. Twice at least in each week they would eat salt fish, and their common beverage was beer or ale. As might be expected, they suffered from skin diseases, and, generally speaking, were short-lived, dying by house-rows almost when any epidemic broke out. They traded under the most

[1] In his *Antiquarian Walks through York* (pp. 246-247) Robert Davies gives a different derivation of the name "Pavement." He says "the word Pavement has been applied to the Hebrew judgment-seat. There is reference to it in the New Testament, where the evangelist, describing the Saviour's condemnation, says 'in the place called the Pavement,' hence I think the name was applied to this part of the city because of it being used for the purpose of dispensing justice and punishment." In support of this view Davies points out that the Pavement in York "was the spot where punishment was inflicted upon all law-breaking citizens." Amongst others, Roger Layton and Earl Percy were beheaded here.

rigid rules. For the greater part of their goods they could only charge after the rate of assize laid down by the authorities of the city, and they were rigorously looked to by the masters and searchers of their own trade. Thus they lived, with very few amusements, and shut out from the greater part of the world, proud of their city and their parish churches, which they vied with each other in decorating. We can learn much of their character from the city registers, and from their own wills and inventories. They have passed away with the narrow streets and most of the houses they lived in."

The river Ouse flows through the city, and serves as a water-way, carrying much produce to and from Hull, a distance of about sixty miles. The whole of York lies low, and the almost complete absence of decided gradients renders the efficient drainage of the city difficult. Many of the houses adjacent to the river are liable to be flooded.

The oldest and central portion of the city, which is almost entirely within the walls, contains the main business streets, which are lined with shops and offices. Between these principal streets is a ramification of old and narrow lanes and courts—some picturesque in their narrowness, others sordidly ugly.

The population in this part of the city is now declining. Old dwelling-houses are constantly being pulled down, either because they are condemned, or because the site is wanted for business purposes. Throughout this area there are few open spaces; such

churchyards as exist are small, and have not been opened out and provided with seats, as often in London.

Hungate, one of the main slum districts in York, is situated in this portion of the city. Though not large in extent, it is still large enough to exhibit the chief characteristics of slum life—the reckless expenditure of money as soon as obtained, with the aggravated want at other times; the rowdy Saturday night, the Monday morning pilgrimage to the pawnshop, and especially that love for the district, and disinclination to move to better surroundings, which, combined with an indifference to the higher aims of life, are the despair of so many social workers.[1]

Like many other slum districts, Hungate was once peopled by a very different class. This is indicated by the considerable gardens attached to some of the houses. Occasionally these are well kept, but for the most part they are barren wastes. Such an organisation as the gardening branch of the Kyrle Society in Birmingham might do useful work in this neighbourhood. The other and less populous slum disticts lie principally within the city walls.

Almost all the inhabitants of York live in separate houses. The few tenement houses which exist are to be found in the central portion of the city.

Immediately outside the walls is a zone chiefly peopled by the working classes and smaller tradesmen.

[1] This description applies of course to the *general* characteristics of the district. The writer is not unmindful of the thrifty and self-respecting households scattered through its midst.

The houses of the wealthier citizens are mostly beyond this zone, but already working-class districts have sprung up in their midst. Some of these have, unfortunately, fallen into the hands of jerry builders, who have erected the poorest and cheapest houses which the Corporation bye-laws allow. There are large areas relieved by no single building of architectural merit, unless it be the tied public-house of some wealthy brewery company.

On May 20, 1850, the Public Health Act of 1848 was applied to York. The provisions of the Act dealing with house construction, drainage, and other matters affecting health, although leaving much to be desired, marked an important advance in the housing of the people. The wider streets constructed after 1850 can be readily recognised.

Population.—Some brief remarks on the estimated population of York in the past may be of interest. "All evidences point," says Canon Raine,[1] "to the fact that York was a wealthy and crowded city in Roman times, and it is probable that there was no considerable change, as far as numbers are concerned, for a long time. We have to pass on now to the tenth century for the next piece of statistical information. The anonymous biographer of Archbishop Oswald tells us that in the tenth century York contained as many as 30,000 adults, and that it was thronged with merchants, especially Danes. This, if correct, means a population larger than at the

[1] *Op. cit.* pp. 201-202.

present day, and the statement must be received with some doubt. We now turn to the Domesday Survey, drawn up probably in 1086, from which we learn that in the happier days of Eadward (the Confessor) York contained at least 1600 houses, which gives us a probable population of 8000.[1] But the vengeance wreaked on the city by William and others tells a sad tale; there were then only 509 inhabited houses, 400 uninhabited, and as many as 500 in ruins, omitting 100 of those which had belonged to the archbishop. There could not, therefore, be more than 2000 persons then living in the city. But there were 145 houses inhabited by the French, that is, most probably, by the Norman garrison which was here to overawe the place. Leap over a long space of time until the reign of Edward III., in the middle of the fourteenth century, and then the population was estimated at 10,800,[2] that of Lincoln being 5100, Norwich 6000, and Winchester only 2000, London exceeding them all with its large number of 35,000. There was

[1] It seems likely that Canon Raine's figure of 8000 is an under-estimate of the population, for 1418 of the 1600 houses mentioned above were *mansiones hospitatæ*, and these probably contained more than five persons each. Even "minute mansions" are stated in the Domesday Survey to be 50 feet wide. There is also a doubt whether the Domesday Survey included the huts and cottages inhabited by the poorer population.

[2] This estimate of the population is no doubt based upon the figures connected with the Poll Tax of 51 Edward III. 1377, when the 7248 persons in York above 14 years of age were taxed 4d. each.

It must, however, be borne in mind that this census was taken shortly after the plague visitations of 1349 (Black Death) and 1360. How terrible was the mortality caused in York by the former of these plagues may be gathered from the return, taken from the old parish records, given in detail in Appendix A, which shows that of the 52 clergy in the city no less than 33 died in 1348-49.

everything in that century to foster the growth of York—the occasional presence, for instance, of the king and court, the frequent visits and stay of large bodies of troops, and great commercial prosperity. I do not think that the number of 10,800 was ever exceeded in mediæval times. The Wars of the Roses were ruinous in their effects, and the constant complaint of the citizens in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was the serious and continued decay of the place, in inhabitants as well as in position and wealth. A slow revival set in when the Civil Wars were over, and by the census of 1801 the population of York stood at 16,145."[1]

Since that date the population, which had risen so slowly during the preceding centuries, has, as will be seen from the annexed table, increased more than fourfold :—

Year.	Population.	Increase on previous Census.	Percentage of Increase on previous Census.
1801	16,846	—	—
1811	19,099	2,253	13·37
1821	21,711	2,612	13·67
1831	26,260	4,549	20·95
1841	28,842	2,582	9·83
1851	36,303	7,461	25·08
1861	40,433	4,130	11·37
1871	43,796	3,363	8·31
1881	49,530[2]	5,734	13·09
1891	67,004	17,474	35·27
1899 Estimated	75,812	—	—
1901	77,793[3]	10,789	16·10

[1] It will be noted that this figure does not agree with that given in the table. 16,145 was the figure given in the Parliamentary Report on the 1801 census, but this was afterwards corrected to 16,846.

[2] The city was extended by the York Improvement and Extension Act,

The introduction of the railway about the middle of the century, and the various branches of work which have sprung up in connection with it, have attracted many workmen to the city from other parts of England. Prior to the construction of the North Eastern Railway, "York was essentially a local capital, in the centre of a large and prosperous agricultural district, full of resident gentry, and relying for its connection with the outer world upon posting and coaches."[4]

About 1840 large numbers of Irish began to come over to England, attracted by the prospect of steady work and good pay. The bulk of these settled in the industrial districts—notably in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. Engels, writing in 1844,[5] estimated that more than a million had already immigrated, and not far from 50,000 were still coming every year. Some of these Irish found their way to York in 1846-47. Their coming to the city is thus referred to in the *Memoirs of the late James Hack Tuke:*[6] "During the potato famine many of the wretched Irish, to escape death

1884. The population in 1881 of the area as subsequently extended was 61,789; whilst at the four preceding censuses it is estimated to have been—

1841	31,911
1851	40,675
1861	45,869
1871	51,039

[3] The city was further extended in 1893, the number of persons then added to its population being estimated at 922.

[4] *York*, by James Raine, M.A., D.C.L., p. 202.

[5] *Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844*, by Frederick Engels, p. 90.

[6] By Sir Edward Fry, p. 72.

in their own land, came and spread themselves over various parts of England. Many flocked as far as York. Tuke's father, as a guardian of the poor, obtained a vote of the Board for the erection of a temporary wooden building as a hospital for those who were suffering from fever; for no one would let a house for the purpose. When the temporary erection was prepared, there was still a difficulty as to where to place it, a difficulty solved by Samuel Tuke's offering for the purpose a portion of a field near his own house, his tenant, who sold milk, concluding that 'the coos would not take fever.' Here many a poor sufferer died, and here, notwithstanding the terror of the infection, they were frequently visited by Samuel Tuke."

These poor Irish people, whose early experiences of the city were so unpropitious, were probably attracted to York by the prospect of obtaining work in connection with the cultivation of chicory, for which the district was then noted. This industry has now practically disappeared, and the number of Irish in the city has begun to decline, but is still considerable. Of those who remain, many find work as general labourers, while some of the women pick up a more or less precarious livelihood by working in the fields outside the city, often tramping out for miles in the early morning to their work. On summer evenings it is a common sight to see the women in the Irish quarter sitting on the kerbstone outside their cottages, smoking clay pipes.

Apart from the immigration of the railway men and the Irish, the population is for the most part indigenous to the city and surrounding country district. A few Jewish tailors have settled in York, but the number is exceedingly small. Most of those who come leave again as soon as the busy season which attracted them is over.

There is no predominating industry carried on under conditions that are peculiar to York. The North Eastern Railway Company find employment in York for about 5500 men and lads, but whether they work as joiners, fitters, bricklayers, painters, labourers, or what not, their wages are regulated by the wages which obtain for each particular trade or occupation in the district, and the fact that they are employed by a railway company does not therefore imply the introduction of any special industrial conditions into the city.

There are also between two and three thousand persons employed in cocoa and confectionery works. In these the wages are neither unusually high nor unusually low. In addition to the above there are a number of industries employing fewer people, such as flour-milling, brewing, etc. With one or two exceptions there is no very highly paid industry in York such as exists in some towns, and this fact might tend to lower the average income of working-class families were it not that, on the other hand, there is a large demand for young persons. Practically every capable boy and girl can find employment

in the factories. Upon the whole, I think it may be said that, viewed from the industrial standpoint, the conditions in York are fairly representative of the average conditions which obtain in other provincial towns.

Such, then, are the general characteristics of the city with which we have to deal. The following chapters are devoted to the consideration of an inquiry I have conducted as to the social and economic condition of the wage-earning classes in York.

CHAPTER II

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITION OF THE WAGE-EARNING CLASS IN YORK

HAVING decided to make an inquiry into the economic and social condition of the wage-earning class in York, the first task was to decide upon the exact scope which the inquiry should cover, and the second, to ascertain the best method of conducting the investigation.

Scope of Investigation

The field of investigation being comparatively small, I decided to endeavour to obtain information regarding the housing, occupation, and earnings of every wage-earning family in York. Broadly speaking, this has been accomplished.[1] The information regarding housing and occupation was obtained by direct inquiry. The method of obtaining information regarding earnings is described on page 26.

[1] The few exceptions consist of such persons as grooms, gardeners, or caretakers, living on their employers' premises, but their total number is insignificant.

The investigation did not extend to the servant-keeping class, and necessarily did not include domestic servants living away from their homes.[1] Indeed the keeping or not keeping of domestic servants has in this inquiry been taken as marking the division between the working classes and those of a higher social scale.

Method of Conducting Inquiry

Some of my information was supplied by voluntary workers, "district visitors," clergymen, and others. Many of the facts thus obtained have been valuable, especially as the details given were often of such a character as could only be supplied by those who were intimately acquainted with the families reported upon. I soon found, however, that the inquiry could not cover the whole of the city if it were dependent on voluntary workers only. The bulk of the information has therefore been obtained through an investigator who went systematically from house to house. His work involved the paying of many thousands of visits, and required no small amount of discernment and tact. He found that the people, with few exceptions, were willing to supply the information sought. In some cases there was a disposition to give incorrect information, but experience soon enabled him to distinguish between

[1] An estimate of the number of domestic servants in York is given at p. 26.

truth and falsehood, and in doubtful cases the facts stated were checked by neighbours and others.

The investigation was begun in January 1899, but comparatively little headway was made until March, and the work was practically finished by the following September. The bulk of the inquiry was therefore completed within about seven months. In such a period the results of an inquiry must necessarily be affected by removals, but these inaccuracies tend to balance each other, and do not materially affect final results. I have had opportunities of submitting the facts and figures thus obtained to clergymen, "district visitors," and others having special local knowledge, who have, in almost every instance, corroborated the reports furnished. Some errors must necessarily exist in a detailed inquiry of this kind, but I am satisfied that the information obtained is substantially correct.

Character of the Information Obtained

A few sample pages from the note-books of the investigators will most clearly show the kind of information with which I have been supplied. To prevent identification the names of the streets and the numbers of the houses have been omitted, and further, the order in which the houses come in the streets has been altered.

No. 1

No. of House.	Class (see p. 28).	Rent.	No. of Inmates.	Particulars *re* Housing.						Age of Householder.	Occupation of Head of Family.	Supplementary	
				No. of Rooms.	No. of Houses sharing one Yard.	No. of Houses sharing one Water-tap.	No. of Houses sharing one Closet.	Back to Back.	Houses with no Yard.			Age.	Male.
	B	2/3	5	2	15	15	3	..	..	Old	Unable to work . .	..	..
	B	3/3	7	3	4	3	2	..	..	33	Labourer, Railway .	..	..
	B	3/3	7	3	4	3	2	..	..	..	Waterman . . .	..	..
	A	3/3	9	3	4	1	2	..	..	..	Shoemaker, Piecework .	..	..
	A	3/3	7	3	4	3	2	..	..	..	Labourer . .	..	..
	B	3/3	2	3	2	1	1	..	..	..	Widower, Shopkeeper .	..	..
	D	6/-	12	6	2	1	1	..	..	47	Painter	..	..
	D	3/3	5	3	4	1	2	..	..	50	Widow, Washerwoman .	24	Labourer . . .
	D	3/3	6	3	4	1	2	..	..	..	Widower, Joiner . .	17 ..	" ..
	D	3/3	7	3	4	1	1	..	..	..	Hawker	..	..
	D	7/-	10	8	1	1	1	..	..	55	Widow, Lodging-house .	35	Labourer . .
	D	2/3	2	2	15	15	3	..	..	24	Labourer . . .	..	..
	D	2/3	2	2	15	15	3	..	..	48	Widow, French Polisher	..	..
	C	2/3	3	2	15	15	3	..	..	23	Labourer . . .	..	..
	D	2/3	2	2	15	15	3	..	..	40	Labourer . . .	38	(Brother) Labourer.
	D	2/3	2	2	15	15	3	..	..	37	Widower, Painter . .	..	..
	C	2/3	3	2	15	15	3	..	..	50	Widow, goes out to work	..	..
	D	2/3	2	2	15	15	3	..	..	..	Hawker.		
	D	Own property	6	8	4	1	1	..	..	..	Baker, public bakehouse	..	..
	A	2/3	2	2	15	15	3	..	..	..	Widow	..	..
	D	2/3	3	2	15	15	2	..	..	48	Widow, chars . .	28	Labourer, Railway.
	C	2/3	3	2	15	15	3	..	..	25	Labourer . . .	..	..
	C	2/3	5	2	15	15	3	..	..	..	Painter	..	..
	A	2/3	1	2	15	15	3	..	..	..	Widow	..	..
	D	2/3	7	2	15	15	3	..	..	40	Bricklayer . . .	..	..

STREET.

Earners. Age.	Earners. Female.	Sex.	Lodgers.	Remarks.
..	..	..	..	Irish Roman Catholics, very poor. Both in indifferent health. Sons do not bring much in. House fairly clean.
..	..	..	..	Four boys, one girl. House dirty and untidy.
..	..	..	..	Four boys, one girl. House cleaner than some.
..	..	..	..	Four boys, three girls (young). Very poor, little work. House dirty, very little furniture.
..	..	.	..	Three boys, two girls (young). Very poor, wife not very strong. House dirty and untidy.
..	..	..	..	Very respectable.
..	..	M.	Labourer pays 2/6	Seven children.
		M.	,, [per week	
		M.	,, ,,	
22	Works at Laundry . .	..	..	Young son wants situation, just out of prison. House fairly clean.
..	..	..	..	Four boys, one girl. Seems respectable. Girl at home since mother's death.
22	Confectionery Works . .	..	..	Daughters married, respectable. House dirty and untidy.
17	,, ,,			
28	Assists with house work .	..	..	Generally six lodgers per night, at 4d. per head. House fairly kept.
30	,, ,,			
..	Wife, Confectionery Works	..	..	Just married. House clean.
26	French Polisher . . .	..	..	Always been out when called upon.
..	..	..	..	One child, husband much steadier than used to be. Respectable, house clean.
..	..	..	..	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	One little girl, looks after house when father out.
28	Day work	..	..	Very poor, untidy woman, very little furniture. House untidy, but not so dirty as some.
25	,, ,,			
..	..	..	..	Respectable, three boys, one girl.
..	..	M.	Hawker . .	Disreputable old woman, ill; ought to be in Workhouse. Hawks when able. Lodger pays 2s. 6d. or 3s. for lodging only. House very dirty, probably used as a house of ill-fame. Gets parish relief.
27	Chars	..	..	Mother very poorly, daughter's husband out of work.
..	..	..	..	One child, respectable, wife and house dirty and untidy. Very little furniture.
..	..	..	..	Three girls.
..	..	..	..	Has very little to live upon, as all three sons have married and left her. Parish relief.
..	..	..	..	Respectable, looks well-to-do compared with many. House clean and tidy.

No. 1 STREET—

No. of House.	Class (see p. 28).	Rent.	No. of Inmates.	Particulars *re* Housing. No. of Rooms.	No. of Houses sharing one Yard.	No. of Houses sharing one Water-tap.	No. of Houses sharing one Closet.	Back to Back.	Houses with no Yard.	Age of Householder.	Occupation of Head of Family.	Supplementary Age.	Supplementary Male.
				Vacant									
	B	2/6	3	2	21	21	3	..	..	50	Widow, chars.	..	..
				Vacant									
	D	2/6	2	2	21	21	3	..	..	65	Labourer, Widower	..	..
				Vacant									
	C	2/6	3	2	21	21	3	..	..	..	Labourer	..	..
	A	2/6	5	2	21	21	3	..	..	..	Labourer (out of work)	..	..
				Vacant									
	A	2/6	3	2	21	21	3	..	..	70	Widow	..	..
	C	2/6	2	2	21	21	3	..	..	40	Farm Labourer	..	..
	C	2/6	4	2	21	21	3	..	..	56	Widow, works in fields	..	..
	C	3/-	6	2	21	21	3	..	..	38	Shoemaker	..	..
	C	3/3	7	3	21	21	3	..	..	37	Drainer	..	..
	C	3/-	4	2	21	21	3	..	..	50	Widow, chars	22	Out of work
												19	Labourer in fields.
	B	3/3	4	3	21	21	3	..	..	..	Labourer	..	..
	C	2/6	5	2	21	21	3	..	..	35	Farm Labourer	..	..
	D	3/3	7	3	3	3	3	..	..	55	Carter	30	Labourer, Corporation
												25	Labourer, Gas Works
	B	3/3	4	3	3	3	3	..	..	50	Bricklayer's Labourer.		
	B	2/3	7	2	15	15	3	..	..	..	Labourer	..	..
	A	2/6	1	2	21	21	3	..	..	45	Widow, chars.		
	B	2/6	7	2	21	21	3	..	..	35	Painter	..	..
	C	2/6	2	2	21	21	3	..	..	35	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	D	2/6	3	2	21	21	3	..	..	50	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..

Continued

Earners.		Sex.	Lodgers.	Remarks. *Note*— F. = Girl, M. = Boy } The numbers indicate the ages.
Age.	Female.			
18	Laundress	..	..	F. 11. Untidy.
..	..	..	..	Father has lost an eye. House not very dirty.
..	..	..	..	One boy. Irish Roman Catholics.
..	..	..	..	Three children. Irish Roman Catholics.
..	Daughter (a widow) goes out to wash and char	..	..	Grandchild 14. House clean.
..	Wife works in fields.			
38	Works in fields . . .	..	..	M. 9, at Roman Catholic School. Untidy.
16	Confectionery Works. .			
14	At home	..	..	F. 12, 10, M. 3. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Five children under 10. Dirty home.
..	..	..	..	M. 13. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 6, M. 4. Tidy.
..	Wife works in fields .	..	..	M. 8, 6, 3. Untidy. House and children neglected.
27	Goes out washing and charing.	..	..	Four boys, one girl (young). Respectable.
19	Goes out washing and charing.			
33	Wife goes out to work sometimes.	..	..	Five children (three by first wife). Husband not quite steady, wife delicate-looking. Respectable; one boy sent to a truant school. House fairly clean.
..	..	..	..	Five children under 11. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 10, consumptive; M. 4, cripple; M. 2, F. 3 months. Untidy; children dirty.
21	Confectionery Works . .	..	..	Tidy.

The grating over the drain in this yard is very small — water has stood for days in yard and in houses up to the stairs, especially right side of yard.

NOTE.—The above property is in bad condition throughout, in fact in some cases it is dangerous to life and limb to enter the doors.

No. 2

No. of House.	Class (see p. 28).	Rent.	No. of Inmates.	Particulars *re* Housing.						Age of Householder.	Occupation of Head of Family.	Supplementary	
				No. of Rooms.	No. of Houses sharing one Yard.	No. of Houses sharing one Water-tap.	No. of Houses sharing one Closet.	Back to Back.	Houses with no Yard.			Age.	Male.
	B	4/9	6	6	1	1	1	..	..	40	Labourer, Ironworks	..	..
	D	4/9	4	6	1	1	1	..	..	54	Moulder's Labourer	23	(Son) Moulder's Labourer
	D	4/-	1	4	1	1	1	..	..	80	Widow—has means.		
	B	4/6	7	5	1	1	1	..	..	50	,,	16	Mattress Maker
	A	Owner	4	4	2	1	2	..	..	75	Too old, 56 years with one Employer (Pension)	..	..
	C	2/10	6	2	4	6	4	..	..	29	Painter	..	..
	C	2/7	4	2	..	6	4	..	..	30	Waterman	..	..
	B	2/10	5	2	4	6	4	..	..	38	Field Labourer	..	..
	C	2/7	2	2	4	6	4	..	..	32	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	C	2/10	7	2	4	6	4	..	..	35	Painter	..	..
	C	4/9	2	6	1	1	1	..	..	21	Picture-frame Maker	..	..
	B	3/6	4	4	1	1	1	..	..	30	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	D	3/6	3	2	1	1	1	..	..	40	Mason	..	..
	D	4/9	8	6	1	1	1	..	..	50	,,	23	Labourer
												17	Apprentice Bricklayer.
												15	Confectioner.
	D	4/9	5	6	1	1	1	..	..	65	Widow	25	Groom
	D	3/-	3	2	4	1	2	..	..	35	Painter	14	Labourer (Ironmonger's)
	D	3/3	8	2	4	1	2	..	..	36	Carter and Hawker (own cart)	..	..
	D	5/3	5	6	1	1	1	..	..	46	Painter	..	Painter
	B	4/-	4	4	1	1	1	..	..	32	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	A	4/-	2	4	1	1	1	..	..	60	Too old	..	..
	C	4/-	7	4	1	1	1	..	..	50	Confectioner	20	Cleaner, Railway
												14	Flour Mills.
	C	2/7	7	2	..	6	4	..	..	40	Coach Painter	..	..
	B	3/3	7	2	4	1	2	..	..	38	Labourer, Gasworks	..	..
	C	3/3	6	2	4	1	2	..	..	35	Plumber	..	..
	D	3/3	2	2	2	1	2	..	..	50	Widow, washing	25	(Son) Striker

STREET.

Earners. Age.	Earners. Female.	Sex.	Lodgers.	Remarks. *Note*— F. = Girl, M. = Boy. The numbers indicate the ages.
..	..	..	..	F. 12, 9, 1½, M. 6. Comfortable.
..	..	..	..	Mother 82, lives with them. Tidy.
20	Dressmaker	M.	Porter	Lodger is son with wife and F. 4, M. 3. Tidy.
..	Wife takes nurse children	..	..	Two nurse children. M. 9, F. 1½.
..	..	..	..	F. 8, M. 5, 3, F. 3 months. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 5, M. 4. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 11, M. 4, F. 1½. Untidy.
..	..	..	..	Untidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 14, 10, 8, M. 4, 2. Dirty and overcrowded.
..	..	..	..	Tidy and respectable.
..	..	..	..	M. 3, 2. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 3½. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 28; ill. M. 13, 11, school. Tidy.
20	Laundry	M.	Joiner	Respectable.
..	..	..	..	Tidy.
..	Wife, Laundry	..	..	Six children under 13. Fair home, but overcrowded.
..	..	..	..	M. 14, F. 10, school. Respectable.
..	..	..	..	M. 2, F. 3. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Both get parish relief.
18	Keeps house	..	..	M. 12, 9, 7, school. Respectable.
..	..	..	..	F. 11, 9, 7, 5, M. 3. Untidy; very little furniture.
..	..	..	..	F. 11, M. 10, 9, 6, F. 4. Tidy but overcrowded.
..	..	..	..	M. 10, F. 7, 2¾, M. in arms. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Respectable.

No. 3

No. of House.	Class (see p. 28).	Rent.	No. of Inmates.	Particulars *re* Housing. No. of Rooms.	No. of Houses sharing one Yard.	No. of Houses sharing one Water-tap.	No. of Houses sharing one Closet.	Back to Back.	Houses with no Yard.	Age of Householder.	Occupation of Head of Family.	Supplementary Age.	Supplementary Male.
	C	4/3	4	4	4	4	2	..	..	28	Painter	..	..
	D	3/-	1	3	4	4	2	..	..	50	Groom, Bachelor.		
	C	3/-	3	3	4	4	2	..	..	26	Carter	..	..
	A	3/-	3	3	4	4	2	..	..	65	Very little work as Labourer	..	..
	D	4/3	7	4	4	4	2	..	..	50	Lamplighter	..	..
	D	4/3	3	4	4	4	2	..	..	60	Confectioner	..	..
	B	4/3	7	4	4	4	2	..	..	35	Labourer, Gasworks	..	..
	D	4/3	3	4	4	4	2	..	..	35	,, Cocoa Works	..	..
	A	4/3	4	4	4	4	2	..	..	56	Widow, washing	23	Clerk, Railway, pays 10/-
												20	Painter, pays 9/-.
	D	4/3	3	4	4	4	2	..	..	38	Bricklayer	..	..
	D	4/3	4	4	4	4	2	..	..	65	Currier	..	..
	D	4/3	2	4	4	4	2	..	..	50	Paperhanger	..	..
	C	3/-	2	3	4	4	2	..	..	26	Labourer, Cocoa Works	..	..
	C	3/-	3	3	4	4	2	..	..	36	Confectioner	..	..
	C	3/-	4	3	4	4	2	..	..	31	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	A	4/3	11	4	4	4	2	..	..	40	Widow	..	..
	D	3/-	2	3	8	4	2	..	..	60	Joiner	..	..
	C	4/3	9	4	8	4	2	..	..	38	Painter	..	..
	C	3/-	5	3	8	4	2	..	..	34	Labourer, Railway	..	..
	C	3/-	1	3	8	4	2	..	..	47	Widow, goes out nursing.		
	B	2/6	6	2	8	4	2	..	..	37	Labourer, Gasworks	..	..
	A	4/3	3	4	3	4	2	..	..	34	Widow, chars	..	..
	D	£16	5	5	3	3	1	..	..	39	Publican	..	..
	B	4/3	5	4	8	4	2	..	..	28	Labourer, Plant	..	..
	D	2/6	6	2	8	4	2	..	..	60	Joiner	36	Painter
												32	,,
	C	3/-	2	3	8	4	2	..	..	42	Widow, chars	..	..
	C	2/6	4	2	8	4	2	..	..	28	Painter's Labourer	..	..
	D	4/3	5	4	8	4	2	..	..	40	Coachbuilder	..	..
	B	2/6	3	2	8	4	2	..	..	42	Laundress	..	..
	C	3/-	2	3	8	4	2	..	..	25	Labourer, Plant	..	..
	D	2/6	5	2	8	4	2	..	..	55	,, Gasworks	18	Box Mills
	D	4/3	6	4	8	4	2	..	..	69	Widow	36	Labourer, Gasworks
												33	,, Gardens
	D	4/3	5	4	8	4	2	..	..	55	,,	27	Painter
	C	3/-	3	3	4	4	2	..	..	40	Labourer, Railway	..	..
	C	2/6	2	2	3	3	2	..	..	27	,, ,,	..	..
	C	4/3	6	4	8	4	2	..	..	34	Plasterer	..	..
	C	3/-	3	3	4	4	2	..	..	37	Gardener	16	Confectioner's Boy
	D	3/-	11	3	4	4	2	..	..	40	Cabdriver—ill health	..	..
	D	4/3	3	4	4	4	2	..	..	27	Labourer, Plant	..	..

STREET.

Earners. Age.	Earners. Female.	Sex.	Lodgers.	Remarks. *Note*— F. = Girl, M. = Boy. The numbers indicate the ages.
..	..	..	..	M. 3, 1. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Child in arms. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Young grandchild. Tidy. Parish relief.
..	..	M.	Aged Uncle .	Three children under 10. Dirty.
		M.	Labourer, Gas-[works.	
37	Chars.	..	..	Five children under 10. Dirty.
..	Wife, Cocoa Works . .	..	Sister, Cocoa Works	Tidy.
14	Very ill	..	..	Tidy. Parish relief.
15	Cocoa Works . . .	..	..	Respectable.
..	..	M.	Labourer, Rail-	Respectable.
		M.	Confectioner [way	
..	..	..	..	Respectable.
..	..	..	..	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	One child in arms.
..	..	..	..	F. 7, M. 3. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Nine young children. Had parish relief stopped for illegitimate child. Children dirty and unruly. Query—How they live?
..	..	..	..	Wife paralysed. Respectable.
..	..	..	..	Seven children under 14 at home. Clean and tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 10, M. 7, 2½.
..	..	..	..	Four children under 10. Untidy house and children.
..	..	..	..	F. 4, 2. Clean and tidy. Parish relief.
..	Wife small shop . . .	..	..	M. 7, F. 5, M. 3.
..	..	..	..	M. 4, 2, 7 months.
..	..	..	..	Grandchildren. F. 4, 2. House dirty and unhealthy.
..	..	M.	Labourer, Gas-works, pays 12s.	
..	..	..	..	F. 3, 1. Fair home.
..	Wife chars	..	..	M. 5, F. 3, 1. Clean and tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 6, school. Husband deserted wife. Fair home.
14	Laundry	..	..	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Daughter's baby. House dirty, overcrowded.
21	Laundry	..	..	M. 7, 4 (grandchildren). Tidy.
28	Cocoa Works.			
19	Cocoa Works . . .	..	..	Tidy.
22	Laundry.			
25	,,			
..	..	..	..	F. 10. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Four children under 8. Tidy.
..	Wife takes in washing .	..	..	Two children under 10. Untidy; man drinks.
..	..	..	..	Eight under 13. House tidy, but overcrowded.
..	..	..	..	F. 2. Tidy.

No. 4

No. of House.	Class (see p. 28).	Rent.	No. of Inmates.	Particulars *re* Housing. No. of Rooms.	No. of Houses sharing one Yard.	No. of Houses sharing one Water-tap.	No. of Houses sharing one Closet.	Back to Back.	Houses with no Yard.	Age of Householder.	Occupation of Head of Family.	Supplementary Age.	Supplementary Male.
	D	4/3	5	4	4	1	2	..	..	48	Widow, washing	14	Errand Boy
	D	3/-	2	3	4	1	2	..	..	30	Labourer	..	..
	D	3/-	2	3	4	1	2	..	..	50	Labourer.		
	D	T. Own	2	6	1	1	1	..	..	50	Retired, had large business.		
	C	4/3	4	5	7	7	2	..	..	32	Clerk	..	..
	D	4/3	3	5	7	7	2	..	..	50	Labourer, Corporation	26	Bricklayer's Lab'rer
	C	3/-	7	4	7	7	2	..	..	47	Furniture Remover	..	..
	A	2/6	6	2	8	8	5	..	..	38	Bricklayer's Labourer	19	Bricklayer
												17	Cocoa Works
	B	2/6	3	2	8	8	5	..	..	36	Widow	23	Bricklayer's Lab'rer
	C	2/6	7	2	8	8	5	..	..	37	Painter	..	..
	C	2/6	4	2	8	8	3	..	..	30	Painter	..	..
	C	6/-	3	6	2	1	2	..	..	50	Widow, small shop	..	..
	A	2/3	1	2	2	1	2	..	..	66	Widow, chars	..	..
	D	5/-	8	4	1	1	1	..	..	51	Coach Painter small shop	21	Coach Painter
												20	Mattress Maker
	A	1/-	2	1	..	6	3	..	..	70	Too infirm	..	..
	C	3/2	4	3	6	6	3	..	..	26	Fireman	..	..
	B	3/2	2	3	6	6	3	..	..	70	Too infirm (Superannuation Pay)	..	..
	D	2/3	3	2	6	6	3	..	..	55	Cabdriver	..	..
	C	2/3	5	2	6	6	3	..	..	38	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	A	2/3	6	2	6	6	3	..	..	52	Labourer (no settled work)	..	..
	A	2/3	1	2	6	6	3	..	..	30	Widow, goes out charing.		
	D	3/2	3	3	6	6	3	..	..	60	Widow	35	Engine Driver
												28	Fireman.
	A	3/2	3	3	6	6	3	..	..	45	Widow	..	..
	D	3/2	1	3	6	6	3	..	..	45	Bootmaker	..	..
	A	4/-	6	4	1	1	1	..	..	54	Labourer, out of work	..	..
	D	5/-	4	4	2	1	2	..	..	53	Labourer, small shop	21	Warehouseman
	C	2/-	2	2	2	1	2	..	..	60	Brushmaker	..	..
	A	2/6	2	2	7	7	2	..	..	45	Widow, washing	..	..
	D	2/6	3	2	7	7	2	..	..	30	Tailor	..	..
	C	2/6	4	2	7	7	2	..	..	23	General Labourer	..	..
	C	2/6	3	2	7	7	2	..	..	30	Confectioner	..	..
	A	2/6	1	2	8	8	3	..	..	60	Widow	..	..
	C	2/6	4	2	8	8	5	..	..	37	Labourer, Flour Mills	15	Cocoa Works
	B	2/6	3	2	8	8	5	..	..	60	Widow	..	..
	B	2/6	3	2	8	8	5	..	..	75	Corporation Labourer	16	(Grandson) Bottler
	C	3/9	5	3	3	1	3	..	..	25	Painter	..	..
	B	3/6	5	3	..	6	3	..	..	36	Bricklayer's Labourer	..	..
	A	1/6	2	1	..	6	3	..	..	68	Waiter (only occasionally)	..	..
	B	1/-	2	1	..	6	3	..	..	44	Sweep	..	..

STREET.

Earners.		Sex.	Lodgers.	Remarks.
Age.	Female.			*Note*— F. = Girl, M. = Boy. The numbers indicate the ages.
23	Day Domestic	..	..	Very clean and respectable.
21	,, ,,			
21	,, ,,			
..	,, ,,	..	..	Tidy.
..	Wife, washing	..	..	M. 8, 8, school. Tidy. Sink near door, bad.
..	..	..	..	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	M. 13, 7, 4, F. 6, 9 months. Tidy.
22	Laundry	..	..	F. 12, at home. Tidy. Overcrowded, neighbours complain.
	Wife goes out charing.			
30	Laundry	..	..	Respectable and tidy.
..	..	..	..	Five children under nine. Untidy, overcrowded.
..	..	..	..	F. 3, M. 3. Tidy.
22	Cocoa Works	M.	Clerk	Respectable.
..	..	..	..	Very tidy.
..	Attends shop	..	..	M. 12, 9, 7. Respectable.
16	Cocoa Works.			
..	..	..	..	Both get parish relief. Wife aged 79.
..	..	..	..	M 2, 4 months. Fair.
..	..	M.	Labourer	Tidy.
..	Wife chars	..	..	M. 13, imbecile. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 10, M. 7, F. 3. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 7, M. 9, 4, F. 2. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Tidy and respectable.
15	Day work	..	..	F. 10. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Lives alone.
..	Assists in house	..	..	M. 14, F. 8, school; M. 1½. Very poor, but tidy.
15	Wife attends shop	M.	Labourer.	
..	Wife chars	..	..	Untidy woman, addicted to drink.
..	..	M.	Engine Cleaner	Clean and respectable. Parish relief
..	..	..	..	M. 11, school. Respectable
..	..	..	..	F. 2, M. 1. Clean.
25	(Sister) Laundry	..	..	Respectable. Parish relief.
50	(Mother) keeps house.			
..	..	..	..	Comfortable and tidy. Parish relief.
14	Cocoa Works	..	..	Tidy.
	Wife, Laundry.			
25	Works in fields	M.	Corporation Labourer	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 4½, 2½, M. 4 months. Tidy.
..	..	..	..	F. 12, 9, 1. Untidy.
41	Wife chars	..	..	Clean, but very poor. Man getting too old for work.
..	Wife chops and sells wood	..	..	Unsteady; house untidy.

These specimen pages will serve to show the kind of information received. Particulars were obtained regarding 11,560 families, living in 388 streets, comprising a population of 46,754, or almost exactly two-thirds of the entire population.[1]

The occupation of each of the workers was ascertained, and sometimes also direct information regarding the wages earned. Where this information was not available the wage was estimated. In the case of skilled workers, the earnings were assumed to be the average wage which obtains in the district for the particular trade.

The case of unskilled workers presented more difficulty, but intimate acquaintance with the wages paid in one large factory with which I am connected, and which employs much unskilled labour, has been of invaluable assistance to me. Added to this, other large employers of labour in the city have given me

[1] The number of domestic servants in York in 1891 was 3904. At the time of writing, the detailed report of the 1901 Census is not to hand, but if we assume that the number of servants has increased since 1891 in the same proportion as the population generally, their numbers in 1899 would be about 4296. If, therefore, we estimate the number of domestic servants to be 4296, and add this number to the population referred to above, we obtain 67 per cent of the population as the proportion belonging to the class who do not employ domestic servants. If, however, we include the 2923 persons in public institutions (see p. 31), the great bulk of whom are drawn from the working classes, the percentage of the population who do not keep domestic servants is raised to 71. It should, however, be noted, that as York is the county town and a military depot, the proportion of persons in public institutions is higher than in some towns.

In 1882 a Special Committee of the British Association estimated the proportion of the labouring classes at 70 per cent of the population. A similar proportion, based, however, on different figures, is given by Mulhall, *Dictionary of Statistics*, p. 320; and by Professor Leone Levi, *Report of the British Association* (1883), p. 361; and *Wages and Earnings of the Working Classes* (1885), p. 2.

information respecting the wages they are paying, so that the wages of unskilled labour have, it is believed, been estimated with a large degree of accuracy.

In *all* cases, in assessing wages, allowance has been made for short time, including public holidays, not paid for, also for overtime, and cost of tools; this allowance being based on information supplied by Trade Union secretaries, by masters, and by the workers themselves. No uniform allowance has been made for loss of wage through illness, but in the estimates of short time some allowance under this head has been made.[1] Working upon these lines, the earnings of every wage-earner have either been ascertained or carefully estimated.

Methods of Classifying Families

Any classification of families according to income must be an arbitrary one. I have, in this chapter, adopted a method of classifying the population which is similar in some respects to that adopted by Mr. Charles Booth in his *Life and Labour of the People in London*, but in other respects the differences of method employed are so important as to make a comparison of the two classifications misleading.[2] But in Chapter IV., in which an estimate is made of

[1] A rough indication of the average weekly loss through ill-health is afforded by the fact that in some well-managed sick clubs a weekly payment of 2d. carries with it a sick allowance of 7s. per week for six weeks, and 3s. 6d. for another six weeks.

[2] It should, however, be noted that while the *classification* of the population differs, comparison is possible between the *total amount* of poverty in London and in York. See letter on this subject from Mr. Charles Booth, p. 300.

the proportion of the population living above and below the Poverty Line, the comparatively small population to be dealt with in the city of York has enabled a more searching analysis to be made.

The population is divided into seven classes as follows :—

CLASS.

"A." Total Family Income under 18s. for a moderate family.

"B." Total Family Income 18s. and under 21s. for a moderate family.

"C." Total Family Income 21s. and under 30s. for a moderate family

"D." Total family Income over 30s. for a moderate family.

"E." [1] Domestic Servants.

"F." [2] Servant-keeping Class.

"G." Persons in Public Institutions.

By a "moderate" family is here intended a family consisting of father, mother, and from two to four children.[3] In classifying, allowance has been made for families which were smaller or larger than such "moderate" family. Thus, if a family had an income

[1] The number of these is based upon the 1891 Census returns. I have assumed that their number has increased since then in the same proportion as the total population of the city (see footnote, p. 26).

[2] The number of these is arrived at by subtracting the wage-earning population, the domestic servants, and the persons in public institutions from the total population of the city. In this class I include a few families who from various causes do not keep servants, but who live in the same style as many of those who do.

[3] According to the 1891 Census, the average number of persons per family in England and Wales was about five persons (4·73). The "moderate" family here taken as a basis for classification allows for a margin of one person above or below this average figure.

of 22s., and consisted of two parents and four children, they would be placed in Class "C," but if there were five or more children they would be placed in Class "B." Again, if a family had an income of 27s., and consisted of two parents and two children, they would be placed in class "C," but if there were only one child they would go into Class "D."

The estimates of total family incomes have been worked out upon the following basis:—

The "family income" includes—

Total wages of father.

Total wages of mother.

Total wages of any children who are earning not more than 7s. each.

Estimated payment for board and lodging given to their parents by older children.[1]

Payments by lodgers (if any) for board and lodging, the lodgers being counted as members of the family.[2]

In estimating the family income, the aim has been to show the total sum which, upon the above-named basis, *can* find its way into the family purse. It is from a knowledge of this figure that we are able to ascertain the standard of comfort attainable by the working classes. It is not implied that the standard represented by a given income is always attained by families who are in receipt of such income. That, of course, is far from being the case. Ignorant

[1] See footnote, p. 86.

[2] With regard to lodgers, in a number of cases the actual amount paid for lodgings has been ascertained, but the sums paid vary only slightly according to the accommodation provided, so that fairly accurate estimates are easy to arrive at by a knowledge of the latter.

extravagance, gambling, or expenditure upon drink, frequently causes the actual standard of comfort in which a family is living to be much lower than that attainable were the family income wisely employed.

From an economic standpoint, however, it is of first importance to ascertain the standard of comfort *attainable;* hence the assumption that the whole of the earnings of father and mother go into the housekeeping purse. It would, however, give a false impression were we to assume that the whole wages of the older children go into the family purse. In York it is the general custom for older children to pay to their parents such portion of their wages as they would have had to pay for board and lodgings if not living at home. The sums vary according to the age and sex of the child, and also according to the neighbourhood. Thus a girl or lad will pay from 5s. to 9s. weekly, while a man will pay from 9s. to 14s. Anything which they earn above these figures they usually keep for themselves. It is out of this surplus that young persons are able to save money for furnishing their own houses when they marry.

In the case of young children earning under, say, 7s. weekly, it is customary for the child to hand over the whole of its earnings to the parents, receiving back a few coppers for pocket-money. Here, therefore, the whole earnings have been reckoned as going into the family purse.

It is obviously, therefore, better to classify, not by the wages of the head of the household, but by

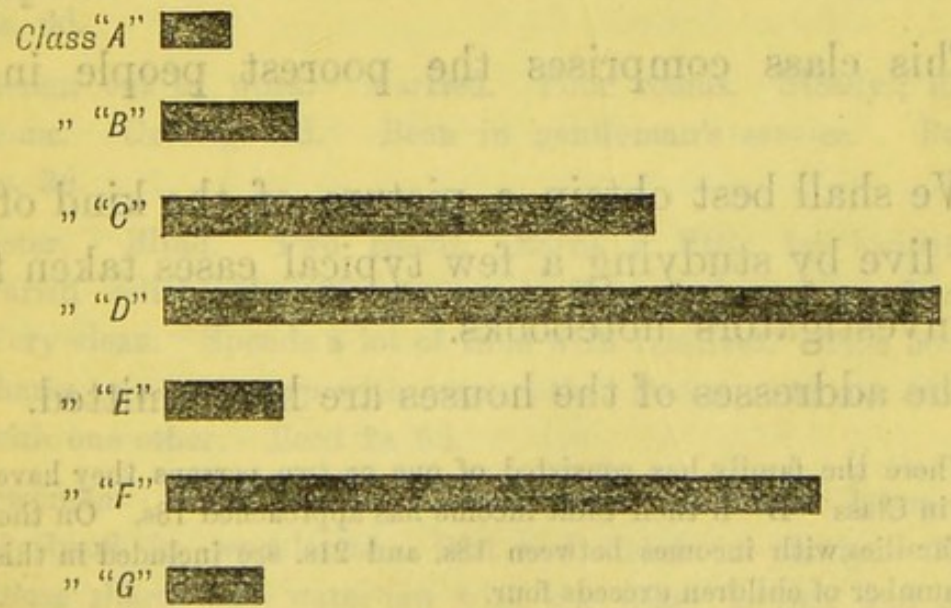
family income, since the sums contributed by supplementary earners frequently amount to more than the earnings of the head, and thus materially affect the standard of living of the whole family.

Classification of the Population of York

Classifying upon the basis described above, we obtain the following results :—

Class.	Family Income (for moderate Family).	Number of Persons in each Class.	Percentage in each Class calculated upon total Wage-earners in York (excluding domestic servants and persons in public institutions).	Percentage of whole Population.
"A"	Under 18s. per week .	1,957	4·2	2·6
"B"	18s. and under 21s. .	4,492	9·6	5·9
"C"	21s. and under 30s. .	15,710	33·6	20·7
"D"	Over 30s. . . .	24,595	52·6	32·4
"E"	Female domestic servants	4,296	...	5·7
"F"	Servant-keeping class .	21,830	...	28·8
"G"	In public institutions .	2,932	...	3·9
		75,812	100·0	100·0

The size of each class may be represented thus :—



In the next chapter the standard of living in these various classes is considered.

CHAPTER III

THE STANDARD OF LIFE

Life in Class "A"

Income under 18*s. weekly for a moderate family.*[1]

Total number of persons in Class	1957
Percentage of the working-class population	4·2
Percentage of the total population	2·6
Number of families	656
Average size of family[2]	3
Average family earnings of those families who are earning anything[3]	11s. 7d.
Average rent	2s. 9½d.

This class comprises the poorest people in the city.

We shall best obtain a picture of the kind of life they live by studying a few typical cases taken from the investigators' notebooks.

The addresses of the houses are here omitted.

[1] Where the family has consisted of one or two persons they have been placed in Class "B" if their total income has approached 18s. On the other hand, families with incomes between 18s. and 21s. are included in this class if the number of children exceeds four.

[2] The average size of family is small because of the large number of old persons in this class.

[3] This sum includes the total earnings of all the children.

NOTES

CLASS "A"

1. No occupation. Married. Age sixty-four. Two rooms. The man "has not had his boots on" for twelve months. He is suffering from dropsy. His wife cleans schools. This house shares one closet with eight other houses, and one water-tap with four others. Rent 2s. 6d.

2. Labourer, Foundry. Married. Four rooms. Four children. Steady; work regular. Man has bad eyesight, and poor wage accordingly. Family live in the midst of smoke. Rent cheap on account of smoke. Rent 3s.

3. Out of work. Married. Four rooms. Five children. Drinks. "Chucked his work over a row." Very poor; have to pawn furniture to keep children. Rent 4s.

4. Odd jobs. Married. Four rooms. Three children. Man drinks. Formerly in good work. Cannot keep a situation. Poverty-stricken. Children not properly nourished. Had parish relief once. Rent 4s.

5. Widow. Four rooms. Grandson (eleven) sleeps here. Parish relief. Woman takes lodgers when she can get them, but that is seldom. Do not know how she manages to live. Rent 4s. 6d.

6. Gardener, out of work. Married. Four rooms. Steady; nice home. Getting old. Been in gentleman's service. Rent 4s. 3d.

7. Spinster. Blind. Two rooms. Earns a little by knitting. Parish relief; also 2s. per week from a former employer. Very clean. Spends a lot of time with relatives. This house shares one water-tap with seven other houses, and one closet with one other. Rent 2s. 6d.

8. Charwoman. Two rooms. Son twenty. Casual labourer. Husband in workhouse. Dirt and drink in plenty. This house shares one water-tap with six other houses, and one closet with two others. Rent 2s.

9. Spinster. One room. Parish relief, and takes care of an

illegitimate child. This house shares one water-tap with eleven other houses, and one closet with two others. Rent 1s. 9d.

10. Spinster. One room. Parish relief. Seems ill for want of proper support. House as clean as a sick woman can make it. Shares a water-tap with eleven other houses, and a closet with three others. Rent 2s.

11. Three old sisters. Four rooms. Parish relief. One an invalid, one drinks. Nice home. Reduced people. Take in sewing and washing. Rent 4s. 6d.

12. Widow. Two rooms. Eleven children; the eldest was fifteen when father died. Four are now working. Sober and very industrious, clean and fairly comfortable. Never in debt; children fairly well clothed and fed. Rooms well kept and of a good size. Parish relief. Rent 2s. 6d.

13. Old widow. One room. Son allows her 3s. per week. Goes out to nurse occasionally. Sober and industrious. Health poor. Particularly clean, and nice furniture in the room. Rent 1s. 6d.

14. Widow. Two rooms. Son thirty-two, messenger. Parish relief. Very weakly. Sober and industrious. House clean and fairly comfortable. Son consumptive; in sick club. Been twenty-five years in house and cannot get water laid on, though they offered to pay more rent. This tenement shares one water-tap with fourteen other tenements, and one closet with fourteen others. Rent 3s. 9d.

15. Old widow. One room. Parish relief. Has a lodger who is a charwoman. Has been in better circumstances, and has some comfortable furniture, but is not clean. Has been confined to her room for twelve months. Drink may be cause of poverty here. This tenement shares one water-tap with eleven others, and one closet with fourteen other tenements. Rent 1s. 4d.

N.B.—Nos. 14 and 15 are living in very old premises, which are now let out in single rooms. There is only one water-tap for the whole block. There are no sinks, slops being emptied down the street grating, or down one in the yard. There are two closets in the yard, but only one is fit to use, and is shared by fifteen different families.

16. Widow. Age seventy. Two rooms. One child. Parish relief.

Lodger and nurse-child. This house shares one water-tap with twenty-one other houses, and one closet with six others. Rent 3s. 2d.

17. Rag and bone gatherer. Married. One room. One child. Not very steady. This house shares one water-tap with eight other houses, and one closet with three others. Rent 2s.

18. Spinster. One room. Knits and nurses. Very poor, miserable, and ill. Does knitting when she can get it. This tenement shares one closet with two others. Rent 1s. 6d.

19. Widow. One room. One child. Sack-mender. Daughter takes care of home and her illegitimate child. Mother respectable and hard-working. Daughter has been very unsteady. The room is fairly large and well lighted, and faces south. This tenement shares one closet with two others, and one water-tap with five others. Rent 1s. 9d.

20. Regular loafer. Married. Two rooms. One child. Wife sews. House very dark on account of high buildings just opposite. Kept clean and tidy. This house shares one closet with two other houses, and one water-tap with six others. Rent 2s. 6d.

21. Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Four children. Chronic illness. Not worked for two years. Wife chars. Parish relief. This house shares one closet and one water-tap with eight other houses. Rent 1s. 7d.

22. Messenger. Married. Three rooms. Seven children. Husband delicate. Very dirty house. Wife works when able. This house shares one closet with one other house, and one water-tap with three other houses. Rent 3s. 6d.

23. Blind. Age sixty-three. Married. Two rooms. Parish relief. Husband been blind twenty years. Sober. Wife delicate, but earns a few shillings by needle-work and sitting up at night with sick people. This house shares closet with another house. Rent 2s. 3½d.

24. Does odd jobs. Married. Two rooms. One child. Husband thoroughly idle and unsteady. Never in regular work. Wife takes in washing. This house shares one closet with three other houses, and one water-tap with six others. Rent 2s. 8d.

25. Widow. Age sixty-three. Two rooms. Takes in washing; most industrious and hard-working. Will not give up work, though

suffering from a tumour, which should be operated upon would she consent. Will not apply to Guardians for help while she can work. This house shares one closet with two other houses, and one water-tap with six others. Rent 2s. 8d.

26. Two spinsters, sisters. Two rooms. Rooms dark and dreary. Professional cadgers. One is lame, and the other is supposed to be weak-minded. This house shares one closet and one water-tap with five others. Rent 1s. 6d.

27. Woodchopper. Married. One room. Parish relief. Wife blind. Mostly live on what they can beg. This house shares one closet and one water-tap with two other houses. Rent 2s.

28. Spinster. Age seventy. One room. Parish relief. Harmless imbecile; neighbours clean up for her. This house shares one closet and one water-tap with eleven other houses. Rent 1s. 1½d.

29. Labourer. Married. Age seventy. Two rooms. House locked up, windows broken and patched up with paper. Neighbours say sons lie in bed most of the day, and go out with sisters at night. Bad case. This house shares one closet with three other houses, and one water-tap with four others. Rent 2s. 6d.

30. Odd jobs. Age sixty-five. One room. Formerly grocer's assistant, dismissed on account of age. Very poor, intelligent, and respectable; room clean and tidy. This house shares one closet and one water-tap with three other houses. Rent 2s. 6d.

31. Husband in asylum. Four rooms. Five children. Parish relief. Very sad case. Five children under thirteen. Clean and respectable, but much poverty. Woman would like work. This house shares one closet with another house and one water-tap with three other houses. Rent 3s. 9d.

32. Old man. Age eighty. Two rooms. Brother sixty-five years old. Both receive parish relief. Untidy and filthy house. Floor of kitchen full of holes, and dangerous for old men. This house shares one closet with three other houses, and one water-tap with twenty-one others. Rent 2s.

33. Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Six children. Filthy to extreme. This house shares one closet with another, and one water-tap with five others. Rent 3s. 6d.

34 Laundress. Two rooms. One baby. No husband. Unsteady.

This house shares one closet and one water-tap with three other houses. Rent 2s.

35. Widow. Three rooms. Three children. Parish relief. One daughter working. Before the "Board" seven times for neglecting to send children to school. This house shares one closet with three other houses, and one water-tap with twenty-two others. Rent 2s. 3d.

36. Deputy landlord. Living alone. Parish relief. Sells "hot peas" in the streets at night. This house shares one closet with three other houses, and one water-tap with seven others. Rent free.

37. Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Seven children under thirteen. Untidy. Overcrowded. Drains bad and house wants disinfecting. Rent 4s. 6d.

38. Widow. Four rooms. Five children. Woman chars. Entrance to house very bad; slaughter-house on each side. House in bad condition. Rent 3s.

39. Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Out of work. Wife chars. Man drinks "all he can get hold of"; will not work; dirty. Rent 2s. 9d.

40. Gilder. Married. Four rooms. One child. Out of work; ill. Man was in sick club, but benefit has run out. Wife chars; is hard-working, clean, and respectable. Relations help them. Rent 3s. 9d.

41. Joiner. Married. Four rooms. Six children. Poor and untidy. Infant very sickly. Buried two children within two years. Husband often on short time; reason given—"Company's arrangements." Mother often ill, though looking healthy and cheerful. Rent 3s. 8½d.

42. Chimney-sweep. Married. Two rooms. Five children under thirteen. All sleep in one room. Wife just confined. Man in temporary employment, earning 2s. per day. House not very dirty. Man brought up in an Industrial School, and is incapable of supporting his family decently. A bad workman. This house shares one closet with two other houses, and one water-tap with three others. Rent 2s. 9d.

43. Widow Four rooms. One baby. Semi-lunatic family. Receives Poor Relief. Son, who is the wage-earner, is weak bodily and mentally. Ditto the daughter. Nice house, but dirty.

4s. per week is received for an illegitmate child being brought up here. This house shares one closet with another house, and one water-tap with three other houses. Rent 4s.

44. Done no work for years. Married. Age sixty-five. Four rooms. Was a painter. Crippled with rheumatism. Sick club run out. Very superior family. Had considerable sum of money in the Savings Bank at one time; all used up now. Man does house work when able. Wife works, and son is an apprentice. Rent 4s.

45. Widow. Five rooms. Keeps a little shop. Mother mentally deficient; one daughter quite deaf, the other nearly so. Fairly clean. Rent 4s. 10d.

46. Polisher. Married. Four rooms. Two children. Parish relief. Wife washes. Husband is an invalid and capable of little work. One child, cripple. Man not deserving; has spent all large earnings on drink. Fellow-workmen have made several collections for him. All speak badly of him. Has written begging letters. House very dirty. Rent 3s. 10d.

47. Widow. Two rooms. Parish relief. Subject to bronchitis; house damp, and sometimes smells badly. Takes lodgers and nurse-children when she can get them. This house shares one closet with six other houses, and one water-tap with twenty others. Rent 2s. 7d.

48. Spinster. Age seventy. Two rooms. Cleans and does odd jobs. Very poor and "a little foolish"; not very clean. This house shares one closet with six other houses, and one water-tap with twenty others. Rent 1s. 2d.

49. No occupation. Married. Two rooms. Two children. Parish relief. Ill and incapable. A "charity man." Two little girls, one consumptive. The rooms are miserable, badly ventilated, and damp. This house shares one closet with six other houses, and one water-tap with three others. Rent 2s. 8d.

50. Husband in asylum. Four rooms. Five children. Parish relief and 4s. per week from a pension fund. Clean and tidy. This house shares one closet with another house. Rent 4s.

51. Retired soldier. Married. Three rooms. One child. Parish relief. Ill. Husband, after serving twelve years in India, receiving no pension. Dying of consumption; poverty-stricken. This house shares one closet with another house. Rent 4s.

The preceding pages tell of life lived under the pressure of chronic want. The families in Class "A" may be divided into two sections, viz. those who are earning money, and those who are earning no money. In the former section there are 474 families comprising 1589 persons, or an average of 3·3 persons per family. Their average weekly family earnings, including the total earnings of all children, irrespective of their ages, are 11s. 7d. made up as follows:—

Average sum contributed by—	s.	d.		
Male head of household . .	4	6	= 38·8	per cent of whole income.
Female ,, ,, . .	5	$8\frac{3}{4}$	= 50·0	,, ,, ,,
Male supplementary earners .		7	= 5·0	,, ,, ,,
Female ,, ,, .		7	= 5·0	,, ,, ,,
Lodgers for board and lodging (the lodgers being considered as members of the family) .		$2\frac{1}{4}$	= 1·2	,, ,, ,,
Total[1] .	11	7	= 100·0	,, ,, ,,

The small proportion of the average family income contributed by the male heads of households is due to the large proportion of families in Class "A" in which the father is either dead or unable to work through age or illness. We also notice how small are the sums contributed by supplementary earners; this is due to the fact that the bulk of the children in Class "A" are too young to work. If the children's earnings were considerable, the family would rise into

[1] The method of arriving at these weekly earnings is described in Chapter II. pp. 26-27. Owing, however, to the character and irregularity of employment in Class "A" it is more difficult to accurately estimate the family earnings in this than in the other classes.

a higher class. It is not surprising that the average sum received from lodgers is small; they would usually prefer to board with families where the standard of comfort is higher than that prevailing in this Class.

It is of course obvious that the income earned by these 474 families is totally inadequate to maintain them, even in a state of merely physical efficiency. Their weekly earnings amount in the aggregate to £274 : 11 : 6. Out of this sum, £68 : 13 : 4½ is paid for rent,[1] leaving £205 : 18 : 1½ with which to provide food, clothing, fuel, and all other necessaries for 1589 persons. This is equal to 2s. 7d. each per week, or less than 4½d. per day.

The poverty of the Class is rendered apparent when it is stated that it would cost £227 : 15 : 8 to provide *food alone* for these people for one week, according to the diet allowed to paupers in York Workhouse, calculating the cost at contract prices. The total earnings of these 474 families is thus shown to fall short by £21 : 17 : 6½ of the sum required to provide for *food alone* without taking into consideration other necessary expenditure such as that on clothes and fuel.[2]

[1] The average sum paid for rent by these 474 families is 2s. 10½d., which is equal to 25·1 per cent of their total income.

[2] In addition to the income referred to above, the official records show that 175 of these families are in receipt of parish relief to the amount of £35 : 5 : 6, or an average of about 4s. per household, but even if this sum be added to the earnings there is still only a surplus of £13 : 7 : 11½ to provide necessary coal, clothing, and all other household sundries for 474 families. Had the cost of the food been calculated at retail prices instead of at the contract prices paid by the Guardians, much of this surplus even would disappear.

In Section 2 (families earning no money) there are 182 families comprising 368 persons. It is possible that small sums may occasionally be earned by some of these by knitting, sewing, etc., but where such sources of income are known to be at all regular, the families have been included in Section 1. 35 persons are in almshouses; the remaining 147 families, comprising 329 persons, are entirely dependent upon public and private charity. They are all in receipt of parish relief. The total amount thus received weekly by these 147 families is £29, or an average of 3s. 11¼d. per family, or 1s. 9d. for each person, a sum which is obviously insufficient for their maintenance. These families pay weekly for rent a sum of £16 : 11s., and to feed them upon a workhouse diet calculated at contract prices would cost £51 : 0 : 10. It is thus seen that the total sum paid in parish relief falls short of the amount required for rent and food alone by £38 : 11 : 4. This deficiency is met partly by private charity and partly by starvation.

The financial position of the above two Sections of Class "A" is perhaps made clearer by the following statement :—

STATEMENT OF WEEKLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF 474 FAMILIES IN SECTION 1. (EARNING WAGES.)

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Total earnings of 474 families . . .	274	11	6	Actual rent paid by 474 families (average 2s. 10½d.) . .	68	13	4½
Received by 175 families as Parish Relief (average 4s. per family)	35	5	6	Food—Workhouse diet (cost calculated at contract prices paid by Guardians) would cost . . .	227	15	8
				Surplus, out of which must be met all household expenses, such as coal, furniture, clothes, etc., for 474 families (= 6¾d. per family)	13	7	11½
	£309	17	0		£309	17	0

STATEMENT OF WEEKLY INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF 147 FAMILIES IN SECTION 2. (EARNING NO WAGES.)

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Parish Relief to 147 families . . .	29	0	0	Actual rent paid by 147 families (average 2s. 3d. per family) .	16	11	0
Deficit, being the sum required to pay for rent and food alone . (= 5s. 3d. per family)	38	11	10	Food—Workhouse diet (cost calculated at contract prices paid by Guardians) would cost . . .	51	0	10
	£67	11	10		£67	11	10

The poverty of the members of Class "A" is indeed such that probably the bulk of them would be driven into the workhouse, were it not that their meagre earnings are eked out by charity, either public or private.

Families which are, from any cause, in particularly hard straits, are often helped by those in circumstances but little better than their own. There is much of this mutual helpfulness among the very poor. In cases of illness neighbours will almost always come in and render assistance, by cleaning the house, nursing, and often bringing some little delicacy which they think the patient would "fancy." In some districts also it is a common practice, on the death of a child, for one of the neighbours to go round the neighbourhood to collect coppers towards defraying the cost of the funeral.

Members of Class "A" do not live in any one particular district, but are found scattered almost all over the working-class parts of the city. Wherever a house or room is to be had for a low rental, either on account of dilapidation or dampness, or from any other cause, it is eagerly taken by a member of this Class. Many of these houses and rooms, hidden away in dark and narrow streets, are indeed miserable dwellings. Some of them have been closed by the Sanitary Authority since this inquiry was made, but unless equally cheap as well as more sanitary accommodation can be provided elsewhere, such action will be of doubtful benefit to those displaced.

As already stated, the food of these poor people is totally inadequate. In Chapter VIII.[1] detailed particulars are given regarding the diet of two families in Class "A." A glance at these will show how

[1] Budgets 1 and 4, pp. 263 and 271.

monotonous it is, consisting largely of a dreary succession of bread, dripping, and tea; bread and butter and tea; bacon, bread, and coffee, with only a little butcher's meat, and none of the extras and but little of the variety which serves to make meals interesting and appetising.

A woman, now in fairly comfortable circumstances, told one of my investigators something of the struggle which she had gone through during the years when her husband was earning only 17s. a week. To make both ends meet with that sum for a large family of children was no easy matter. Each week, she said, as soon as she received the 17s. she put aside the money required for rent, and then planned out exactly how she could spend the remainder to the best advantage. The family never had a joint of meat, but occasionally she managed to afford 6d. for a sheep's head or to buy 6d. worth of "meat pieces." At the birth of a child she employed a woman for a week to nurse her, to whom she gave 5s. and her board. As soon as she knew that a child was coming she began saving odd coppers until the 5s. was collected, and so she was always able to pay the woman before she left the house. During the time she was nursing her children she lived chiefly upon bread and tea. Who can wonder that some of her children died during their first year?

The clothing of Class "A" is often as inadequate as the food; this is notably the case amongst the uncomplaining poor, who receive few gifts of clothing,

their clean and tidy appearance not suggesting that although the exterior garments are tidy, the under garments are totally inadequate to keep out the cold.

It would be easy to give further facts to illustrate the depth of poverty which prevails in this Class, but those already given make it clear that after full allowance has been made for public and private charity, the people in Class "A" are chronically ill-housed, ill-clothed, and underfed. Let us now see if we can ascertain the immediate causes of their poverty.

If we make a more detailed analysis of Class "A" we find it is composed as follows :—

Condition and Number of Heads of Households.		Other Members of Household.		Totals.	Percentage of Whole Class.
		Children under 16.	Adults.		
Widows	347	337	198	882	45·06
Ill or old (13 women, 133 men)	146	81	143	370	18·90
Deserted by husbands .	8	19	...	27	1·37
Separated from husbands .	6	10	...	16	·81
Families with incomes between 18s. and 21s., but with more than four children per family .	20	104	20	144	7·36
Men in regular work, but earning less than 18s. per week . . .	66	128	53	247	12·64
Out of work . . .	37	91	43	171	8·75
Casuals	26	47	27	100	5·11
Totals . .	656	817	484	1957	100·00

It thus appears that in the case of 1295 persons, or almost exactly two-thirds of the whole, the immediate cause of poverty is the removal of the

wage-earner by death or desertion, or the inability to earn wages through illness or old age. Economic causes, *i.e.* lack of work or lowness of wage, account for the poverty of 418 persons, or about 21 per cent of the whole class. The remainder of Class "A" consists of casual labourers and families who would have been in Class "B" had there not been more than four children.

It will be noticed that in the case of sixty-six families, comprising 247 persons, the wage-earner is in regular work, but earning less than 18s. per week. As the wages paid in York for unskilled labour are not as a rule under 18s., it may be presumed that these men are in some way "unfit." Such men have at all times to be content with the lowest paid work, and they are the first to lose their situations as soon as there is any slackness of trade. At the time when this inquiry was being made trade was good, and probably the proportion of "unfit" workmen who were in work was above the average. The position of these workmen is one of peculiar hopelessness. Their unfitness means low wages, low wages means insufficient food, insufficient food unfitness for labour, so that the vicious circle is complete. The children of such parents have to share their privations, and even if healthy when born, the lack of sufficient food soon tells upon them. Thus they often grow up weak and diseased, and so tend to perpetuate the race of the "unfit."[1]

[1] Evidence in proof of this will be found in Chapter VII., p. 209.

Few people spend all their days in Class "A." It is nevertheless a class into which the poor are at any time liable to sink should misfortune overtake them, such as continued lack of work, or the death or illness of the chief wage-earner. The families who are in it because the wage-earner is out of work will rise above it when work is found, unless physique and *morale* have been ruined by the period of economic stress. Many families too will rise above it when the children begin to earn money. But the old people, who have no children growing up, must remain in the class until they die, or enter the workhouse.

Life in Class "B"

Income 18*s.* *and under* 21*s.* *weekly for a moderate family.*[1]

Total number of persons in Class	4492[2]
Percentage of the working-class population	9·6
Percentage of the total population	5·9
Number of families	983
Average size of family	4·56
Average family earnings	19s. 9d.[3]
Average rent	3s. 7½d.

The following typical cases, taken from the investigators' notebooks, will give some idea of the

[1] *I.e.* for a family with from two to four children. Where the number of children is less than two, the family has been placed in Class "C"; if more than four it has been placed in Class "A."

[2] 193 of these persons have not been taken into account in working out either the average wage or the average size of family, as it was impossible to estimate their wages with any degree of accuracy. They are all living in Common Lodging-Houses and pick up a precarious livelihood, often tramping from one town to another.

[3] This sum includes the total earnings of all the children.

kind of life lived by people in Class "B." The addresses of the houses are omitted.

No.	Age.	
1		Labourer (casual). Married. Four rooms. One daughter at confectionery works. Steady, but daughter not so. Rent 3s. 9d.
2		Gardener. Married. Four rooms. Four children, school age or under. One daughter is a nurse girl ; goes for days only, and sleeps at home. Rent 3s. 9d.
3		Widow, works at glass works. Four rooms. Son idle, does not work. Nephew (casual labourer) and niece (at confectionery works) are also living in the house. Rent 3s. 9d.
4		Widow, chars and has a lodger. Four rooms. Four children. Two step-children at school, and two babies. Very clean and steady. Rent 4s. 3d.
5	60	Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Two daughters at confectionery works. Very steady and respectable. Father has cancer in his lip. Rent 3s. 6d.
6		Hawker and odd jobs. Married. Two rooms. Three children, school age or under. Wife employed in glass works. Children tidy. Man respectable. Rent 2s. 6d.
7	37	Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Three rooms. Four children, school age or under. Untidy. Rent 2s. 8d.
8	30	Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Three children, school age or under. Dirty house, smells badly ; wants disinfecting. Rent 2s. 6d.
9		Butcher. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Sober and industrious, home clean and comfortable. Work steady. Formerly in business for himself, but trade was not good. Rent 4s.
10		Widow. Takes lodger. Four rooms. Respectable, clean and tidy house. Only daughter, a child six years old, died the day before this inquiry was made. Rent 4s.
11		Porter at a shop. Married. Four rooms. Two children,

No.	Age.	
		school age or under. Sober and industrious. Home not very clean or comfortable. Work steady. Rent 4s.
12		Tailor. Married. Four rooms. Six children, school age or under. Apparently very steady and industrious. Home fairly clean and comfortable. Landlord has warned them to "look out for another house," as he objects to so many children. Rent 4s.
13		Labourer. Married. One room. Three children, school age or under. Shares one closet with five other houses and one water-tap with twenty-four houses. Rent 1s. 6d.
14	50	Widow, works in the fields. One room. Daughter also works in the fields. One closet shared with five other houses, and one water-tap with twenty-four other houses. Rent 1s. 6d.
15	35	Rag-dealer. One room. These people are not married; woman has taken the house in her name. One closet shared with five other houses, and one water-tap with twenty-four other houses. Rent 1s. 6d.
16	26	Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Two rooms. One child, school age or under. Two houses share one closet. The water-tap here is in a bad position, and in consequence of this the walls are very damp and unhealthy. Rent 1s. 6d.
17	50	Labourer. Married. Two rooms. One child, school age or under. Wife worse for drink, "house lost in dirt." Two houses share one closet. The closets in this yard are blocked with refuse, and lower part of yard is under water. Bad smells here. Rent 1s. 6d.
18	36	Drover. Married. Two rooms. Three children, school age or under. Wife works in the fields, and drinks. House filthy. Six houses share one water-tap and three houses share one closet. Rent 2s.
19	50	Gardener. Married. Two rooms. Twelve houses in this yard, and one water-tap serves for the whole number. There are two closets for the twelve houses. The tenants living in these twelve houses complain of the insufficiency of the closet accommodation and water supply. Rent 1s. 9d.

No	Age.	
20	45	Carter. Married. Two rooms. Six children, school age or under. Untidy and overcrowded. House shares one water-tap with eleven others. Three houses share one closet. Rent 2s. 6d.
21		Bootmaker. Married. Five rooms. Four children, school age or under. Sober and industrious, work steady, house clean. Rent 4s. 6d.
22	49	Widow. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under One lodger. Widow has suffered from a weak heart, but is recovering. Rent 4s.
23		Charwoman. Four rooms. Living apart from husband. Goes out to work. Rent 4s.
24	40	Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Two rooms. Five children, school age or under. Slovenly wife, children and house dirty. Twelve houses in this yard. Two water-taps for the whole number of houses, and four closets. Rent 2s. 3d.
25	30	Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Six children. One female lodger, works at confectionery works. The six children are under seven years of age. House very untidy, children dirty. Five houses share one yard and water-tap. Rent 3s. 6d.
26	35	Widow. Two rooms. Two children, school age or under. Chars, and has a lodger. Both the mother *and children* were under the influence of drink when I called. House dirty. Two houses share the same yard, water-tap, and closet. Rent 2s. 3d.
27	45	Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Six children, school age or under. One son just beginning to work. House dirty and children untidy. Rent 4s.
28	30	Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Two houses join at one yard, but six houses join at the same water-tap. The water-tap is quite 100 yards away from this house. Rent 3s.
29	38	Labourer. Married. Three rooms. Six children, school age or under. Wife used to go out to work, but cannot do so now. House clean, but damp and almost

No. Age.

uninhabitable. There are eleven houses in this yard, and three houses join at one closet. Rent 3s.

30 45 Widow. Two rooms. One child, school age or under. Has one lodger, and takes in washing. Shares one water-tap with four other houses, and a closet with one other house. Drains smell very bad here. Rent 2s. 8d.

31 25 Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Two rooms. Three children, school age or under. The stench here is abominable. The grating of the street drain is 1½ yards from the house door, and is blocked up. There are twenty-three houses in this yard, and only one water-tap for the whole number. Four houses join at one closet. There is one ashpit for this yard ; it is full to the top, and slime running down the walls. Rent 2s. 3d.

32 60 Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Two rooms. Three children, school age or under. Young wife. Both man and wife drunk, children dirty. Sanitation as No. 31 Rent 2s. 3d.

33 36 Field labourer. Married. Two rooms. Two children, school age or under. Very dirty and untidy. Seven houses in this yard, and one water-tap. There are supposed to be two closets, but one of these is blocked with deposit and filth, and has been unusable for some time ; the stench is unbearable. Rent 2s. 3d.

34 50 Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. This house has an earth closet ; when it is emptied the night soil has to be removed through the house. There are great complaints about this state of things. Rent 3s. 6d.

35 25 Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Two rooms. Wife chronically sick, ought to be in workhouse infirmary. There are ten houses in this yard, and only one water-tap. Three houses share one earth closet.

36 46 Deal-carrier. Married. Three rooms. Five children, school age or under. Work precarious. Son (seventeen), moulder's labourer. Daughter (fifteen), confectionery works. House tidy, but drains from closets choked up. Rent 3s.

No.	Age.	
37	48	Widow. Does washing. Two rooms. Very respectable. Ten houses in this yard share two water-taps and three closets. Rent 2s. 3d.
38	60	Widow. Sells quack medicines. One room. Tidy. Shares one water-tap and three closets with nine other houses. Rent 1s. 6d.
39	45	Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Two children, school age or under. Wife chars. House and children filthy. There are sixteen houses in this yard. Twenty-two houses share one water-tap, and four houses join at one water-closet. Rent 2s.
40		Employed in a public institution. Married. Five rooms. Five children, school age or under. One son (fifteen) in a factory. Steady and industrious. Father was a coachman, but unable to find employment was glad to accept present position. All the family pale and delicate-looking, probably owing to unhealthy house. House very dark and awkwardly arranged. All the rooms are small and damp, two being so damp they cannot be used. Rent 4s.
41		Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Home fairly clean, work good. Little girl just recovering from pleurisy, and doctor advises removal to a more healthy locality. Rent 3s. 6d.
42		Widow. Takes in washing. Four rooms. One child, school age or under. Sober and industrious. Home very clean and comfortable. Been a widow two years. Earns sufficient by washing to keep herself and boy. Rent. 4s.
43		Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Not sober. Home poor and cheerless. Wife's mother lives with them. The closet and pantry adjoin. Rent 4s. 6d.
44	45	Hawker. Married. Two rooms. Very dirty, and signs of intemperance. Six houses in this yard, and one water-tap. Three houses share one closet. Rent 2s. 6d.
45	35	Labourer. Married. Three rooms. Two children, school age or under. Untidy. Earth closet smells very bad.

No.	Age.	
		When emptied, night soil has to be carried through house. Rent 3s. 9d.
46		Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Has great trouble. Two children have died, and constant illness in the house. Very poor. Rent 4s. 6d.
47	53	Spinster. One room. Has a little money ; goes out sewing and nursing. There are twenty-one houses in this yard and one water-tap supplies the whole number. Seven houses share one closet. Rent 1s. 7d.
48	48	General dealer. Married. Four rooms. Four children, school age or under. Poor business, perhaps owing to bad management. This house is very dirty, and youngest child always ill. Rent 4s. 6d.
49	Old	Organ-tuner and repairer. Married. Five rooms. Not doing as well as he used to do ; perhaps this is due to age. House clean. Rent 5s. 9d.
50		Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Five children, school age or under. Wife goes out to work sometimes. Husband not quite steady. Wife looks delicate and respectable. One boy sent to a truant school. House fairly clean. Fifteen houses in yard and only one water-tap. Three houses share one closet. Rent 2s. 6d.
51		Labourer. Married. Three rooms. Two children, school age or under. A bad lazy lot. Man drinks. Woman begs whenever she has an excuse. Rent 3s. 9d.
52		Monthly nurse. One room. The last three tenants have been "carried out" (*i.e.* died). The ashpit and closets belonging to four other houses adjoin the back wall of the house, and rats and other vermin are common. Rent 1s. 6d.

Class "B" consists chiefly of unskilled labourers and their families, and although their standard of living is a degree better than that of Class "A," there is, nevertheless, a large amount of poverty among them.

The average size of family in the class is 4·56, and

their average weekly earnings, including the total earnings of all the children, irrespective of their ages, are 19s. 9d.,[1] made up as follows :—

Average sum contributed by—	s.	d.	Per cent.
Male head of household	15	1	= 76·4
Female ,, ,,	2	7½	= 13·3
Male supplementary earners	0	8¼	= 3·5
Female ,, ,,	0	9	= 3·8
Lodgers for board and lodging (the lodgers being considered as members of the family)	0	7¼	= 3·0
Total	19	9	= 100·0

The comparatively small proportion of this average income contributed by children is due, as in Class "A," to the fact that the bulk of the children in this class are not working. Families where the wages earned by children are considerable will chiefly be found in Class "D." Here, as in Class "A," the average sum received from lodgers is small, as they usually prefer to board in families where the standard of comfort is higher than obtains in Class "B."

Practically the whole of this class are living either in a state of actual poverty,[2] or so near to that state that they are liable to sink into it at any moment. They live constantly from hand to mouth. So long as the wage-earner is in work the family manages to get along, but a week's illness or lack of work means short rations, or running into debt, or more often both of these. Extraordinary expenditure, such as

[1] The method of arriving at these weekly earnings is described in Chap. II. pp. 26-27.

[2] By this is meant that their total earnings are insufficient to supply adequate food, clothing, and shelter for the maintenance of merely physical health.

the purchase of a piece of furniture, is met by reducing the sum spent on food.[1] As a rule, in such cases it is the wife and sometimes the children who have to forego a portion of their food—the importance of maintaining the strength of the wage-earner is recognised, and he obtains his ordinary share.

"If there's anythink extra to buy, such as a pair of boots for one of the children," a woman (in Class "B") told one of my investigators, "me and the children goes without dinner—or mebbe only 'as a cup o' tea and a bit o' bread, but Jim (her husband) ollers takes 'is dinner to work, and I give it 'im as usual; 'e never knows we go without, and I never tells 'im."

Let us take the case of a woman whom we will call Mrs. Smith, an excellent housewife, with a steady husband and three children at home. Her house is scrupulously clean and tidy. Mr. Smith is in regular work and earns 20s. per week. He keeps 2s. a week for himself, and hands over 18s. to his wife. Out of his two shillings Mr. Smith spends 1d. per day on beer, 3d. a week on tobacco, puts 3d. into the children's savings-box, and clothes himself out of the remainder. One new dress, Mrs. Smith tells us, will last for years. For everyday wear she buys some old dress at a jumble sale for a few shillings. Old garments, cast off by some wealthier family, are sometimes bought from the ragman for a few coppers; or

[1] This statement applies to the majority of families in Class "B." When, however, the family income is as much as 20s., and there are not more than two children, there will be a slight margin for "extraordinary expenditure."

perhaps they are not paid for in cash, but some older rags and a few bones are given in exchange for them. Garments so purchased are carefully taken to pieces, washed, and made up into clothes for the children. Mrs. Smith said that she once bought a pair of old curtains from the ragman for 3d. She cut out the worn parts and then made curtains and short blinds from the remainder sufficient for all the windows in her house. She regularly pays 6d. a week for sick clubs, 4d. for life insurance, and 3d. per week into the clothing club held in connection with her church. On being requested to do so, she kept detailed accounts of her total income and expenditure during two months.

Her 18s. is usually spent as follows :—

	s.	d.
Food (five persons)	11	0
Rent	3	2
Coal and light	2	0
Soap, etc.	0	5
Sick club	0	6
Life insurance	0	4
Clothing club	0	3
	17	8
In addition to this sum Mr. Smith keeps 2s. per week for his personal expenditure	2	0
If this sum is included the average weekly total is brought up to	19	8

It was obvious that with such a normal expenditure there was no appreciable sum available for "extras." "Then how do you do, Mrs. Smith," my investigator asked, "when you have to meet any extraordinary expenditure, such as a new dress, or a pair of boots?" "Well, as a rule," was the answer, "we 'ave to get it out of the food money and go short; but I never let Smith suffer—'e 'as to go to work, and must be kept up, yer know! And then Smith 'as ollers been very good to me. When I want a new pair of shoes, or anythink, 'e 'elps me out of 'is pocket money, and we haven't to pinch the food so much."

Here, then, is a family where the husband is in regular work and is absolutely steady, where the rent is less than the average for the class, and the wife is an exceptionally clever and economical housekeeper, and yet every extra must be bought out of the food money. This at its normal level is 4s. 5d. per week below the sum which would be required to provide such a family with the diet supplied to able-bodied paupers in York Workhouse.[1] This illustration (fuller particulars of which are given on page 272) serves to show what can and what cannot be made out of a pound a week, with clever management. Under average management the standard of living of the families in Class "B" will be distinctly below that which is here described.

[1] Repeated inquiries from women in this class, as to how they met expenditure for household replacements or for any other special purposes, always drew forth a reply to the same effect, namely, "We have to get it out of the food money and go short."

There is more drinking in Class "B" than in Class "A," but this does not imply a lower moral standard. People in Class "A" are for the most part so absolutely destitute that they could not get much drink even if they wished. And in Class "B," as we have seen above, the money for drink can only be found, in the great majority of cases, by foregoing some other expenditure which is necessary for maintaining the family in a state of physical efficiency.

The families belonging to Class "B" are distributed all over the working-class districts of the city. They inhabit, as a rule, the cheapest houses they can obtain, excepting the very cheap and dilapidated houses occupied by Class "A." Their houses seldom have more than two bedrooms, the total number of rooms usually varying from two to four. Many of the houses are overcrowded,[1] and a large proportion are old and without modern sanitary conveniences. Often there is no scullery, and the pantry consists of an unventilated cupboard under the stairs leading from the kitchen to the bedroom. In many cases the water-tap and privy have to be shared with several other houses.[2]

The average sum paid for rent by families in this class is 3s. 7½d., which is equal to 18·4 per cent of the average family income.

Not a few of the houses occupied by Class "B" are to be found in the slum districts. It is to be

[1] That is, contain more than two persons to each living room.

[2] A detailed account of the housing of the working classes in York will be found in Chap. VI.

regretted that families with small incomes are often unable to obtain houses at low rentals in respectable neighbourhoods, and are consequently driven to take houses in the slums; in not a few such cases respectable families have given way to the influences of their surroundings and have sunk to the low moral level of their neighbours.

The pawnshop often plays an important part in the lives of the people in Class "B," but especially is this true of those who live in the slums, where the stream of people coming to the pawnshop on Monday morning is a characteristic sight. The children are sent off with the weekly bundle early on that day, and a number of them may sometimes be seen sitting on the steps outside the pawnshop door waiting for it to open. Once the habit of pawning has been formed, it is difficult to break. Some families pawn their Sunday clothes regularly every Monday, and redeem them as regularly on the following Saturday night when the week's wages have been received.

Many of those now in Class "B" will rise into a higher class as soon as the children begin to earn money, possibly to sink back again, however, when their children marry and leave home.

The importance attaching to the earnings of the children in the families of the poor reminds us how great must be the temptation to take children away from school at the earliest possible moment, in order that they may begin to earn. The temptation is also

great to put them to some labouring work where they can soon earn from five to eight shillings weekly rather than to apprentice them to a trade in which they will receive but low wages until they have served their time.

There are many persons in Class "B" whose natural ability and moral qualities would fit them to occupy higher positions in the industrial world were they not prevented by lack of education.[1]

Life in Class "C"

Income 21*s.* *and under* 30*s.* *weekly for a moderate family.*[2]

Total number of persons in Class	15,710
Percentage of the working-class population	33·6
Percentage of the total population	20·7
Number of families	3822
Average size of families	4·11
Average family earnings	26s. 7d.[3]
Average rent	4s. 4d.

It is not proposed to describe this class in great detail. The margin of income in the class is a wide one. The condition of the families with incomes only a little over 21s. can be gathered from the description just given of life in Class "B"; the slight increase of income would allow for the purchase of a few extras without cutting down the food money. There is, however, evidence (dealt with in the following

[1] In this connection see p. 74.

[2] That is, for a family with from two to four children.

[3] This sum includes the earnings of all the children, irrespective of their ages. Eighty-four families refused to give detailed information regarding their occupations, and they have therefore not been included in this average figure.

chapter) that not a few of those in this class are living in a state of poverty.[1] On the other hand, many of those whose incomes approach 30s. are living under conditions but little inferior to those obtaining in Class "D."

The following typical cases taken from the investigators' notebooks will help to give a picture of the conditions of life in Class "C." The addresses of the houses are omitted.

No.	Age.	
1		Tailor. Married. One room. Works at home. Both he and his wife drink. Four houses share one water-tap and one closet. Rent 2s.
2		Watchman. Married. Four rooms. One child, school age or under. Steady man. Work regular. Nice home. Rent 4s. 6d.
3	53	Cab-driver. Married. Two rooms. Tidy home and wife, but house very damp. Rent 2s. 6d.
4	50	Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Very untidy home. Four houses share one water-tap and one closet. Rent 2s. 3d.
5	68	Widow. Three rooms. One child, school age or under. Son (thirty-five), warehouseman; son (twenty), painter. Nine houses share one water-tap, and two houses share one closet. Rent 4s.
6		Widow. Four rooms. Daughter (twenty) chars. Have a lodger. Steady. Fair house. Rent 4s. 6d.
7	40	Painter. Married. Two rooms. Two children, school age or under. House and children untidy. Rent 3s.
8	35	Rulleyman. Married. Four rooms. Tidy, comfortable home. Rent 5s.
9		Labourer Married. Four rooms. Five children, school age or under. Steady man. Woman bad-tempered,

[1] I do not here refer to poverty caused by wasteful expenditure. I refer to those whose total earnings are insufficient to provide food, clothing, and shelter adequate to maintain them in a state of physical efficiency.

No.	Age.	
		annoying neighbours with bad language. Poor home. Man earns good wages. Rent 4s. 6d.
10	55	Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Wife nearly blind. House untidy. Six houses share one water-tap, and three houses share one closet. Rent 3s.
11		Labourer. Married. Three rooms. One child, school age or under. House almost uninhabitable. Stench abominable ; floor of kitchen full of deep holes. Seven houses share one water-tap. Rent 3s. 6d.
12	27	Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Two rooms. One child, school age or under. House untidy. The grating of the street drain is about a yard away from the house door. Refuse comes into this drain from adjoining slaughter-house and piggeries. Stench very bad ; strong complaints from the inhabitants of neighbourhood. Rent 2s. 9d.
13	35	Painter. Married. Three rooms. Four children, school age or under. Rent 3s. 6d.
14	35	French polisher. Married. Three rooms. Two children, school age or under. Very respectable. Rent 4s. 6d.
15	35	Striker. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Nice tidy home. Rent 4s.
16	50	Widow with small means. Five rooms. Son (eighteen) apprenticed fitter. Rent 5s. 6d.
17	40	Tinner. Married. Three rooms. Five children, school age or under. Untidy home. Rent 3s. 3d.
18	37	Carter. Married. Three rooms. One child, school age or under. A son of fifteen employed at confectionery works. Tidy home, but the father drinks.
19		Labourer. Married. Four rooms. One child, school age or under. Son (seventeen), stable boy. Sober. Nice home. Work regular. Rent 4s. 6d.
20		Bricklayer's labourer. Married. Four rooms. Five children, school age or under. Son (sixteen), printer. Very dirty house and children. Rent 3s. 9d.
21		Labourer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Widower. Fond of drink. Woman next door looks after children. Fair home. Work regular when he likes to go. Rent 4s. 6d.

No.	Age.	
22		Bricklayer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Thriftless people, in debt. Poor home; it was furnished for £5, which they owe. Rent 4s. 6d.
23		Labourer. Married. Four rooms. One child, school age or under. Man has a pension in addition to his work. Nephew (seventeen) apprenticed. One child adopted. Fairly steady, except on pension day. Nice home. House cheap on account of its being in the midst of smoke. Rent 3s.
24		Porter in a shop. Married. Four rooms. Steady. Nice home. Rent 4s.
25		Blacksmith. Married. Four rooms. No children. Steady. Nice home. Rent 4s.
26		Widow. Four rooms. Son (thirty-two), labourer. Work regular, but he takes a day off now and again to drink. Very nice home. Rent 3s.
27	35	Stoker. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Sober. Middling home. Rent 4s. 3d.
28	60	Widow, chars and washes. Four rooms. Sister helps with washing. Lodger. Rent 5s. 3d.
29	26	Tailor. Married. Four rooms. No children. Steady and industrious. Rent 4s. 6d.
30		Labourer. Married. Three rooms. One child, school age or under. Rooms are very small. The closet immediately adjoins the pantry wall, and the ashpits in the summer are fearful. Rent 3s.
31		Widow, dressmaker. Four rooms. Daughter (nineteen) helps mother. Fairly good connection. Sometimes take care of vacant houses. Make a comfortable living. Rent 4s. 6d.
32	24	Fireman on railway. Single. Four rooms. Mother keeps house for son; she is very delicate, and depends upon her son for support. Rent 4s. 6d.
33		Painter. Married. Four rooms. Four children, school age or under. Delicate family; husband has lung complaint. Rent 4s. 9d.
34		Warehouseman. Married. Four rooms. Very nice home. Rent 4s. 6d.

No.	Age.	
35		Carter. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Son (eighteen), foundry. Steady. Nice home. Rent 4s. 6d.
36	Old	Married. Lives on his means. Four rooms. Wife goes out to work occasionally. Steady. Nice home. "Resting after a life's hard work." Rent 4s. 6d.
37		Clerk and "Bookmaker." Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Fairly steady. Regular job. A racing man. Rent 4s. 6d.
38		Carter. Widower. Four rooms. Son (twenty-one), confectioner. Sister keeps house. Rent 6s. 2d.
39		Painter's labourer. Married. Four rooms. Steady. Fair home, but wife dying of consumption. Till recently she was in the house alone during the daytime, now has a girl to attend to her. Baby four months old living away from home. Rent 4s. 6d.
40		Fitter's labourer. Married. Four rooms. One child, school age or under. Steady, but a poor home. Rent 4s. 6d.
41		Platelayer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Steady. Nice home. Rent 4s. 6d.
42		Painter. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Two are step-children. Sober. Furniture, etc., belongs to wife. Rent 4s. 6d.
43		Widow, helps in neighbour's shop. Son (nineteen), works at foundry. Clean and respectable. Rent 4s. 6d.
44	35	Labourer. Married. Two rooms. Wife chars. Husband very steady ; wife sometimes drinks. Rent 2s. 9d.
45		Groom. Married. Four rooms. Sober. Nice home. Rent 4s. 6d.
46		Furniture remover. Married. Three rooms. Five children, school age or under. Children and home tidy. This house shares one water-tap with six other houses. Rent 3s.

Class "C" comprises all classes of labour excepting the lowest paid labour on the one hand and skilled labour on the other. There are many unskilled labourers in this class who would have been in Class "B" but for the earnings of their children.

The average size of family in Class "C" is 4·11, and the average weekly earnings, including the total earnings of all children, irrespective of their ages, are 26s. 7d., made up as follows:—

Average sum contributed by—	s.	d.	Per cent.
Male head of family	22	5	= 84·3
Female ,, ,,	1	5¼	= 5·3
Male supplementary earners	1	3	= 4·7
Female ,, ,,	0	10	= 3·1
Lodgers for board and lodging (the lodgers being considered as members of the family)	0	7¾	= 2·6
Total	26	7	= 100·0

The families belonging to this class are distributed almost all over the working-class districts of the city. The average rent paid by Class "C" families is 4s. 4d., which is equal to 15·6 per cent of the average income.

Life in Class "D"

Income over 30s. *weekly for a moderate family.*

N.B.—Families earning 26s. and over are included in this class if there is only one child; on the other hand, families with more than four children have been placed in Class "C" if their incomes only slightly exceed 30s.

Total number of persons in Class	24,595
Percentage of the working-class population	52·6
Percentage of the total population	32·4
Number of families	6099
Average size of family	4·03
Average family earnings (*i.e.* including total earnings of all the members of the family irrespective of age)	41s. 9¼d.[1]
Average rent	5s. 4d.

[1] 358 families in Class "D" are living on private means. These are not included in this average figure.

As in the former chapters, we will begin the description of this class by giving some typical cases taken from the investigators' notebooks. The addresses of the houses are omitted.

No.	Age.	
1		Joiner. Married. Five rooms. Two children, school age or under. Two lodgers. Rent 6s.
2	70	Fitter. Married. Five rooms. Sober and industrious. Home clean and comfortable. Health good but for a chronic cough. Man worked from seven years of age to seventy. Had a large family, one son now a clergyman. Lives in his own house.
3		Widow. Five rooms. Cleans offices. Son (twenty-five), painter. Son (twenty-three), turner. Daughter helps at home. Sober and industrious family. Good managers; very clean, comfortable, and superior. Rent 6s. 2d.
4		Bricklayer's labourer. Two rooms. Lives alone. This house shares one water-tap with seven other houses Rent 2s. 9d.
5		Boilermaker. Married. Four rooms. Four children, school age or under. Son (fifteen), labourer. Daughter (eighteen), dressmaker. Daughter (seventeen), pupil teacher. Rent 5s. 9d.
6		Retired. Married. One child, school age or under. Son (twenty-three), labourer. Son (twenty-two), labourer. Son (twenty), labourer. Daughter (seventeen), confectionery works. Rent 5s. 9d.
7	40	Planemaker. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. The husband is consumptive. Both he and his wife are sober and industrious. House clean and comfortable. Rent 4s. 3d.
8	47	Joiner. Married. Two rooms. Far from sober. Good workman, but tools often in pawn for drink. Wife drinks also. Two houses share one closet. Rent 2s. 7d.
9		Fitter. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age

No. Age.

or under. Not very steady. Member of club. Nice home. Rent 4s. 6d.

10 Fishdealer. Bachelor. One room. Very steady man. Seven houses share one water-tap, and three houses one closet. Rent 3s.

11 Labourer. Married. Eight rooms. Six children, school age or under. Wife takes five lodgers. Man (forty-nine), labourer. Man (twenty), labourer. Man (twenty-two), porter. Man (sixty-five), gardener. Man (forty-six), labourer. House dirty and untidy. Rent 7s.

12 Shoemaker. Married. Three rooms. Works at home. Son (twenty-three), employed in a shop. Wife takes in washing. Industrious people. Home clean and comfortable. Steady work. Yard very badly lighted, and drainage bad. Ashpit in corner of yard is shared with four other houses. Rent 3s. 6d.

13 Sawyer. Married. Four rooms. Four children, school age or under. Fairly clean. Youngest child been suffering from lung complaint, but getting better. Previously kept a shop, and have now come into a little money. Rent 4s. 9d.

14 Mechanic. Married. Two rooms. Steady and industrious. House clean and tidy. Work regular. Health good. Rent 2s. 9½d.

15 Engine-driver. Married. Five rooms. Two children, school age or under. Mother-in-law aged sixty lives with them. Rent 4s. 6d.

16 Joiner. Married. Five rooms. Son (twenty-four), fireman. Son (nineteen), joiner. Son (nineteen), fruiterer. Rent 5s. 6d.

17 Machinist. Married. Five rooms. Two children, school age or under. Son (twenty-eight), fitter. Son (nineteen), machinist. Son (fifteen), chemist. Daughter (seventeen), tailoress. Rent 5s. 6d

18 42 Ticket-collector. Married. Five rooms. Wife takes in three lodgers. Man (twenty-one), fitter. Man (nineteen), cleaner. Man (twenty-five), joiner. Rent 4s. 7d.

No.	Age.	
19	31	Piano-tuner. Married. Five rooms. Father, who is an inspector on the railway, lives with them. Rent 5s. 6d.
20		Boilersmith. Married. Five rooms. Son (twenty-seven), fitter. Son (twenty-two), fireman. Son (nineteen), cleaner. Daughter (twenty-five) assists at home. Owns the house.
21	32	Guard. Married. Four rooms. Comfortable home. Rent 4s. 7d.
22		Bookbinder. Married. Five rooms. Son (seventeen), apprenticed lithographer. Daughter (twenty-five), bookbinder. Owns the house.
23		Ganger on permanent way. Married. Five rooms. Son (twenty), clerk. Daughter (seventeen), apprenticed dressmaker. Rent 5s. 4d.
24		Optician. Married. Five rooms. Comfortable home. Rent 5s. 4d.
25		Draughtsman. Married. Five rooms. Four children, school age or under. Rent 5s. 4d.
26		Photographer. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Son (twenty-one), cabinetmaker. Son (fifteen), timekeeper. Daughter (eighteen), music teacher. Very respectable people. Formerly in business, but failed through depression in trade. Pantry adjoins privy. Rent 5s.
27		Does odd jobs. Married. Five rooms. Son (twenty-one), foreman. Son (nineteen), confectionery works. Daughter helps at home. Have seen better days. Man formerly in business for himself, failed. Wife a confirmed invalid. Rent 5s. 6d.
28	26	Blacksmith. Married. Four rooms. Sober and industrious. Home clean and comfortable ; work steady. Rent 4s. 6d.
29		Joiner. Married. Five rooms. Five children, school age or under. Son (eighteen), stonemason. Son (sixteen), apprenticed joiner. Newcomers, apparently sober and industrious. Home being made clean and comfortable. Rent 6s. 3d.

No.	Age.	
30	40	Painter. Married. Two rooms. Two children, school age or under. Son (nineteen), warehouseman. Son (fifteen), labourer. Daughter (eighteen), confectionery works. Overcrowded. Six houses join at one water-tap and three houses at one closet. Rent 2s. 6d.
31	50	Field labourer. Married. Two rooms. Son (thirty), field labourer. Son (twenty-two), field labourer. Son (twenty), field labourer. Son (eighteen), field labourer. All drink. Sons said to be idle and dissipated. Rent 2s. 6d.
32		Smith. Married. Six rooms. One child, school age or under. Son (sixteen), errand boy. Two lodgers (a wheelwright and a cycle finisher). Sober. Home clean. Rent 6s.
33		Cattle-drover. Married. Four rooms. Son (twenty-one), cattle-drover. Live alone, but are seldom at home; cannot get further information. Rent 4s.
34		Glassblower. Married. Four rooms. Industrious, but not steady. Rent 4s.
35		Widow. Four rooms. Small shop. Son (thirty-five), labourer. Son (twenty), clearing sheds. Niece (sixteen), confectionery works. Daughter (thirty-three), keeps house. Rent 4s.
36	35	Tailor. One room. Lives alone. Twelve houses share one water-tap, and three houses one closet. Rent 1s. 1½d.
37	55	Builder. Married. Four rooms. Son (twenty-six), plasterer. Father delicate. Very respectable and hard-working people. House clean and well kept. Rent 4s.
38		Blacksmith. Married. Four rooms. One child, school age or under. Rent 4s. 6d.
39		Confectioner. Four rooms. Rent 4s. 6d.
40		Tobacconist. Married. Two rooms. Good business. House consists of shop and kitchen. Twenty-one houses share one water-tap, and seven houses one closet. Rent 2s. 2d.
41	40	Tailor. Married. Five rooms. Two children, school age or under. Son (eighteen), tailor. Daughter assists at home. Rent 5s. 4½d.

No.	Age.	
42	60	Stone-carver. Five rooms. Man and wife living alone. Own house.
43		Mason. Married. Six rooms. Son (twenty-two), mason. Son (twenty), clerk. Son (eighteen), bricklayer. Two daughters assist at home. Two lodgers, both engineers. Rent 5s.
44		Printer. Bachelor. Four rooms. Lives alone. House clean and comfortable. Rent 3s. 10d.
45		Lithographic printer. Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Son (fourteen), assistant at library. Daughter (sixteen), day work. Rent 3s. 6d.
46	41	Sawyer. Married. Five rooms. Four children, school age or under. Son (eighteen), apprenticed sawyer. Son (fifteen), apprenticed moulder. Daughter, day domestic. This house shares one water-tap with eight other houses. Rent 5s. 6d.
47		Bricklayer, Married. Four rooms. Two children, school age or under. Not very sober. Good home. Rent 4s. 6d.
48		Mechanic. Married. Four rooms. Three children, school age or under. Steady. Comfortable home. Rent 4s. 6d.

Composition of Class "D"

This class, as already stated, comprises all families with 30s. or over who do not keep domestic servants.[1] These families may be divided into two sections, viz.—

(1) Families in which the fathers are skilled workers, or foremen who have risen through superior ability, or men who on account

[1] As stated on p. 65, families earning 26s. and over are included in this class if there is only one child; on the other hand, families with more than four children have been placed in Class "C" if their incomes only slightly exceed 30s.

of their high character have been placed in well-paid positions of trust.

(2) Families in which the fathers are unskilled workers earning less than 30s., but where the total family income is raised above that figure on account of the sums contributed by children who are working.

Income.—The average size of family in the class is 4·03, and the average weekly earnings,[1] including the total earnings of all children irrespective of their ages, are 41s. 9¼d., made up as follows :—

Average sum contributed by—	s.	d.	Per cent.
Male head of household	29	8¾	= 71·2
[2] Female ,, ,,	1	3	= 3·0
Male supplementary earners	7	3¼	= 17·4
Female ,, ,,	2	1½	= 5·2
Lodgers for board and lodging (the lodgers being considered as members of the family)	1	4¾	= 3·2
Total	41	9¼	= 100·0

This sum is the average of earnings which vary from 30s. up to as much as £4 or £5 for a moderate

[1] As stated on p. 65, 358 families in Class "D" living on private means are not included in this figure of average earnings.

[2] The corresponding figures in the other classes are as follows :—

Class.	s.	d.
"A"	5	8¼
"B"	2	7½
"C"	1	5½
"E"	1	3

In York it is unusual for the wife to go out to work if her husband is in employment. The comparatively high average contributions of the female heads of households in Classes "A" and "B" are chiefly due to the large proportion of cases in which, through the death or illness of the male head of the household, the woman is obliged to go to work.

family, although the number of families receiving these higher sums is small.

Occupation.—As previously stated, Class "D" consists largely of skilled workers, but there is also a number of families in which, though the father is an unskilled worker, the wages of the children bring up the family income to above 30s. Where the father is a skilled workman, his sons will generally be apprenticed to the same or to some other skilled trade. Frequently they become clerks, but are seldom brought up as mere labourers. From the social standpoint "clerking" is looked upon as an advance, but the social prestige thus obtained is sometimes purchased at the cost of a diminished income. The number of girls belonging to Class "D" who enter domestic service, except as nurses, is small and is decreasing. They prefer to become dressmakers, shop assistants, or clerks, or find employment in the confectionery factories. Except in families where the income is high, say £3 or £4 a week, or in which the wife is either deceased or a confirmed invalid, the daughters usually earn their own living in one way or another.

Housing.—The houses occupied by the families classed as "D" are distributed more or less all over the city, but there are some districts peopled only by this class, and chiefly by that section of it comprising skilled workers, and those holding responsible positions as foremen, etc. The unskilled workers who are placed in Class "D" on account of the

earnings of their children do not, as a rule, penetrate into these more favoured districts, preferring to live with Classes "B" and "C," among whom they feel most at home.

The houses occupied by Class "D" are described in detail in Chapter VI. They contain, as a rule, three bedrooms, a kitchen, scullery, and sitting-room. In the latter are often found a piano, and occasionally a library of thirty books or more. Some of the houses have bay windows and a small front garden. They are for the most part sanitary.[1] The average rent paid by the families in this class is 5s. 4d., which is equal to 12·8 per cent of the average income.

General Conditions.—There is, practically speaking, no poverty in Class "D" except such as is caused by drink, gambling, or other wasteful expenditure, the latter due in some cases to ignorance of domestic economy. There is no doubt that the average weekly expenditure upon alcoholic drink by the families in Class "D" is considerable. They have more money available for this purpose than those in the other classes.[2] Such a fact reminds us that while adequate wages are one principal factor in social progress, other influences are required to

[1] There are, of course, some families belonging to Class "D" who spend the bulk of their money in drink or gambling, and who are in consequence living in small houses in the slums.

[2] In chap. v. p. 142, an estimate is given of the average weekly family expenditure upon drink of the working classes as a whole; but I have been unable to apportion the share of the expenditure which belongs to each of the separate classes described in this chapter.

produce strong and rightly developed character. The stimulus of a worthy ideal can only be made effective by adequate mental and moral training.

Education.—Although education in Class "D" is superior to that of the other classes, one is nevertheless constantly reminded of its grave limitations. Many of the parents in this class left school very early, for until 1888 the compulsory education clauses were imperfectly enforced in the city, and it was comparatively easy to obtain special orders from the magistrates exempting children from compulsory education at an early age. It is true that the children stay longer at school now; but although Class "D" children form the majority in the higher standards, the total number even of these children whose school life is continued after they are fourteen years of age is lamentably small,[1] and attendance at the continuation classes,[2] valuable though it is,

[1] The following story, given upon the authority of a school inspector, is appended as an extreme instance of the prevailing anxiety to remove children from school at the earliest possible moment:—

A lad in a Board School was observed one morning by his teacher to be very fidgety; questioned as to the cause, he asked in his turn, "Please, sir, what time is it?" "Half-past ten, my lad; but what's the matter?" "Please, sir, then may I go, sir? My mother said I should be fourteen at half-past ten this morning, and I could leave school when I was fourteen, sir."

[2] Evening continuation classes have been held in York during the last few years under the auspices of the School Board. The number of students on the books during the last four sessions was as under:—

1897-98	496
1898-99	400
1899-00	595
1900-01	668

The following subjects are taught in these classes:—Writing, Shorthand, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Music, Drawing, Physical Drill, French, Dressmaking and Needlework, Cookery, Woodwork, Ambulance, and Mensuration.

cannot make up for the loss resulting from the early age at which the children leave school to go to work.[1]

In consequence of the limited education they receive, the intellectual outlook of Class "D" is narrow. They do not as children stay long enough at school to acquire intellectual tastes, or even the power of applied reading and study. To this broad statement there are, of course, not a few exceptions —thoughtful men and women who throughout their lives take every opportunity of extending their knowledge by reading, and in other ways. But, for the most part, the reading of Class "D" is confined to the evening papers, to more or less sentimental or sensational novels, or to the endless periodicals made up of short stories, scrappy paragraphic comments upon men and events, columns of jokes and riddles, and similar items of a merely trivial character. And apart from reading, when literary or historical subjects are presented in the form of popular lectures, the number of those who are interested is comparatively small. Well-delivered lectures upon scientific subjects are, however, appreciated. Interest in knowledge is as yet largely utilitarian; its indirect value in influencing character and its service to the community are imperfectly recognised.

Shut out to a great extent from the larger life and the higher interests which a more liberal and a

[1] A comparison of the ages at which compulsory education ceases in England and in some other countries is given at p. 339.

more prolonged education opens up to the wealthier classes, it is not surprising that, to relieve the monotony of their existence, so many artisans frequent the public-house, or indulge in the excitement of betting, and that professional football matches and race meetings often exercise so undue and unhealthy an influence upon their lives. The surprise is rather that the exceptions are so numerous.[1] It is from among the thoughtful men in Class "D" that the Trade Unions, the Co-operative Movement, and Friendly Societies find many of their leaders. The Temperance Cause, and other efforts for social advancement, gather not a few helpers from this class.

Religious Influences.—The writer fully and regretfully recognises the fact that the direct influence of the Christian churches over the men and women in Class "D" is comparatively small, but a consideration of this great question falls outside the scope of the present volume.[2]

Holidays.—It is a growing practice for the families in Class "D" to take a few days' summer holiday out of York. During the August Bank

[1] It may be objected that many of the shortcomings of Class "D" referred to above are common to the more favoured "upper" classes. This is, however, no argument against developing as far as practicable through adequate education the latent powers, moral and intellectual, of the working classes. Moreover, mental and moral apathy, when found in the "upper" classes, is largely due to influences from which the working-classes are exempt, as, for instance, luxuriousness, a dilettante conception of education, etc.

[2] The results of a "Church Census" taken in York by the writer, with some comments upon it, are given on pp. 345 *et seq.*

Holiday week, working men from York crowd into Scarborough, and many of those who do not take such an extended holiday avail themselves of the cheap day and half-day excursions run by the N.E. Railway Company. Probably, however, travelling is more usual among the artisan classes in York than elsewhere, owing to the large number of railway employés who have the advantage of cheap "privilege" tickets.

Life of the Women in Class "D."—No one can fail to be struck by the monotony which characterises the life of most married women of the working class. Probably this monotony is least marked in the slum districts, where life is lived more in common, and where the women are constantly in and out of each others' houses, or meet and gossip in the courts and streets. But with advance in the social scale, family life becomes more private, and the women, left in the house all day whilst their husbands are at work, are largely thrown upon their own resources. These, as a rule, are sadly limited, and in the deadening monotony of their lives these women too often become mere hopeless drudges. Especially does illness in the family, not infrequent with three or four growing children, tell heavily upon the mother, who has then to be nurse, cook, and housemaid all in one.[1] The husband commonly finds his chief interests among

[1] A lady of my acquaintance, who conducts a weekly meeting of women of the class under consideration, reports their frequent remark that the hour thus spent is the only one in the week when they can lay aside the burden of perpetual housekeeping.

his "mates," and seldom rises even to the idea of mental companionship with his wife. He rarely ill-treats her; but restricted education and a narrow circle of activities hinder comradeship, and lack of mental touch tends to pass into unconscious neglect or active selfishness. It must be remembered, too, that we are dealing with a class who do not keep domestic servants. The mother of a young family is not therefore able to escape from her circumstances through the cultivation of those social amenities which are the relief of her wealthier sisters. Even when able to get away for a day's holiday, or to go out for the evening, she is often obliged to take a baby with her. It is plain, therefore, that the conditions which govern the life of the women are gravely unsatisfactory, and are the more serious in their consequences since the character and attractive power of the family life are principally dependent upon her. This is a consideration which I venture to think has not received sufficient recognition in the past.[1]

[1] The bearing upon the question under consideration of the following very striking quotation from Professor Ramsay's *Historical Commentary on the Galatians* (chap. xl. pp. 387-389) will be clearly seen:—"We can indeed see with certainty, in comparing nation with nation and religion with religion, that one of the most important forces in the progress of society lies in the education which a mother conveys to her children, and that where a religion (as, for example, Mohammedanism) does not tend to raise the standard of thought and feeling, knowledge and character, among its women, no amount of excellence in abstract priniciples and truths will make that religion a practical power for steadily elevating the race which clings to it. . . . In considering the history of Mohammedanism—the contrast between the earlier glories and the later impotence and stagnation of the peoples whom it first affected, the marvellously rapid educating power that it exerts on a savage race, raising it at the first moment of conversion to a distinctly higher level of spiritual and intellectual life, and yet the following acquiescence in that level, or even

Conclusion.—In conclusion, it is important to remember that, taken as a whole, Class "D" is that section of our population upon which the social and industrial development of England largely depends, and is the one which will always exercise the most important influence in bringing about the social elevation of those in the poorer classes.

It is clear, therefore, that effort cannot be too largely directed towards the realisation in Class "D" of a higher ideal as regards personal character, education, and home life. The fact that the members of this class are not handicapped by poverty should greatly facilitate the attainment of this end.

It may be urged that my criticisms of Class "D"

the sinking again below it—even the least thoughtful observer must seek for some explanation of so remarkable a history and so extraordinary a contrast. The traveller who studies a Mohammedan people in its actual state has no difficulty in finding the explanation; he is struck with the utter want of education inside the home, and he sees that the position of the women, their utter ignorance (which is so complete that they have no subject to converse or think about except the most elementary facts of physical and family life), accounts for their general inability to entertain for themselves or to impress on their children any ideas of duty, any principles of good conduct, any desire for a higher level of life, any aspirations after any object except the most gross and vulgar, any habits of regularity, of work, of thought and meditation. He realises that a nation cannot permanently remain on a level above the level of its women, that if it rises under the immediate stimulus of a great moral idea (such as Mohammedanism was to the brutalised Arab tribes among whom it was first preached) to a higher plane of thought and life, it cannot long maintain itself on that plane unless women rise to it and kindle and foster similar ideas in the minds of succeeding generations when young. He will see that the progress of the Christian nations is founded on the keeping alive of education and thought and conscious moral purpose among their women, and that the opening to them in the Christian religion, from the first, of suitable opportunities for growing morally and intellectually is one of the necessary and primary conditions of national health. He will be slow to set in his thought any limits to the possible future development of a nation in which the women are always on the highest level of the existing generation."

indicate the demand for a standard of thought and action which is higher than can be practically attained; it will, however, be admitted that the general level of thought, of character, and of education ought to be as high as that which has for a long time been seen in the homes of the Scotch peasants, whence so many able professional men, writers, thinkers, and administrators have sprung.

Summary of Classes

We have now briefly considered the standard of living in each of the classes "A," "B," "C," and "D." Before we pass on to a more detailed examination of the social and economic conditions of the wage-earning classes in York, it may be well to summarise some of the more important figures dealt with in the present chapter as to average size of families, average earnings, and number of wage-earners.

A. *Average Size of Families.*[1]—The average size of family in each of the classes dealt with above was shown to be as follows:—

Class.	Average size of family.
"A"	3·00
"B"	4·56
"C"	4·11
"D"	4·03

[1] It is to be understood that the word *family*, as used here, is equivalent to *household*, and includes lodgers.

Taking the wage-earning classes in York as a whole, we find the average size of family is 4·04, whilst according to the 1901 census the average size of family for the entire city was 4·71. This difference is accounted for mainly by two facts. In the first place, the census figures count domestic servants as members of the family with which they are residing, thus increasing the apparent size of family among the servant-keeping class, and reducing it among the wage-earning class from which the servants are drawn. In the second place, according to the census methods, each schedule collected represents a family; but in the case of public institutions, as, for instance, the workhouse, hospital, etc., only one schedule is left, and all the inmates are entered upon it, and hence only count as one family. Thus the average size of families is unduly increased. There were 2923 persons in public institutions in York in 1899. It must also be borne in mind that although the birth-rate among the working class may be higher than among the servant-keeping class, the effect of this upon the average size of working-class families will be largely neutralised by the high infant mortality prevalent amongst the poor.

According to the census returns the average size of family in York during the century has been as follows:—

Year.	Average size of family.
1801	4·2
1811	4·5
1821	4·7
1831	4·5
1841-61	not stated
1871	4·3
1881	4·5
1891	4·8
1901	4·7

Particulars regarding the birth-rate in different districts of the city will be found at pp. 199, 202, and 203.

In 1891 the average size of families in different countries was as follows:—

England and Wales	4·73 persons
" " " (1901)	4·61 "
Scotland	4·6 "
Ireland	5 "
France	3·57 "
Germany (1890)	4·66 "
Austria	4·84 "
Switzerland	4·6 "
U.S.A.	4·93 "

B. *Average Earnings.* — The following table shows the total weekly earnings of each of the four classes, and the average earnings per family in each class. The wages of domestic servants are not included in this table.

Class.	Total Weekly Earnings.	Number of Families.	Average Earnings per Family.
	£ s. d.		s. d.
"A"	274 11 6	656[1]	8 $4\frac{1}{2}$
"B"	970 14 3	983	19 9
"C"	4,968 19 6	3,822[2]	26 7
"D"	11,933 18 6	6,099[3]	41 $9\frac{1}{4}$
Total for working classes	18,148 3 9	11,560	32 $8\frac{3}{4}$

We note that the average earnings per working-class family in York amount to 32s. $8\frac{3}{4}$d. *This figure includes the total earnings of all members of the family who are living at home, including grown-up sons and daughters, and also includes payments made by lodgers for board and lodging, the lodgers being counted as members of the family.*

This average sum of 32s. $8\frac{3}{4}$d. per family is contributed by various members of the household in the following proportions:—

Average sum contributed by—	s.	d.	Per cent.
Male heads of households . . .	24	5	= 74·3
Female „ „ . . .	1	$7\frac{1}{4}$	= 5
Male supplementary earners . . .	4	3	= 13·2
Female „ „	1	5	= 4·5
Payments by lodgers for board and lodging	1	$0\frac{1}{2}$	= 3
Total average sum earned per family . .	32	$8\frac{3}{4}$	= 100·0

In Appendix B are given particulars regarding

[1] Only 474 of these families are earning money, their average earnings being 11s. 7d. The remainder are apparently entirely dependent on charity, either public or private.

[2] The earnings (total and average) of 84 of these 3822 families are not shown in the table, as they refused information regarding their occupations.

[3] 385 families living upon private means are not included in the statement of total or average earnings.

the average earnings per working-class family in York, including the *total* earnings of lodgers, and the earnings of daughters away from home in domestic service. But as one of the chief uses of a knowledge of the average earnings of working-class families is to enable us to judge what surplus, if any, there is, after the necessaries of life have been provided for, a truer statement of the financial position of the families is obtained if the earnings of lodgers and of domestic servants are omitted, as being seldom available for meeting the ordinary family expenditure.

Average Earnings per Worker.—The average earnings per male and female worker in York are as follows :—

	s.	d.
Male heads of families	27	5¼
„ supplementary earners	14	3¼
„ lodgers	24	5¾
Average per male worker	*24*	*0*
Female heads of families	12	1½
„ supplementary earners	9	5
„ lodgers	12	6¼
Average per female worker (excluding domestic servants)	*10*	*9*

If we include domestic servants, estimating their average earnings, including board, etc., at £35 per annum, the average earnings of female workers are raised to 12s.

The average earnings per worker, male and female, excluding domestic servants, are 21s. 11¼d., or if we include the latter (including board, etc.), 20s. 8¾d.

C. *Number of Wage-Earners.*—Of the 47,754 persons belonging to the wage-earning classes in York, 17,457, or 37·5 per cent of the whole, are earning money.[1]

Of these 17,457 workers, 14,090, or 81 per cent, are males, and 3367, or 19 per cent, females.

The average number of wage-earners per family is 1·5 excluding the 2864 domestic servants, or 1·75 if these are included.

[1] Domestic servants are not included in these figures.

CHAPTER IV

THE POVERTY LINE

THE figures given in the preceding chapter which relate to the earnings of the working classes in York suggest some important considerations.

First among these is the question: What proportion of the population is living in poverty? It will be the aim of the present chapter to answer this question.

The families living in poverty may be divided into two sections:—

(1) Families whose total earnings[1] are insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. Poverty falling under this head may be described as "primary" poverty.

(2) Families whose total earnings[1] would be suffi-

[1] In this and the following chapters the writer has assumed that the entire earnings of the family, including those of the grown-up children living at home, are available as family income. As a matter of fact, only a part of the earnings of the older children (*i.e.* a sum for board and lodging equivalent to that paid by ordinary lodgers) is contributed to the family purse.

It will be remembered (see p. 27) that in the estimates of earnings a careful attempt has been made to allow both for broken time and for overtime.

cient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful[1] or wasteful. Poverty falling under this head may be described as "secondary" poverty.

We will now consider the extent of each kind of poverty.

The Proportion of the Population of York living in "Primary" Poverty

Before we can arrive at an estimate of the number of those who are living in "primary" poverty in York, we must ascertain what income is required by families of different sizes to provide the minimum of food, clothing, and shelter needful for the maintenance of merely physical health.

Expenditure needful for the development of the mental, moral, and social sides of human nature will not be taken into account at this stage of the inquiry. Nor in thus estimating the poverty line will any account be taken of expenditure for sick clubs or insurance. We confine our attention at present simply to an estimate of *minimum necessary expenditure for the maintenance of merely physical health.* This may be discussed under three heads:—

Food.

House Rent (including Rates).

[1] It need hardly be said that an expenditure may be in the truest sense "useful" which is not necessary for the maintenance of *merely physical efficiency.*

Household Sundries (such as clothing, light, fuel, etc.).

Food.—The question of food may be regarded under the four heads: (*a*) the function of food in the body; (*b*) the quantity necessary; (*c*) its kind; (*d*) its cost.

(*a*) *The function of food in the body.*—The essential constituents of food are: Protein,[1] Fats, Carbohydrates (*i.e.* starches, sugar, etc.), Salts, and Water. Of these, water and salts can be obtained practically without cost, and we need not therefore concern ourselves with them.

"The two chief uses of food of animals are—first, to form the materials of the body and repair its wastes; and, second, to yield energy in the forms of (1) heat to keep the body warm, and (2) muscular and other power for the work it has to do. In forming the tissues and fluids of the body, the food serves for building and repair. In yielding energy it serves as fuel for yielding heat and power. The different nutrients of food act in different ways in fulfilling these purposes. The principal tissue formers are albuminoids (*i.e.*

[1] "Protein is the chief nutritive constituent of fish and eggs, as well as of lean meat. The albumen and casein of milk are also protein compounds. The gluten of wheat consists of protein compounds. These compounds occur in corn, beans, potatoes, and indeed all kinds of vegetable foods. One trouble in speaking of these substances is that they are known by so many different names. The terms 'nitrogenous compounds,' 'albuminoids,' and 'proteids' are often applied to them. The first term is very proper, because protein compounds contain the element nitrogen, which is not found in the other classes of nutrients. The term 'albuminoids' comes from albumen, a substance familiar to us in the white of eggs, and is applied to the compounds which are similar to albumen. Some writers prefer the word 'proteids' for substances of this class."—*Foods, Nutritive Value and Cost*, by W. O. Atwater, Ph.D., U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 23, p. 4.

proteins). These form the framework of the body. They build and repair the nitrogenous materials, as those of muscle, tendon, and bone, and supply the albuminoids of blood, milk, and other fluids. The chief fuel ingredients of the food are the carbohydrates and fats. The machine needs fuel. Starch and sugar are burned in the body, and yield heat and power just as truly as does the coal which is burned in a stove to heat the house, or under a boiler to drive an engine. The fats serve the same purpose, only they are more concentrated fuel than the carbohydrates. The body transforms the carbohydrates into fat, which it keeps as a reserve of fuel in the most concentrated form." [1]

"The functions of food and its nutrients may therefore be briefly summarised as follows:—

Protein forms tissue (muscle, tendon, etc., and fat) and serves as fuel.

Fats form fatty tissue (not muscle, etc.) and serve as fuel.

Carbohydrates are transformed into fat and serve as fuel.

} All yield ENERGY in form of heat and muscular strength." [2]

(*b*) *Quantity required.* — Until recently, the quantity of food required for the maintenance of physical efficiency was stated in terms of Protein, Fats, and Carbohydrates; but latterly, science has shown that all three are more or less interchangeable in the economy of the human body. It is simpler, therefore, to state the quantity of food required in terms of Protein and Potential Energy. We have

[1] *Investigations on the Chemistry and Economy of Food*, by W. O. Atwater, Ph.D., U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 21, p. 12.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 16.

to state the protein separately, as a certain amount is requisite in every diet for building up muscle and tissue. But given this quota of protein for building purposes, it then becomes a matter of indifference, within reasonable limits, whether the potential energy required by the body is obtained from further protein, from fats, or from carbohydrates. The potential energy of food is usually stated in heat units or Calories, the "larger Calorie," which is the amount of heat required to raise 1 kilogram of water 1° C. (or 1 pound of water 4° F.), being the one generally adopted. In thus expressing the potential energy of food it is not, of course, implied that all its potential energy takes the form of heat, but only that if it *were* converted into heat a certain number of Calories or heat units would be produced. Experiments have shown[1] that

1 gram of protein yields 4·1 Calories.
1 gram of fats yields 9·3 Calories.
1 gram of carbohydrates yields 4·1 Calories.

The quantity of food necessary for an individual varies with age and sex of that individual, and with the severity of the muscular work to be performed.

"As a rule a woman requires less food than a man, and the amount required by children is still less, varying with the age. It is customary to assign certain factors which shall represent the amount of nutrients required by children of different ages and by women as compared with adult

[1] *Investigations on the Chemistry and Economy of Food*, by W. O. Atwater, Ph.D. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 21, p. 15.

man. The various factors which have been adopted are as follows :—

"*Equivalents used in expressing the diet required by persons of different age and sex, in terms of the food of a man taken as the unit.*

A woman requires	$\frac{8}{10}$	the food of a man at moderate muscular labour				
A boy 14 to 16 years of age inclusive requires	$\frac{8}{10}$	the food of a man				
A girl	„	„	„	„	$\frac{7}{10}$	„ „
A child 10 to 13	„	„	„	„	$\frac{6}{10}$	„ „
A child 6 to 9	„	„	„	„	$\frac{5}{10}$	„ „
A child 2 to 5	„	„	„	„	$\frac{4}{10}$	„ „
A child under 2	„	„	„	„	$\frac{3}{10}$	„ „

"These factors are based in part upon experimental data and in part upon arbitrary assumptions. They are subject to revision when experimental evidence shall warrant more definite conclusions."[1]

By the use of these factors, the food consumed by any given family can be readily expressed in terms of a common unit, viz. the food consumed "per man per day." Thus the nutrient required for families of varying sizes can be easily compared.

Several physiologists have estimated the quantity of food required for men doing varying amounts of muscular work. The estimates which have in the past met with the most general acceptance in England are those of Voit and his followers of the Munich School. Those of Moleschott and Playfair, though often quoted, are now nearly forty years old, and were based upon inadequate information. The most

[1] *Dietary Studies in New York City in* 1895 *and* 1896, by W. O. Atwater, Ph.D., and Chas. D. Woods, B.S., p. 5.

recent and trustworthy work upon the subject has been done during the last few years by Professor Atwater and his colleagues in America, and by Dr. Noël Paton and Dr. Dunlop in Scotland. The following table shows the estimates given of the food required by an adult man, by four of the above-mentioned physiologists, or rather by all *six*, for the work of Dr. Noël Paton and Dr. Dunlop confirms the accuracy of Professor Atwater's estimate :—

Author.	Nutrients.			
	Protein.	Fats.	Carbo-hydrates.	Fuel Value in Calories.
	Grams.	Grams.	Grams.	
Adult in full health (Playfair)	119	51	531	3140
Active labourers (Playfair) .	156	71	568	3630
Man at moderate work (Moleschott)	130	40	550	3160
Man at moderate work (Voit).	118	56	500	3055
Man at hard work (Voit) .	145	100	450	3370
Man with little physical exercise (Atwater)	100	...	...	2700
Man with light muscular work (Atwater)	112	...	...	3000
Man with moderate muscular work (Atwater)	125	...	...	3500
Man with active muscular work (Atwater)	150	...	...	4500

It will be seen from the above table that Professor Atwater's standards are higher than those of the older authorities. The justification for this difference is best given in the Professor's own words. He says :[1]—

"I venture to urge that these standards (*i.e.* those of Voit, Moleschott, and Playfair) do not represent the quantities

[1] *Investigations on the Chemistry and Economy of Food*, by W. O. Atwater, Ph.D., U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 21, p. 211.

of nutritive material that the average mechanic or other working man needs in order to do a fair day's work; that the allowance is too small for what such a man ought to do and can do well. The reasons for this view are found in the teachings of later experimental research . . . regarding the functions of food and its nutritive ingredients, and in the studies of American dietaries . . . and the inferences which they seem to warrant. The kernel of the whole question is found in the fact that the European standards are based upon the food consumption of people whose plane of living is low in comparison with that of the people of the United States. The thesis which I attempt to defend is that to make the most out of a man, to bring him up to the desirable level of productive capacity, to enable him to live as a man ought to live, he must be better fed than he would be by these standards. This is only a part of the story, but it is an essential part. The principle is one that reaches very deep into the philosophy of human living."

Professor Atwater adds :—

"It must be especially noted that the current European dietary standards are based mainly upon the facts of actual food consumption. Thus Voit's standard for a labouring man at moderate work is based chiefly upon his observations of the quantities of food actually consumed by manual labourers, mostly mechanics, in Munich and other places in Bavaria, who were reasonably well fed, as judged by the standards of wages and living which obtained in these places at the times when the observations were made, twenty years or more ago. In the same way, Playfair's estimates were based chiefly upon the conditions which he observed in England some thirty years ago. If either one had used such data as he would find in New England of to-day he doubtless would have made his dietary standards

correspond. My own belief is that the American standard is a much more desirable one. The scale of living or 'standard of life' here is much higher than it is in Europe. . . . Very likely what Voit reckons as hard or severe muscular work, would count here as only moderate work. Considering the body as a machine, the American working man has a more strongly-built machine and more fuel to run it than has his European brother. While it is not absolutely proven, it seems in the highest degree probable that the higher standard of living, the better nutrition, the larger product of labour, and the higher wages go together. It is in view of such considerations as these that I have ventured to suggest more liberal standards for dietaries than those which have been proposed by the European authorities above quoted."[1]

Professor Atwater's estimates have been confirmed by Dr. Dunlop in a series of studies made upon the dietaries of prisoners in Scotland. He observed the effects of diets, ranging in energy value from 3500 to 3900 Calories, upon a large number of prisoners who were doing a moderately active day's work.[2] He found that when the prisoners were fed upon the most liberal diet (3900 Calories) they maintained their body weight even when restricted to this diet for years. The complaints made by the prisoners referred entirely to the *quality* of the diet, not to the *quantity*, thus suggesting that the prisoners were receiving more food than they required, and had not relish for all their meals.

[1] This was written in 1894.

[2] These prisoners were engaged upon stone-breaking—their day's work never exceeded eight hours.

The waste or returned food with this large diet was also very considerable; it consisted almost entirely of the less savoury articles of diet, thus corroborating the suggestion named above that the prisoners were not only receiving sufficient food, but were receiving more food than they required.

The same prisoners were for two months restricted to a diet with 3500 Calories of food energy. The result of this change was that no less than 82 per cent of the prisoners of average size distinctly lost weight during that time. The complaints were much more numerous than those made about the more liberal diet, and were of a different character. They did not refer to the *quality* of the food as formerly, but the prisoners complained of *want* of food, feeling faint at work, no energy, and sleeplessness at night. The complaints, Dr. Dunlop says, were pitiable and undoubtedly genuine. The excessive waste which occurred with the more liberal diet was completely abolished.

Similar observations were made with a diet worth 3700 Calories. Upon this diet only 24 per cent lost weight, the remaining 76 per cent of the prisoners either maintaining or increasing their weight. Hardly a genuine complaint was received, and the waste was no more than with the smaller diet. Thus Dr. Dunlop showed clearly that a diet with an energy value of 3700 Calories was sufficient for the prisoners and was not excessive.

The results of Dr. Dunlop's observations are

strong evidence that the standards of necessary diet for men at moderate work adopted by Voit, Moleschott, and Playfair are too low. It will be noted that Dr. Dunlop's standard (3700 Calories) is higher than Prof. Atwater's.

Referring to this difference, Dr. Dunlop says :—

"It might be urged that these studies contradict Atwater's standard. He states 3500 Calories as sufficient food for moderate labour; these prison studies show that for convict labour 3500 was insufficient, while 3700 was necessary. But this I consider does not amount to a contradiction, because the term moderate or middle labour is ambiguous. I have stated my reasons for considering convict labour to be moderate, but I fully allow that moderate labour is not a fixed quantity, and that consequently some latitude should be made as to the standard, and if that is done, then both Atwater's standard, and the more generous addition of food allowed by him for increasingly severe labour, may be considered as correct. . . . It may be accepted that an average man at light labour requires a diet of 3100 Calories, that if the labour is more than light he requires more food, that the increments to meet the wants of moderate labour may amount to 20 per cent, and those for severe labour perhaps to 50 per cent of the light labour diet (Atwater)."[1]

In view, then, of the fact that Professor Atwater's standards are based upon more accurate observation and upon a much larger number of experiments than those of Voit, Moleschott, or Playfair, and further, in view of

[1] Paper read at the Thirteenth International Medical Congress, Paris, 1900. Published in *Scottish Medical and Surgical Journal*, May 1901.

the fact that they have been confirmed so completely by Dr. Dunlop, who had exceptional opportunities for accurate observation, Professor Atwater's standards have been adopted in the present inquiry.

By reference to the table on p. 92 it will be seen that the food required by individuals varies with the severity of their work. In an inquiry like the one on which I have been engaged, dealing with several thousand persons following different occupations, it was obviously impossible to assess the severity of work done by each individual. It therefore became necessary to decide which of Prof. Atwater's standard diets was the most applicable to the section of the population under discussion. After much consideration, and after consultation with Dr. Noël Paton, and also with Dr. Dunlop and other food experts, Prof. Atwater's standard for men with *moderate* muscular work has here been adopted. As already stated, this standard requires 3500 Calories of energy value, and 125 grams of protein per man per day.[1] In selecting this standard, it was borne in mind that the section of the wage-earners living near the poverty line is composed mainly of labourers, to whom the bulk of the heavy work is allocated. Their wives have much hard work, in washing and scrubbing. Their children also go to work young, and both during their school days and afterwards they often have to help at home in scrubbing floors, running errands, etc. Thus their

[1] The proportion of protein contained in the diet is shown separately for reasons given on p. 90. The energy yielded by the protein is included in the 3500 Calories.

young lives are hard, and the hours during which they are working (*i.e.* using up physical energy in one way or another) are often very long.

In view of these facts it is evident that whatever objection may be taken to the standard of food requirements here adopted, it cannot be said that the standard is too high.

(*c*) *Kind of food.*—Our next step is to select a standard diet which shall contain the nutrients that are necessary for the maintenance of physical efficiency, according to the scale adopted above. To this end, valuable suggestions may be gained from the diets provided for able-bodied paupers in workhouses, as the object in these institutions is to provide a diet containing the necessary nutrients at the lowest cost compatible with a certain amount of variety. Full information with regard to diets, based upon the experience of workhouses throughout England and Wales, was collected by a Committee appointed by the President of the Local Government Board in 1897. As a result of the inquiry, a new general order regulating workhouse diets has been issued by the Local Government Board, and came into force throughout England and Wales on March 25, 1901. In accordance with this order, all dietary tables in workhouses must be framed within certain clearly defined limits.

A number of alternative rations are specified for each meal, and Boards of Guardians are at liberty to make selections from these rations, in framing the

dietary for the workhouses under their charge.[1] But in making their selections they must follow certain instructions; for instance, not fewer than two boiled or roast meat dinners (beef, mutton, or pork in suitable rotation) must be given weekly, and with the exception of boiled or roast meat meals, no two dinners may be alike during one week.

Although the Local Government Board paid due regard to economy in framing each of the rations, some are considerably more expensive than others.

The diet adopted as the standard in the present chapter has been selected from the rations specified in the new regulations, but the cheapest rations only have been chosen, and on this account no butcher's meat is included in the dietary. *The standard here adopted is therefore less generous than that which would be required by the Local Government Board.*

The selected dietaries are as follows:[2]—

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
		MEN	
Sunday .	Bread, 8 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Tea, 1 pt.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Pease pudding, 12 oz.	Bread, 8 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Cocoa, 1 pt.
Monday .	Bread, 8 oz. Porridge, 1½ pts.	Potatoes with milk, 24 oz. Bread, 2 oz. Cheese, 2 oz.	Bread, 8 oz. Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Cheese, 2 oz.
Tuesday .	Porridge, 1½ pts. Skim milk, 1 pt.	Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Bread, 4 oz. Cheese, 2 oz. Dumpling, 8 oz.	Bread, 4 oz. Porridge, 1½ pts.

[1] It is to be noted that by a "ration" is here meant the character and quantity of food supplied for any particular meal. By "dietary" is meant the series of meals arranged for during each week.

[2] For table of ingredients used, see Appendix I.

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
		MEN—*Continued*	
Wednesday	Bread, 2 oz. Porridge, 1½ pts. Treacle, 1½ oz.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 4 oz. Potatoes, 12 oz.	Porridge, 1½ pts. Skim milk, 1 pt.
Thursday .	Porridge, 1½ pts. Skim milk, 1 pt.	Coffee, 1 pt. Bread, 8 oz. Cheese, 3 oz.	Bread, 8 oz. Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Cheese, 2 oz.
Friday .	Bread, 2 oz. Porridge, 1½ pts. Treacle, 1½ oz.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 4 oz. Potatoes, 12 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Gruel, 1½ pts.
Saturday .	Bread, 4 oz. Porridge, 1½ pts.	Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Bread, 4 oz. Cheese, 2 oz. Suet pudding, 8 oz.	Bread, 8 oz. Skim milk, 1 pt.
	(In addition to the above, a lunch consisting of 4 oz. bread and 1½ oz. cheese is allowed daily.)		
		WOMEN	
Sunday .	Bread, 6 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Tea, 1 pt.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Pease pudding, 8 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Cocoa, 1 pt.
Monday .	Bread, 4 oz. Porridge, 1 pt.	Potatoes with milk, 20 oz. Bread, 2 oz. Cheese, 1½ oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Cheese, 2 oz.
Tuesday .	Porridge, 1 pt. Skim milk, 1 pt.	Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Bread, 4 oz. Cheese, 2 oz. Dumpling, 6 oz.	Bread, 4 oz. Porridge, 1 pt.
Wednesday	Bread, 2 oz. Porridge, 1 pt. Treacle, 1 oz.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 4 oz. Potatoes, 8 oz.	Porridge, 1 pt. Skim milk, 1 pt.
Thursday .	Porridge, 1 pt. Skim milk, 1 pt.	Coffee, 1 pt. Bread, 6 oz. Cheese, 2 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Cheese, 2 oz.
Friday .	Bread, 2 oz. Porridge, 1 pt. Treacle, 1½ oz.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 4 oz. Potatoes, 8 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Gruel, 1 pt.
Saturday .	Bread, 4 oz. Porridge, 1 pt.	Vegetable broth, 1 pt. Bread, 4 oz. Cheese, 2 oz. Suet pudding, 6 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Skim milk, 1 pt.
	(In addition to the above, a lunch consisting of 4 oz. bread and 1½ oz. cheese is allowed daily.)		

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
		CHILDREN, Ages 8–16	
Sunday .	Bread, 6 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Tea, ¾ pt.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 3 oz. Potatoes, 8 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Cocoa, ¾ pt.
Monday .	Bread, 3 oz. New milk, ½ pt. Porridge, ¾ pt. Sugar, ½ oz.	Potatoes with milk, 16 oz. Bread, 2 oz. Cheese, 1½ oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Vegetable broth, ¾ pt. Cheese, 1½ oz.
Tuesday .	do.	Vegetable broth, ½ pt. Bread, 3 oz. Cheese, 1½ oz. Dumpling, 6 oz.	Plain cake, 6 oz. Milk, ¾ pt.
Wednesday	do.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 3 oz. Potatoes, 8 oz.	Plain cake, 6 oz. Milk, ¾ pt.
Thursday .	do.	Cocoa, ¾ pt. Bread, 6 oz. Cheese, 2 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Broth, ¾ pt. Cheese, 1½ oz.
Friday .	do.	Boiled bacon, 3 oz. Bread, 3 oz. Potatoes, 8 oz.	Plain cake, 6 oz. Cocoa, ¾ pt.
Saturday .	do.	Suet pudding, 12 oz.	Bread, 6 oz. Milk, ¾ pt.

(In addition to the above, lunch in the form of bread, 2 oz. ; butter, ½ oz. ; cake, 2 oz. ; or biscuits 2 oz. is allowed on week-days only.)

		CHILDREN, Ages 3–8	
Sunday .	Bread, 5 oz. Milk, ½ pt.	Boiled bacon, 1 oz. Potatoes, 4 oz. Skim milk, ½ pt.	Bread, 5 oz. New milk, ½ pt.
Monday .	Bread, 2 oz. New milk, ½ pt. Porridge, ½ pt. Sugar, ½ oz.	Potatoes with milk, 12 oz. Bread, 2 oz. Cheese, ½ oz.	do.
Tuesday .	do.	Vegetable broth, ½ pt. Bread, 3 oz. Cheese, ½ oz. Dumpling, 4 oz.	do.

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Supper.
	CHILDREN, AGES 3–8—*Continued*		
Wednesday	Bread, 2 oz. New milk, ½ pt. Porridge, ½ pt. Sugar, ½ oz.	Boiled bacon, 1 oz. Potatoes, 4 oz. Skim milk, ½ pt.	Bread, 5 oz. New milk, ½ pt.
Thursday .	do.	Cocoa, ½ pt. Bread, 4 oz. Cheese, 1 oz.	do.
Friday .	do.	Boiled bacon, 1 oz. Potatoes, 4 oz. Skim milk, ½ pt.	do.
Saturday .	do.	1 egg. Bread, 4 oz. Margarine, ½ oz. Cocoa, ½ pt.	do.
(In addition to the above, lunch in the form of bread, 2 oz. ; butter, ½ oz. ; cake, 2 oz. ; or biscuits, 2 oz., is allowed on week-days only.)			

The fuel value contained in the above daily rations has been ascertained,[1] and is as follows. For reasons explained on p. 90 the proportion of protein contained in the diet is shown separately. The fuel value includes that which is yielded by the protein.

Men.		Women.		Children, 8–16.		Children, 3–8.	
Fuel Value (Calories).	Protein (Grams).	Fuel Value (Calories).	Protein (Grams).	Fuel Value (Calories).	Protein (Grams).	Fuel Value (Calories).	Protein (Grams).
3560	137	2987	115·5	2738	87·2	1824	66·0

[1] These figures are calculated upon tables, showing the protein and fuel energy contained in different food stuffs, which are principally based upon analyses made by Prof. Atwater and his colleagues, and to a less extent upon analyses made under the direction of Dr. Noël Paton and Dr. Dunlop. The present writer has had an opportunity of comparing the above tables with those employed by the Local Government Board, and finds that though based upon analyses made by other chemists, the results harmonise very closely. (In

It has been shown earlier in this chapter that men at "moderate" work require daily 3500 Calories of food energy, and women eight-tenths of this amount. It will be seen that the standard diet adopted in this chapter practically complies with these requirements.

The nutritive value of the food which the standard diet provides for children cannot be exactly compared with theoretical requirements, as the classification of ages adopted in workhouses (viz. under 3, 3–8, and 8–16) is rougher than that adopted in scientific tables of theoretical food requirements. The quantities are, however, such as wide experience has shown to be suitable for children in workhouses, whose food requirements are certainly not greater than those of other children.

(*d*) *Cost of food.*—It now only remains to ascertain the cost of the diet which has been selected. We should, of course, not be justified in basing the cost of this diet upon the contract prices paid by the Guardians. The poor buy their food in small quantities, and thus pay a higher price for it. In connection with the chapter on Budgets (see p. 222) a series of investigations was made by the writer, regarding the actual cash prices paid for various food stuffs by the working classes in York. The average of these prices has been adopted in estimating the cost of the standard diet, except in six cases where the

consequence of the discovery of a printer's error consisting in the transposition of two figures in one of the tables of analysis of food, it has been necessary in this edition to make a number of small corrections in connection with the calorific, but not of the protein values of foods. The effect of these alterations upon the general conclusions of the book is immaterial.)

articles could be purchased at lower prices at Co-operative Stores in the city.[1]

The following is a table of the prices upon which the cost of the standard diet has been estimated. (The price of bread is not given, as in York it is the custom to make bread at home, so effecting an economy.)

Flour 1s. 4d. per stone.
New milk 1½d. per pint.
Skim milk ¾d. per pint.
Oatmeal 2d. per lb. less 5 per cent.
Dried peas 2¼d. per lb. less 5 per cent.
Bacon 6d. per lb.
Cheese 6½d. per lb.
Sugar 1¾d. per lb.
Potatoes ½d. per lb.
Margarine 8d. per lb. less 5 per cent.
Butter 1s. per lb.
Biscuits 4d. per lb.
Cocoa 1s. per lb. less 5 per cent.
Tea 1s. 5d. per lb.
Coffee 1s. per lb. less 5 per cent.
Treacle 1¾d. per lb. less 5 per cent.
Onions ½d. per lb.
Yeast 8d. per lb.
Currants 3½d. per lb.
Suet 8d. per lb.

Calculated at these prices, the weekly cost of the standard dietary is as follows :—

[1] In the case of food purchased at Co-operative Stores, 5 per cent has been deducted from the selling price, this being approximately the amount of dividend given to ordinary purchasers at the Stores, though a higher dividend is given to members.

Men.	Women.	Children, 8–16.	Children, 3–8.	Children under 3.[1]
3s. 3d.	2s. 9d.	2s. 7d.	2s. 1d.	2s. 1d.
Average for Adults 3s.		Average for Children 2s. 3d.		

The figures, then, which have been adopted throughout this volume as representing the necessary minimum expenditure for food are—

3s. each per week for Adults.
2s. 3d. each per week for Children.

These prices refer solely to the cost of the food materials; they include none of the necessary expenses connected with cooking. It must also be remembered that at present the poor do not possess knowledge which would enable them to select a diet that is at once as nutritious and as economical as that which is here adopted as the standard. Moreover, the adoption of such a diet would require considerable changes in established customs, and many prejudices would have to be uprooted.[2] It should also be noted that, as

[1] No dietary is given in the new workhouse dietary regulations for children under three years, the doctor ordering diets specially for each child according to circumstances. The cost has been reckoned at 2s. 1d. per week, as the large proportion of new milk required by young children brings up the cost of maintenance to that of children who are somewhat older.

[2] A greater knowledge of cooking, and more willingness to take trouble in the preparation of food, would also be necessary. For instance, more time is required for the preparation of a breakfast of porridge than for one consisting of tea and bread and butter, and such foods as pease pudding, vegetable broth, etc., require considerable pains to be devoted to their preparation if they are to be made palatable.

The following extract from the *Manchester Guardian* for March 29, 1901, illustrates the difficulty of uprooting food customs:—"At the Bradford Workhouse yesterday the new dietary table of the Local Government Board came into operation. When served with gruel instead of tea, according to

pointed out on page 99, this diet does not contain any fresh meat (it has been eliminated on account of cost), and is thus less generous than the Local Government Board would require for able-bodied paupers in workhouses. My aim throughout has been to select a standard diet which gives adequate nutrition *at the lowest practicable cost.*[1]

Rent.—In estimating the necessary minimum expenditure for rent, I should have preferred to take some reliable standard of the accommodation required to maintain families of different sizes in health, and then to take as the minimum expenditure the average cost in York of such accommodation. This course would, however, have assumed that every family could obtain the needful minimum accommodation, which is far from being the case.

In view, therefore, of the difficulty of forming an estimate as above, the *actual sums paid for rent have been taken as the necessary minimum rent expenditure.* Extravagance in this item is very improbable, rent being almost the first thing in which a poor family will try to economise.

Full particulars regarding the housing of the wage-

the order, the women rose in a body and left the room. Three women who were ringleaders were yesterday brought before the Stipendiary Magistrate. These women, with others, had refused to work on the food, and had also behaved in a rowdy manner to the workhouse master. The master said the gruel consisted of three ounces of oatmeal, a pint of water, half an ounce of treacle, and salt to taste. Each defendant was sent to prison for a week."

[1] The writer is aware that prison diets are even less costly than this standard; but these are so extremely stringent as to be punitive in character, and would not serve as a basis for a standard diet for the independent poor.

earning classes in York will be found in Chapter VI., but it may be of interest at this point to give a table showing the approximate average rent paid in York for cottages of various sizes.

	1 Room.	2 Rooms.	3 Rooms.	4 Rooms.	5 Rooms.
Rent . . .	1s. 7d.	2s. 6d.	3s. 6d.	4s. 7½d.	5s. 9d.
Number of such houses in York	284	1401	1264	4501	3607

It will be noticed that there are in York comparatively few houses with less than four rooms.

Household Sundries (such as clothing, light, fuel, etc.).—We now come to the last item of necessary expenditure, namely, that for Household Sundries.

Under this head is included all necessary expenditure other than that for food and house rent, the principal items being for boots, clothes, and fuel.

The estimate of the minimum expenditure necessary for household sundries adopted in this chapter is based upon information gathered from a large number of working people. Many of those interviewed knew what poverty meant, and had learnt by hard experience what could be "done without," and how to obtain most cheaply that which was absolutely necessary. The interviews were conducted either by myself or by my helpers. Dealing with men's clothes, for instance, the information which was asked from the men was briefly this :—"What in your opinion is the very lowest sum upon which a

man can keep himself in clothing for a year? The clothing should be adequate to keep the man in health, and should not be so shabby as to injure his chances of obtaining respectable employment. Apart from these two conditions, the clothing to be the most economical obtainable."

Then in each interview we went over every article of clothing item by item, asking for information as to the cheapest ways in which these could be secured, and the average length of time they would last. In this way we obtained a number of estimates of necessary expenditure for clothing upon which the final estimate is based.

The estimates of necessary expenditure for women's and children's clothing, and for other household sundries such as fuel, light, soap, replacements, etc., were similarly obtained by a lady helper from the women.

The following is the average of the estimates thus obtained.[1] These figures have been adopted for the purposes of the present inquiry as representing the minimum necessary expenditure for household sundries.

CLOTHING.

	Per Year.	Per Week.
Man	26s.	6d.
Woman . . .	26s.	6d.
Boy of 12 . . .	27s. } Average 22s.[2]	6d. } Average 5d.[2]
Child of 2 . . .	17s. }	4d. }

[1] The bulk of the estimates only varied within narrow limits. A few which were obviously too high have not been used in our calculations.

[2] This average price has been taken to be the minimum necessary expenditure for clothes for all children under 16 years of age.

FUEL.

1 bag of coal (of 10 stone) in summer } Average 1½ bags at 1s. 3d. per bag,
2 bags ,, ,, ,, winter } say 1s. 10d. per week.[1]

The amount of fuel used does not vary much with the size of family, as there is usually a fire in the living room only.

A family of average size use weekly about 1½ lbs. of soap at 3d. per lb., and light will cost from 3d. to 4d. But information as to the average sum required for other household necessaries proved to be very difficult to obtain. Inquiries about this were usually answered by some such remark as: "If we have to buy anything extra, such as pots or pans, we have to spend less on food, that's all."

It will not be overstating facts if we allow 2d. per head per week to cover all household sundries other than clothes and fuel.

Basing the estimate upon the above figures, the minimum weekly expenditure for household sundries, *i.e.* for ALL expenditure other than that for food and rent, for a family of five persons will be as under:—

	s.	d
CLOTHING[2]		
Father	0	6
Mother	0	6
3 Children at 5d.	1	3
FUEL		
1½ bags at 1s. 3d., say	1	10
ALL OTHER SUNDRIES		
at 2d. per head	0	10
TOTAL	4	11

[1] The price during the winter of 1899 was about 1s. 7d. per bag. A large coal merchant in York states, however, that 1s. 3d. is the average price. He says the working classes, partly because they buy their coal by the bag, and partly because they buy a wasteful coal, which burns up quickly, pay as a rule a price for their coal higher by 25 per cent than those who buy their coal by the ton.

[2] The various estimates which were obtained from working people will be found in Appendix C.

The minimum necessary expenditure for all families has been worked out upon this basis.

It will be seen that this estimate allows nothing whatever for travelling, recreation, or luxuries of any kind, or for sick and funeral clubs. It would suffice only for the bare necessaries of merely physical efficiency in times of health.

If we now add up the various items of necessary expenditure under the three heads, Food, House Rent (and Rates), and Household Sundries (including clothes), we obtain the following figures :—

TABLE SHOWING THE MINIMUM NECESSARY EXPENDITURE PER WEEK FOR FAMILIES OF VARIOUS SIZES

Family.	Food.	Rent,[1] say—	Household Sundries.	Total.
1 man	3s.	1s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	7s.
1 woman	3s.		2s. 6d.	7s.
1 man and 1 woman	6s.	2s. 6d.	3s. 2d.	11s. 8d.
1 man, 1 woman, 1 child	8s. 3d.		3s. 9d.	14s. 6d.
,, ,, 2 children	10s. 6d.	4s.	4s. 4d.	18s. 10d.
,, ,, 3 ,,	12s. 9d.		4s. 11d.	21s. 8d.
,, ,, 4 ,,	15s.	5s. 6d.	5s. 6d.	26s.
,, ,, 5 ,,	17s. 3d.		6s. 1d.	28s. 10d.
,, ,, 6 ,,	19s. 6d.		6s. 8d.	31s. 8d.
,, ,, 7 ,,	21s. 9d.		7s. 3d.	34s. 6d.
,, ,, 8 ,,	24s.		7s. 10d.	37s. 4d.

Having established a minimum standard of necessary expenditure, we are now in a position to ascertain what proportion of the population of York are living in "primary" poverty.

[1] In the calculations throughout this chapter (as stated on p. 106), *actual rent* has in every case been taken as representing the minimum necessary rent expenditure. The figures in this column are a rough approximation of the average rent paid in York by families of various sizes; they are inserted here in order to render the table complete, but have not been used except for the purposes of this table.

As stated in Chapter II., an estimate was made of the earnings of every working-class family in York. In order to ascertain how many of these families were living in a state of "primary" poverty, the income of each was compared with the foregoing standard, due allowance being made in every case for size of family and rent paid.

Let us now see what was the result of this examination. No less than 1465 families, comprising 7230 persons, were living in "primary" poverty. *This is equal to* 15·46 *per cent of the wage-earning class in York, and to* 9·91 *per cent of the whole population of the city.*

The above estimate, it should be particularly noted, is based upon the assumption that *every penny earned by every member of the family* went into the family purse, and was judiciously expended upon necessaries.

With a view of showing the number of persons *but slightly above* the "primary" poverty line, I have ascertained what would have been the total number below this line had the standard of necessary weekly family expenditure been increased (*a*) by 2s. and (*b*) by 6s.[1] The results are shown in the following table :—

[1] This figure of 6s. has been selected with reference to the drink expenditure as set forth on p. 142.

	No. of Persons.	Percentage of Wage-earning Classes.	Percentage of Total Population of City.
Persons below the "primary" poverty line	7,230	15·46	9·91
Persons belonging to families whose total weekly earnings are either below or not more than 2s. above the "primary" poverty line .	9,542	20·40	13·09
Persons belonging to families whose total weekly earnings are either below or not more than 6s. above the "primary" poverty line .	15,727	33·63	21·5

The question may arise: Do the family earnings comprise the whole of the family income? Are there not other sources of income which have not been taken into account? In the country, for instance, the money wage of the agricultural labourer by no means always represents his total income; he is often able to augment this considerably by means of the produce from his allotment, or by keeping hens, pigs, etc. Does the town dweller augment his income in some corresponding way? Inquiry has been made into this question in York, and I have come to the conclusion that the extent to which incomes are augmented by such irregular means is very small, and would not materially affect the figures we have been considering.

The chief possible sources of such additional income would seem to be:—

(1) Money sent home by children who are working and who are not living at home, *e.g.* domestic servants, etc.—It is well known that amongst the

Irish and Welsh people, children who are living away from home frequently send considerable sums to their parents, but careful inquiry at registry offices and elsewhere has elicited the information that any such additions to the incomes of working-class families in York are probably very small, being as a rule confined to gifts at Christmas or on birthdays, and even these additions are to a certain extent neutralised by gifts of clothing, etc., sent to their children by parents.

(2) Allotment gardens, keeping hens and pigs, etc.—There are not more than about 120 allotments in York, and these are for the most part rented by well-to-do working men, whose money earnings alone are sufficient to place them above the "primary" poverty line. The number of hens and pigs kept by working men in York is insignificant.

(3) "Stray" money.—There are four "strays" in York. These are common lands held by the freemen of York, many of whom are wage-earning men. The profits accruing from the strays (*i.e.* sums received for pasturage) are distributed yearly amongst the freemen. But the sums thus distributed are small. During the last three years (1897-99) the average annual sum received by each freeman was under 12s. per annum.

(4) Payments for occasional service and "odd jobs," such for instance as payments made to women for an occasional day's washing, or for sitting up at night with a sick person, etc., or payments to children

for going errands, etc.—In all cases in which these constituted a considerable portion of the income, the investigators made a note of the fact, and included such earnings in the family total. There will, of course, be occasional earnings under this head which have not been noted, but their extent would not be so large as materially to affect the figures given. In the case of such occupations as railway porters, cabmen, etc., an average allowance for "tips" was always made.

(5) Charitable gifts.—There is no doubt that the amount of money, food, etc., given in the form of charity is considerable, but it is not possible to ascertain the extent of such gifts. And for the purposes of this chapter the information is not needed. For, broadly speaking, the recipients of charity are the poor, *i.e.* those who from causes "primary" or "secondary" are below the poverty line; and the number of the poor who are lifted above it by charity must be small. An analysis of the persons in the city who are below the "primary" poverty line shows that more than one half of these are members of families whose wage-earner is in work but in receipt of insufficient wages.[1] It is probable that the great bulk of the charity that is given goes to those who are ill or out of work, and to widows. The serious import of the figures given in this chapter would, however, have been but little lessened had there been reason to believe that a considerable number of those

[1] See p. 120.

below the "primary" poverty line had been lifted above it through private charity. Any gain in material comfort would have been dearly purchased at the cost of independence of character, and the consequences of such artificial support would be grave, economically as well as morally.

We now come to the second part of our inquiry, namely—

What is the Extent of "Secondary" Poverty in York?

At the beginning of this chapter, those families living in a state of "secondary" poverty were defined as families whose total earnings would be sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency *were it not that some portion of it is absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful.* To ascertain this by direct inquiry it would have been necessary to know, in every case, the average sum spent weekly on drink, gambling, and other wasteful expenditure, and to ascertain also whether the wife was a thrifty housekeeper or the reverse.

The number of persons living in "secondary" poverty was ascertained in the following way. The investigator, in the course of his house-to-house visitation, noted down the households where there were evidences of poverty, *i.e.* obvious want and squalor. Direct information was often obtained from neighbours, or from a member of the household concerned, to the effect that the father or mother was a

heavy drinker; in other cases the pinched faces of the ragged children told their own tale of poverty and privation.

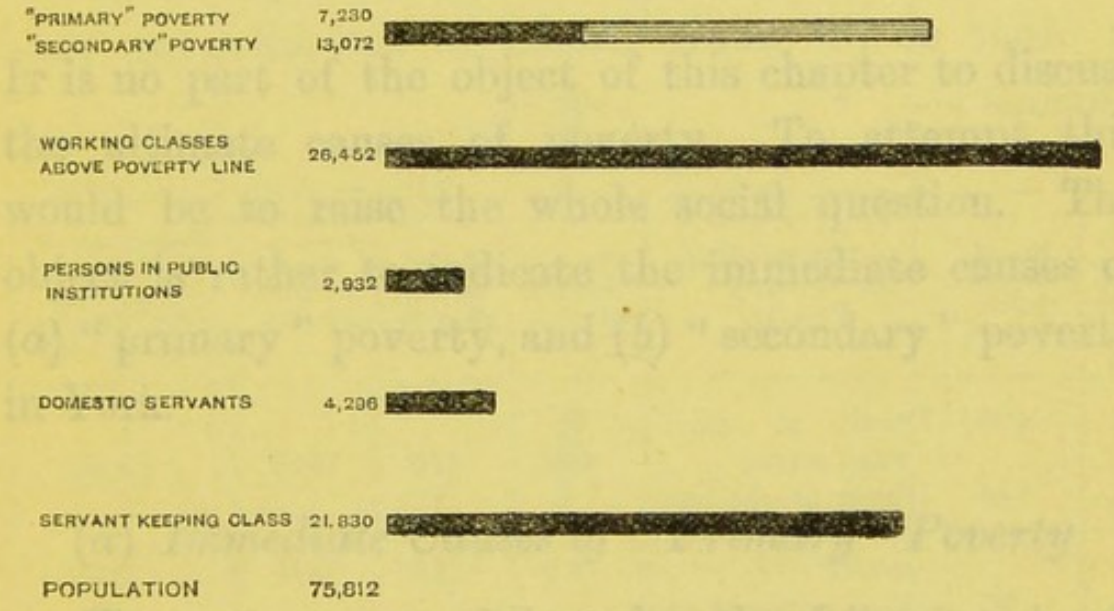
Judging in this way, partly by appearance, and partly from information given, I have been able to arrive at a fair estimate of the total number of persons living in poverty in York. From this total number I subtracted the number of those ascertained to be living in "primary" poverty; the difference represents those living in "secondary" poverty.[1] It must be remembered that some families are living in apparent poverty in the slums, not because of inadequate income, but because of their attachment to the neighbourhood and their distaste for the effort required by a life among better surroundings.[2] On the other hand, there may be some families living in clean and tidy houses who are from one cause or another without the necessaries for physical efficiency, although their incomes are not so low as

[1] It will be remembered that the total earnings of every working-class family in York were ascertained, the numbers living in "primary" poverty being determined by a comparison between total family earnings and necessary family expenditure. See p. 111.

[2] This reluctance to move into better surroundings may be illustrated by a case which came under my own observation. A young man brought up in the slums became an efficient workman, and was in the receipt of a good and regular wage. He married a superior girl, and took a house in a respectable street. But, shortly after, the man confided to a friend that in his new surroundings he felt like a fish out of water. "In the old spot," he said, "fellows talked about things I cared for—talk was always about football or some'at like that—but here I don't know a soul, and shouldn't know what to talk about if I did. At home we had meals when we liked—the kettle was on the hob, and some food on the table. But now I have to sit down properly—there's always a tablecloth on the table, that I mustn't mess up, and altogether things aren't half so comfortable!" This man is now settling down to his new life, and soon, no doubt, will appreciate its advantages.

to place them below the "primary" poverty line. For instance, they may be paying off some debt contracted at a time when the wage-earner was out of work.

The investigator, judging by appearances, would place such families above the poverty line, whilst he would no doubt place below it some families living in the slums who should not have been so counted.



Probably, however, these sources of error to a large degree cancel each other.

By the method described above, it was found that families comprising 20,302 *persons, equal to* 43·4 *per cent of the wage-earning class, and to* 27·84 *per cent of the total population of the city, were living in poverty.* If the 7230 persons found to be living in "primary" poverty are deducted, it is found that 13,072 *persons, or* 17·93 *per cent of the population, were living in "secondary" poverty.* The above diagram shows the proportion which the population

living in poverty bears to the total population of York.

That nearly 30 per cent of the population are found to be living in poverty is a fact of the gravest significance.

In the next chapter, information collected in the course of the present inquiry will be further examined with a view of gaining some light upon the immediate causes of this poverty.

CHAPTER V

THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF POVERTY IN YORK

It is no part of the object of this chapter to discuss the ultimate causes of poverty. To attempt this would be to raise the whole social question. The object is rather to indicate the immediate causes of (*a*) "primary" poverty, and (*b*) "secondary" poverty in York.

(*a*) *Immediate Causes of "Primary" Poverty*

These appear to fall under the following headings:—

(1) Death of chief wage-earner.

(2) Incapacity of chief wage-earner through accident, illness, or old age.

(3) Chief wage-earner out of work.

(4) Chronic irregularity of work (sometimes due to incapacity or unwillingness of worker to undertake regular employment).

(5) Largeness of family, *i.e.* cases in which the family is in poverty because there are more than four children, though it would not have been in

poverty had the number of children not exceeded four.

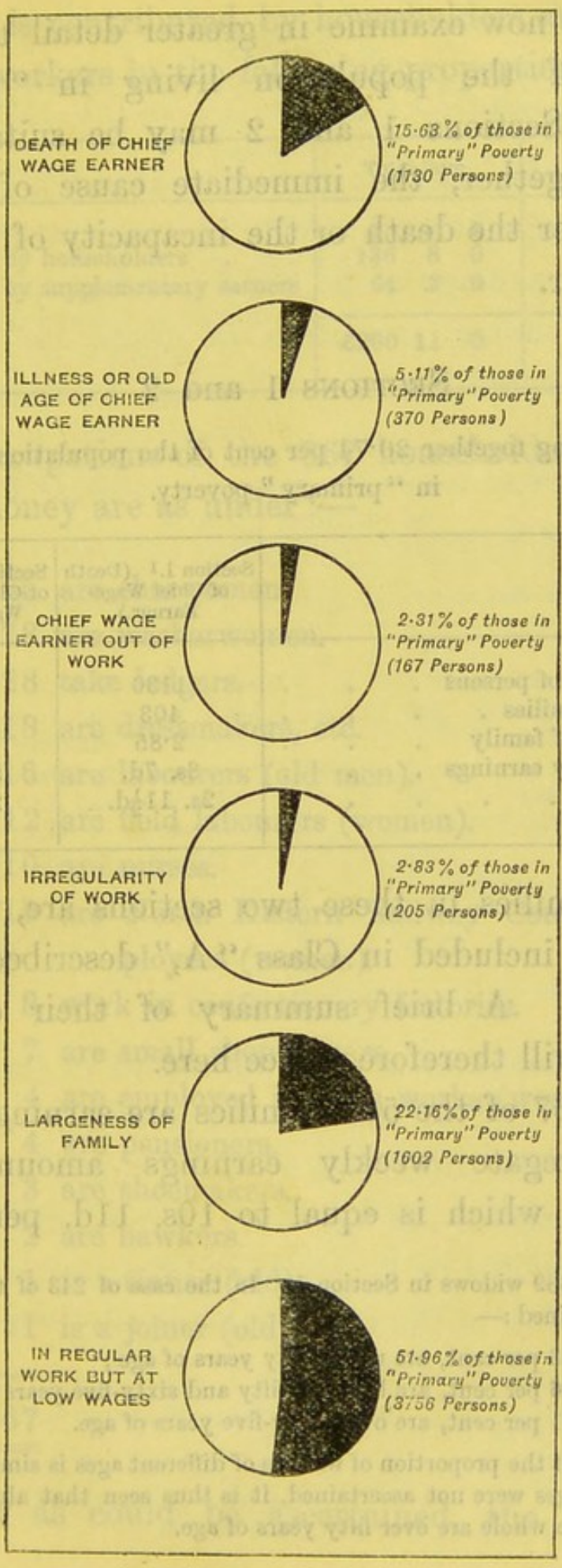
(6) Lowness of wage, *i.e.* where the chief wage-earner is in regular work, but at wages which are insufficient to maintain a moderate family (*i.e.* not more than four children) in a state of physical efficiency.

On analysing the cases of "primary" poverty in York, we find that they are immediately due to one or other of the above causes in the following proportions :—

Section.	No. of Households affected.	Immediate Cause of "Primary" Poverty.	No. of Children affected.	No. of Adults affected.	Total Number affected.	Percentage of Total Population living under "Primary" Poverty Line.
1.	403 [1]	Death of chief wage-earner . .	460	670	1130	15·63
2.	146	Illness or old age of chief wage-earner . . .	81	289	370	5·11
3.	38	Chief wage-earner out of work . .	78	89	167	2·31
4.	51	Irregularity of work	94	111	205	2·83
5.	187	Largeness of family, *i.e.* more than four children .	1122	480	1602	22·16
6.	640	In regular work, but at low wages	2380	1376	3756	51·96
	1465		4215	3015	7230	100·00

The proportion of "primary" poverty, due to various causes, is shown in the accompanying diagram.

[1] In this section are also included fourteen cases of women deserted by, or separated from, their husbands.


DEATH OF CHIEF WAGE EARNER
15·63% of those in "Primary" Poverty (1130 Persons)
ILLNESS OR OLD AGE OF CHIEF WAGE EARNER
5·11% of those in "Primary" Poverty (370 Persons)
CHIEF WAGE EARNER OUT OF WORK
2·31% of those in "Primary" Poverty (167 Persons)
IRREGULARITY OF WORK
2·83% of those in "Primary" Poverty (205 Persons)
LARGENESS OF FAMILY
22·16% of those in "Primary" Poverty (1602 Persons)
IN REGULAR WORK BUT AT LOW WAGES
51·96% of those in "Primary" Poverty (3756 Persons)

Let us now examine in greater detail the above sections of the population living in "primary" poverty. Sections 1 and 2 may be suitably considered together, the immediate cause of poverty being either the death or the incapacity of the chief wage-earner.

Sections 1 and 2

Comprising together 20·74 per cent of the population living in "primary" poverty.

	Section 1.[1] (Death of Chief Wage-Earner.)	Section 2. (Illness or Old Age of Chief Wage-Earner.)
Total number of persons . . .	1130	370
Number of families	403	146
Average size of family . . .	2·85	2·53
Average family earnings . . .	8s. 7d.	5s. 7¼d.
Average rent	2s. 11½d.	2s. 8¾d.

The families in these two sections are, with few exceptions, included in Class "A," described on pp. 32 *et seq.* A brief summary of their economic condition will therefore suffice here.

Only 367 of the 549 families are earning money, their aggregate weekly earnings amounting to £200 : 11s., which is equal to 10s. 11d. per family.

[1] There are 389 widows in Section 1. In the case of 243 of these the age has been ascertained :—

81, or 33·3 per cent, are under fifty years of age ;
89, or 36·6 per cent, are between fifty and sixty-five years of age ;
73, or 30·1 per cent, are over sixty-five years of age.

If we assume that the proportion of widows of different ages is similar amongst the 146 whose ages were not ascertained, it is thus seen that almost exactly two-thirds of the whole are over fifty years of age.

This sum is contributed by householders and supplementary workers in the following proportion :—

	Total Sum.			Per Family.	
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
Contributed by householders . .	136	8	0	7	$5\frac{1}{4}$
Contributed by supplementary earners	64	3	0	3	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	£200	11	0	10	11

The occupations of the 367 householders who are earning money are as under :—

165 are charwomen.
78 are washerwomen.
28 take lodgers.
18 are dressmakers, etc.
16 are labourers (old men).
12 are field labourers (women).
10 are nurses.
10 are North Eastern Railway Company's employees (women).
8 work in confectionery factories.
7 are small shopkeepers.
4 are employed in glass works (women).
4 are pensioners.
3 are shoemakers.
2 are hawkers.
1 is a tinner (old).
1 is a joiner (old).

367

As far as could be ascertained, the remaining

182 householders are earning no money, but are dependent upon public and private charity for their support.

Considering the two sections as a whole we find that the total rent paid weekly amounts to £73 : 12 : 3, equal to an average of 2s. 10¾d. per family.

The economic condition of these two sections may be gathered from the following statement:—

STATEMENT SHOWING INCOME AND ESTIMATED NECESSARY EXPENDITURE OF SECTIONS 1 AND 2

INCOME.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
Weekly estimated income of 367 families	200	11	0	Weekly rent . .	73	12	3
182 families without income . . .	0	0	0	Weekly minimum cost of food and sundries, necessary to maintain 959 adults and 541 children in a state of physical efficiency	302	15	8
Weekly poor relief .	64	3	6[1]				
Weekly balance— **Deficiency** . . (=4s. 10¾d. per family)	111	13	5				
	£376	7	11		£376	7	11

A consideration of this statement of income and expenditure, and of the number of persons who are living under the conditions which it indicates, reminds us how precarious are the lives of the poor, who are at all times liable to be plunged into poverty by the death or illness of the chief wage-earner. It must be borne in mind that Sections 1 and 2 comprise not only adults, but 541 children.

[1] These figures, and others on subsequent pages, regarding poor relief were obtained by examination of the official records.

Section 3

Comprising 2·31 per cent of the total population living in "primary" poverty.

Immediate Cause of Poverty: Chief Wage-Earner out of Work

Total number of persons	167
Number of families	38
Average size of family	4·34
Average family income	5s. 3d.
Average rent	3s. 1½d.

The occupations ordinarily followed by the men returned as out of work are as follows:—

25	labourers	3	comb-makers
1	gardener	1	butcher
1	waiter	1	sawyer
1	gilder	1	grocer's assistant
1	wheelwright	1	bricklayer
1	carter	—	
1	gasfitter	38	

This list does not include all the men out of work in York, but only those whose lack of work causes them to come below the "primary" poverty line. It must also be remembered that, as pointed out on p. 46, the inquiry was made at a time when there was an almost unexampled demand for labour (summer 1899).

The total weekly earnings of this section amount to £10, equal to 5s. 3d. per family. This is all earned by supplementary earners.

The following statement shows the weekly income and necessary expenditure of Section 3 :—

Income.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Weekly income of 38 families	10	0	0	Weekly rent	5	18	8
Weekly poor relief	1	0	0	Weekly minimum cost of food and sundries necessary to maintain 89 adults and 78 children in a state of physical efficiency	30	17	0
Weekly balance— **Deficiency** (= 13s. 6¾d. per family)	25	15	8				
	£36	15	8		£36	15	8

The heavy deficiency, amounting to 13s. 6¾d. per family, is met mainly by foregoing the necessaries of physical efficiency, and by running into debt, especially with the pawnbroker, the landlord, and with small shopkeepers. If the lack of work continues for a considerable period, the burden of debt upon the family becomes very heavy, and may take years to clear off. A part of the above deficiency may be precariously relieved by private charity and by picking up "odd jobs."

Section 4

Comprising 2·83 per cent of the total population living in "primary" poverty.

Immediate Cause of Poverty: Chronic Irregularity of Work

Total number of persons	205
Number of families	51
Average size of family	4
Average family earnings	13s. 2d.
Average rent	3s. 0¾d.

The number of these casual workers appears small, but it must be remembered that only those are included whose total family earnings are so low as to place the family below the poverty line. There are many casual workers in York whose individual earnings are small, but who are raised above the "primary" poverty line on account of the earnings of their wives and children.

It is obviously difficult to estimate the income of casual workers. The following particulars have, however, been arrived at after careful investigation.

The estimated total weekly income of this section is £33 : 12s., contributed by householders and by supplementary workers in the following proportions :—

	Total Sum.			Per Family.	
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
Contributed by householders . .	29	7	6	11	6
Contributed by supplementary workers	4	4	6	1	8
	£33	12	0	13	2

The occupations of the householders in this section are as follows :—

20 labourers	3 rag and bone gatherers
17 hawkers	1 jobbing gardener
1 "handy man"	1 drover
4 outdoor porters	1 shoeblack
3 street musicians	—
	51

The following statement shows the income and estimated necessary expenditure of Section 4 :—

Income.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Weekly estimated income of 51 families .	33	12	0	Weekly rent . .	7	16	0
Weekly poor relief .	0	12	0	Weekly minimum cost of food and sundries necessary to maintain 111 adults and 94 children in a state of physical efficiency .	38	6	10
Weekly balance— Deficiency . . (=4s. 8d. per family)	11	18	10				
	£46	2	10		£46	2	10

It is probable that not a few of the wage-earners in this section would be unfitted for, or unwilling to undertake, any regular work, even if it were offered to them.

Section 5

Comprising 22·16 per cent of the total population living in "primary" poverty.

Immediate Cause of Poverty: Largeness of Family[1]

Total number of persons . . .	1602
Number of families	187
Average size of family	8·56
Average family earnings . . .	29s. 6½d.
Average rent	4s. 4½d.

[1] The average size of families in York, according to the 1901 census returns, was 4·71 ; the figure for England and Wales was 4·61.

A large family is, of course, only a cause of poverty so long as the children are dependent upon the wages of the householder. As soon as the children begin to earn money they become a source of income. But the poverty period, with its accompaniments of under-feeding, scanty clothing, and overcrowding, lasts during the first ten or more years of their lives, a circumstance which cannot fail to arrest their mental and physical development.

This section comprises almost a quarter of those who are living in "primary" poverty. The number of children per family varies from five to ten, the average being six.

There are	66	households with	5 children
„	76	„	6 „
„	29	„	7 „
„	12	„	8 „
„	3	„	9 „
„	1	„	10 „
	187		

The total weekly income of this section is £276 : 6 : 6, which is contributed by householders and supplementary earners in the following proportions :—

	Total Sum.			Per Family.	
	£	s.	d.	s.	d.
Contributed by householders . .	243	13	0	26	$0\frac{3}{4}$
Contributed by supplementary workers	32	13	6	3	$5\frac{3}{4}$
	£276	6	6	29	$6\frac{1}{2}$

The occupations of the heads of households are as follows :—

27 blacksmiths, strikers, etc.	4 butchers
15 painters	3 glassblowers
16 joiners, etc.	3 plumbers
6 bricklayers	3 bootmakers
14 railway employees	2 confectioners
6 furnishing trades	2 police constables
6 tailors	1 corkcutter

1 electrician	1 schoolmaster
1 maltster	1 asylum attendant
1 sweep	7 clerks
1 commercial traveller	47 labourers
1 waiter	4 carters
1 general shopkeeper	3 dairymen
1 compositor	4 cabdrivers
1 postman	3 watermen
1 druggist	
	187

The following statement shows the income and estimated necessary expenditure of Section 5 :—

Income.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Weekly income of 187 families	276	6	6	Weekly rent	40	18	7
Weekly parish relief	2	5	0	Weekly minimum cost of food and sundries necessary to maintain 480 adults and 94 children in a state of physical efficiency	264	1	10
Weekly balance—Deficiency (=2s. 9¾d. per family)	26	8	11				
	£305	0	5		£305	0	5

Section 6

Comprising 51·96 per cent of the total population living in "primary" poverty.

Immediate Cause of Poverty: Lowness of Wage

Total number of persons	3756
Number of families	640
Average size of family	5·86
Average family earnings	18s. 9d.
Average rent	3s. 6½d.

This section comprises more than half of the persons who are living in "primary" poverty.

The total weekly earnings of this section amount to £600, which is contributed by householders and supplementary workers in the following proportions :—

	Total Sum.	Per Family.
	£ s. d.	s. d.
Contributed by householders . .	586 14 0	18 4
Contributed by supplementary workers	13 6 0	0 5[1]
	£600 0 0	18 9

The occupations of the heads of households in this section are as follows :—

469 general labourers[2]
47 carters, cabmen, grooms, etc.
21 painters' labourers
19 railway employees
12 small shopkeepers
12 cobblers
9 clerks
8 chimney sweeps
7 gardeners
5 butchers
5 tailoring trade
8 postal service, etc.
3 watermen
3 furniture removers
2 porters
2 packers
8 —one each tanner, milkman, waiter, lamplighter, teacher of music, barman, hairdresser, and bookbinder

640

[1] It will be noticed that the average sum earned by the supplementary earners is much smaller than in the other sections. The explanation of this is to be found in the fact, than in this section the chief wage-earner is in every case in receipt of a regular income, and as soon as the earnings of the children become considerable the family rises above the "primary" poverty line. The families below it are therefore chiefly those with young children who are not earning wages.

[2] Many of these are engaged in factories or on the railway.

The following statement shows the income and estimated necessary expenditure of Section 6 :—

Income.	£	s.	d.	Expenditure.	£	s.	d.
Weekly income of 640 families . . .	600	0	0	Weekly rent . .	112	15	5
Weekly balance—				Weekly minimum cost of food and sundries necessary to maintain 1376 adults and 2380 children in a state of physical efficiency .	648	2	0
Deficiency . . (=5s. 0¼d. per family)	160	17	5				
	£760	17	5		£760	17	5

It will have been noticed that Section 6 consists of unskilled workers of various grades, 73 per cent being general labourers ; whilst the others holding the lower posts in their respective occupations are employed upon work which is scarcely more difficult or responsible than that of the general labourer, and whose wages are consequently only slightly, if at all, in excess of those paid to the latter. That so many wage-earners should be in a state of primary poverty will not be surprising to those who have read the preceding pages. Allowing for broken time, the average wage for a labourer in York is from 18s. to 21s. ; whereas, according to the figures given earlier in this chapter, the minimum expenditure necessary to maintain in a state of physical efficiency a family of two adults and three children is 21s. 8d.,[1]

[1] This estimate is arrived at thus (see p. 110) :—

	s.	d.
Food—two adults at 3s.	6	0
three children at 2s. 3d.	6	9
Carry forward . .	12	9

or, if there are four children, the sum required would be 26s.

It is thus seen that *the wages paid for unskilled labour in York are insufficient to provide food, shelter, and clothing adequate to maintain a family of moderate size in a state of bare physical efficiency.* It will be remembered that the above estimates of necessary minimum expenditure are based upon the assumption that the diet is even less generous than that allowed to able-bodied paupers in the York Workhouse, and that *no allowance is made for any expenditure other than that absolutely required for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.*

And let us clearly understand what "merely physical efficiency" means. A family living upon the scale allowed for in this estimate must never spend a penny on railway fare or omnibus. They must never go into the country unless they walk. They must never purchase a halfpenny newspaper or spend a penny to buy a ticket for a popular concert. They must write no letters to absent children, for they cannot afford to pay the postage. They must never contribute anything to their church or chapel, or give any help to a neighbour

	s.	d.
Brought forward . .	12	9
Rent—say	4	0
Clothes—two adults at 6d.	1	0
three children at 5d.	1	3
Fuel	1	10
All else—five persons at 2d.	0	10
Total .	21	8

which costs them money. They cannot save, nor can they join sick club or Trade Union, because they cannot pay the necessary subscriptions. The children must have no pocket money for dolls, marbles, or sweets. The father must smoke no tobacco, and must drink no beer. The mother must never buy any pretty clothes for herself or for her children, the character of the family wardrobe as for the family diet being governed by the regulation, "Nothing must be bought but that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of physical health, and what is bought must be of the plainest and most economical description." Should a child fall ill, it must be attended by the parish doctor; should it die, it must be buried by the parish. Finally, the wage-earner must never be absent from his work for a single day.

If any of these conditions are broken, the extra expenditure involved is met, *and can only be met*, by limiting the diet; or, in other words, by sacrificing physical efficiency.

That few York labourers receiving 20s. or 21s. per week submit to these iron conditions in order to maintain physical efficiency is obvious. And even were they to submit, physical efficiency would be unattainable for those who had three or more children dependent upon them. It cannot therefore be too clearly understood, nor too emphatically repeated, *that whenever a worker having three children dependent on him, and receiving not more than*

21s. 8d. per week, indulges in any expenditure beyond that required for the barest physical needs, he can do so only at the cost of his own physical efficiency, or of that of some members of his family.

If a labourer has but two children, these conditions will be better to the extent of 2s. 10d.; and if he has but one, they will be better to the extent of 5s. 8d. And, again, as soon as his children begin to work, their earnings will raise the family above the poverty line. But the fact remains that every labourer who has as many as three children must pass through a time, probably lasting for about ten years, when he will be in a state of "primary" poverty; in other words, when he and his family will be *underfed*.[1]

[1] Some readers may be inclined to say, upon reading the above, "This surely is an over-statement. Look at the thousands of families with incomes of 18s. to 21s., or even less, where the men *do* smoke and *do* spend money upon drink, and the women *do* spend money on dress and recreation, and yet, in spite of it all, they seem happy and contented, and the men make good workmen!" Such arguments against the actual pressure and the consequences of poverty will, however, upon closer investigation be found to be illusory. They come amongst a class of arguments against which Bastiat, the French economist, warned his readers in a series of articles entitled, "That which is seen, and that which is not seen." In these articles the writer pointed out the danger of forming judgments upon social and economic questions without thoroughly investigating them.

In the argument referred to above, the money spent by the poor upon drink, dress, or recreation is one of the "*things that are seen.*" There are, however, consequences of poverty which are "*not seen.*"

We *see* that many a labourer, who has a wife and three or four children, is healthy and a good worker, although he only earns a pound a week. What we do *not see* is that in order to give him enough food, mother and children habitually go short, for the mother knows that all depends upon the wages of her husband.

We *see* the man go to the public-house and spend money on drink; we do *not see* the children going supperless to bed in consequence.

These unseen consequences of poverty have, however, to be reckoned with —the high death-rate among the poor, the terribly high infant mortality, the stunted stature and dulled intelligence,—all these and others are not seen

The life of a labourer is marked by five alternating periods of want and comparative plenty. During early childhood, unless his father is a skilled worker, he probably will be in poverty; this will last until he, or some of his brothers or sisters, begin to earn money and thus augment their father's wage sufficiently to raise the family above the poverty line. Then follows the period during which he is earning money and living under his parents' roof; for some portion of this period he will be earning more money than is required for lodging, food, and clothes. This is his chance to save money. If he has saved enough to pay for furnishing a cottage, this period of comparative prosperity may continue after marriage until he has two or three children, when poverty will again overtake him. This period of poverty will last perhaps for ten years, *i.e.* until the first child is fourteen years old and begins to earn wages; but if there are more than three children it may last longer.[1] While the children are earning, and before they leave the home to marry, the man enjoys another period of prosperity—possibly, however, only to sink back again into poverty when his children have married and left him, and he himself is too old to work, for his income has never permitted

unless we look beneath the surface; and yet all are having their effect upon the poor, and consequently upon the whole country.

I would therefore ask any readers who think I have over-stated my case in the preceding pages to defer judgment until they read Chapter VII., where the question of "Poverty and the Health Standard" is dealt with.

[1] It is to be noted that the family are in poverty, and consequently are underfed, during the first ten or more years of the children's lives. The effect of poverty upon the children is discussed in detail on p. 209 *et seq.*

his saving enough for him and his wife to live upon for more than a very short time.

A labourer is thus in poverty, and therefore underfed—

(*a*) In childhood—when his constitution is being built up.

(*b*) In early middle life—when he should be in his prime.

(*c*) In old age.

The accompanying diagram may serve to illustrate this :—

It should be noted that the women are in poverty during the greater part of the period that they are bearing children.

We thus see that the 7230 persons shown by this inquiry to be in a state of "primary" poverty,[1] *represent merely that section who happened to be in one of these poverty periods at the time the inquiry was made.* Many of these will, in course of time, pass on into a period of comparative prosperity ; this will take place as soon as the children, now dependent, begin to earn. But their places below the poverty line will be taken by others who are at present living

[1] See p. 111.

in that prosperous period previous to, or shortly after, marriage. Again, many now classed as above the poverty line were below it until the children began to earn. The proportion of the community who at one period or other of their lives suffer from poverty to the point of physical privation is therefore much greater, and the injurious effects of such a condition are much more widespread than would appear from a consideration of the number who can be shown to be below the poverty line at any given moment.

How widespread the effects of "primary" poverty in a labourer's life emphasise the fact that the great opportunity for a labourer to save money is after he has reached manhood, and before marriage. In view of this consideration, it was felt that it would be of interest to ascertain whether the age at which labourers marry is early in comparison with that of other sections of the community.

With this object the writer has obtained particulars regarding the marriages which took place in York

[1] There is no doubt that poor people are often very good to each other, and that those who are in the poverty period not infrequently receive gifts of clothes and food from friends and relatives who are in the stages of less pressure. Whilst such assistance mitigates the full pressure of want in certain cases, it is neither general enough nor sufficient in amount to interfere with the argument set forth above.

during 1898 and 1899, the age and occupation of the bridegroom and the age of the bride being ascertained in each case. In most cases the street in which the bridegroom lived was ascertained, but the name of bride or bridegroom was not ascertained in any case. Information was obtained regarding 1123 marriages of persons belonging to the working class. In the case of 626 of these the bridegrooms were skilled workers, while 497 were unskilled labourers.

An examination of the ages at which these 1123 persons married shows that while nearly one-third of the labourers married under twenty-three years of age, less than one-fifth of the skilled workers did so, and that 58 per cent of the labourers married under twenty-six years as compared with 49 per cent of the skilled workers.

The following table shows the number of each class who married at various ages (1898-99):[1]—

Age at Marriage.	Skilled Workers.		Labourers.	
	Number.	Per Cent.	Number.	Per Cent.
Under 20	3	·5	21	4·2
20-22	114	18·2	138	27·7
23-25	188	30·0	132	26·5
26-30	174	27·8	117	23·5
31-35	61	9·8	40	8·1
36-40	19	3·0	22	4·5
41-45	29	4·6	7	1·4
46-50	15	2·4	7	1·4
Over 50	23	3·7	13	2·7
	626	100·0	497	100·0

[1] Further particulars will be found in Appendix D, where the ages of the brides, and the marriage ages in different countries, are also given.

In view of the above figures, it is clear that a considerably larger proportion of labourers than of skilled workers marry young. This fact no doubt indicates how the exercise of prudence and of forethought increases as you advance in the social scale, but two other important causes of early marriages amongst the labouring class must not be overlooked, viz.—

1. The overcrowded condition of the homes from which the labourers chiefly come makes them anxious to have a home of their own, in which, at any rate, so long as there are no children, they will be free from the many inconveniences inseparable from overcrowded surroundings.

2. Generally speaking the labourers have fewer intellectual interests and pleasures than skilled workers, and doubtless some of them enter upon marriage partly with a view to relieving the monotony of their lives.

(*b*) *Immediate Causes of "Secondary" Poverty*

Number of persons living in "secondary" poverty in York	13,072
Percentage of total population	18·51
Percentage of working-class population	28

It will be remembered that the amount of "secondary" poverty was arrived at by estimating the total poverty in York, and then subtracting the "primary" poverty, which had been previously ascertained.

The amount of "primary" poverty was based upon a low estimate of the minimum expenditure necessary for the maintenance of physical efficiency. Had a higher estimate been adopted, the effect would have been to increase the proportion of "primary" poverty and to decrease the proportion of "secondary" poverty.

On p. 112 it was pointed out that in addition to those returned as being in "primary" poverty, there are no fewer than 2312 persons belonging to families with incomes only 2s. above the standard adopted in fixing the "primary" poverty line. In other words, these families are living practically *on* the "primary" poverty line. Had they been included amongst those returned as being in "primary" poverty, the proportion of "primary" to total poverty would have been raised from 35·6 per cent to 47 per cent, and the proportion of "secondary" to total poverty would have fallen correspondingly from 64·4 per cent to 53 per cent. It is thus seen that the point at which "primary" passes into "secondary" poverty is largely a matter of opinion, depending upon the standard of well-being which is considered necessary. But even if a higher standard were chosen than that adopted in the preceding chapter when fixing the "primary" poverty line, there would still remain a considerable amount of poverty indisputably "secondary" which would appear to be mainly due to the following immediate causes, namely—

Drink, betting, and gambling. Ignorant or careless housekeeping, and other improvident expenditure, the latter often induced by irregularity of income.

It is not possible to ascertain the proportion of "secondary" poverty assignable to each of the above causes; probably all are factors in the poverty of many households, and they act and react powerfully upon each other. There can be but little doubt, however, that the predominant factor is drink. I have been unable to form any close estimate of the average sum spent weekly upon drink by working-class families in York, but a careful estimate has been made by others of the average sum expended weekly by working-class families throughout the United Kingdom. This average is arrived at, in the first instance, by dividing that portion of the yearly national drink-bill which competent authorities assign to the working classes by the number of working-class families in England. This results in a figure of 6s. 10d. as the average weekly sum spent upon drink by each such family. This estimate has been examined in great detail by Messrs. Rowntree and Sherwell, who have tested the figure in a great number of ways.[1] The result of their investigation is summed up as follows:—"That a large proportion of the working classes spend very much less than the amount suggested is certain, but

[1] See *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, by Rowntree and Sherwell, 7th and subsequent editions, p. 20. Some of the figures used in forming their estimate were collected in York.

it is equally certain that a considerable number spend very much more, and when all possible deductions have been made, it is doubtful if the average family expenditure of the working classes upon intoxicants can be reckoned at less than 6s. per week."

There is no reason to suppose that the average sum spent upon drink by working-class families in York is lower than the average for the United Kingdom. An expenditure of 6s. per family upon drink would absorb more than one-sixth of the average total family income of the working classes of York.

With regard to betting and gambling, it is obviously not possible to obtain even approximate statistics regarding the extent to which the habit prevails amongst the working classes, or to measure the amount of poverty which it causes. There is, however, ample evidence that it is very largely indulged in not only by working men, but also by women, and, to a lesser extent, even by children. Some evidence regarding the magnitude of the evil is afforded by the following extract from *The Bulletin*,[1] November 1896: "A York bookmaker was shown to have had 3500 transactions in one month, in sums varying from 6d. to 4s. This did not include York races." A good deal of general evidence in support of the view that the habit of betting and gambling is not only a great but a growing evil amongst the working classes was gathered during the course of the

[1] *The Bulletin* is the half-yearly record of the National Anti-Gambling League.

present inquiry, but it is difficult to reduce it to any definite statement.[1]

Though we speak of the above causes as those mainly accounting for most of the "secondary" poverty, it must not be forgotten that they are themselves often the outcome of the adverse conditions under which too many of the working classes live. Housed for the most part in sordid streets, frequently under overcrowded and unhealthy conditions, compelled very often to earn their bread by monotonous and laborious work, and unable, partly through limited education and partly through overtime and other causes of physical exhaustion, to enjoy intellectual recreation, what wonder that many of these people

[1] Since writing the above, further concrete evidence of the prevalence of gambling in York has come to light. On June 17, 1901, the Chief Constable prosecuted two men for using a house for betting purposes. The house is a simple cottage situated in a working-class district of the city. The following extracts are taken from the report of the trial :—"P.-C. Whittaker stated that from a place of concealment he watched the house on the 6th, 7th, 8th, 11th, and 12th of the present month (June 1901). During the time he was watching 534 persons—men, women, boys, and girls—called at the house. Some went inside and stayed a second or two, others remained at the door and passed slips of paper to T——, who stood just within the door. They followed quickly on each other, and at one time there were eight persons at the door together. In some cases money was seen to pass. On the first day he watched from 11.50 A.M. to 2 o'clock, and during that time there visited the house 84 men, 12 boys, 4 women, and 3 girls—103 in all. On the second day he took observations from 10.42 to 2.23, and saw 139 persons go to the house—97 men, 26 boys, 6 women, and 10 girls. On the 8th June he watched from 10.34 to 2.9, and saw 155 visits paid. This was a Saturday. There were 109 men, 33 boys, 7 women, and 6 girls. On the 11th, between 11.15 and 2.8, there were 72 men, 13 boys, 4 women, and 5 girls ; and on 12th June, from 11.25 to 1.25, the time of the raid, there were 29 men, 12 boys, 1 woman, and 2 girls. In addition to these he saw T—— pass out into the street and take slips from cabmen and carters by the roadside. . . . The Bench found the case, which was an extremely bad one, fully proved, and to mark their strong objection to the practice and the employment of children, fined T—— T—— £50 and costs, and R—— T—— £25 and costs."

fall a ready prey to the publican and the bookmaker? The limited horizon of the mother has a serious effect upon her children; their home interests are narrow and unattractive, and too often they grow up prepared to seek relief from the monotony of their work and environment in the public-house, or in the excitement of betting.

The writer is not forgetful of the larger questions bearing upon the welfare of human society which lie at the back of the considerations just advanced. It would, however, lead into fields of thought beyond the scope of this volume adequately to state these problems. Probably it will be admitted that they include questions dealing with land tenure, with the relative duties and powers of the State and of the individual, and with legislation affecting the aggregation or the distribution of wealth. While the immediate causes of "secondary" poverty call for well-considered and resolute action, its ultimate elimination will only be possible when these causes are dealt with as a part of, and in relation to, the wider social problem.

CHAPTER VI

HOUSING

The area of the city of York is 3692 acres. On April 1, 1899, it contained 75,812 persons,[1] or 20·5 to the acre.

The number of houses in the city at the end of 1898 was about 14,500, and at the end of 1899 was 15,858.[2] The number in the middle of 1899 may therefore be estimated at 15,184.

NEARLY every family in York lives in a separate house. Of the 11,560 families included in the present investigation, 11,064 live in separate houses. Of the remainder, 105 families are living in nine block dwellings (*i.e.* buildings erected to accommodate more than one family); the other 391 families are living in houses originally built for occupation by one family only, but now let off in tenements. The number of houses so occupied is 149.

The cottages occupied by one family apiece are practically all two-storeyed dwellings without cellars or attics, and built of bricks. Some are faced with

[1] This figure is the estimate of the Medical Officer of Health, corrected by him in accordance with the result of the 1901 census.

[2] See *Reports of Medical Officer of Health of York for 1898 and 1899.* Where a building is let off in separate tenements, each of these is reckoned as a house; but, as stated above, the number of such tenements in York is extremely small.

red bricks brought from neighbouring districts, but the majority are built entirely of the dingy grayish brick of the locality, and, with the exception of a few old tiled houses, all are slated with blue Welsh slates.

The houses occupied by the working-class population may be roughly divided into three classes—(1) the comfortable houses of the well-to-do artisans; (2) houses, for the most part four-roomed, principally occupied by families in receipt of moderate but regular wages; (3) houses in the poorest districts, many of which are typical "slum" dwellings. Of course no clear dividing line marks off the three classes, for although the difference between houses in Classes 1 and 3 is obvious, it is often difficult to decide whether a house shall be placed in the second class; nevertheless it may be roughly stated that houses occupied by 1466 families belong to Class 1, others occupied by 7145 families to Class 2, and others occupied by 2949 families to Class 3.

I will now proceed to describe these three classes in detail.

CLASS 1.—*Houses of the Well-to-do Artisans, occupied by about* 1466 *Families, equal to* 12 *per cent of the Working-Class Families in York.*

These houses are all in the newer parts of the city. They are situated in streets of a moderate width, about 30 to 35 feet. In exceptional cases

trees have been planted along the sides of the streets, which are a great improvement.

The houses generally have a frontage of from 15 to 17 feet, and usually contain five rooms and a scullery. Some of these houses have bow windows and little railed-in front gardens of about 10 or 12 square yards. Each house has an entrance passage about 3 feet 6 inches wide, from which the stairs lead up. Out of it also open the sitting-room in front and the kitchen or living-room behind. From the latter a door leads into the scullery, which again has a pantry opening out of it. Outside the scullery is a small cemented yard, sometimes with a narrow border of earth, a sad apology for a garden. This yard also contains the water-closet, with which most of these houses are provided, though some of them have midden privies.[1] The sitting-room often contains a piano and an over-mantel in addition to the usual furniture, not to speak of ornamental mantelpieces of imitation marble and brightly-tiled hearths. It is chiefly used on Sundays, or as a receiving-room for visitors who are not on terms sufficiently intimate to be asked into the kitchen. Occasionally it is used by the husband when he has writing to do in connection with friendly or other societies, or by the children when practising music. The real living-room is the kitchen, rendered cheerful and homely by the large open grate and the good

[1] In these the closet and ashpit is combined, the refuse from both accumulating in a brick-lined pit.

oven, unknown in the south, but familiar in the north of England where coal is cheap, and where the thrifty housewife bakes her own bread. The floor of this room is commonly covered with linoleum, although a large home-made hearthrug may lend an air of solid comfort. A sofa, albeit of horsehair or American cloth, an armchair, polished tins, and china ornaments on the high mantelpiece, add the subtle touch of homeliness. Though small, the scullery, which is provided with a sink, water-tap, and "copper" for washing, contributes to the comfort of the house. On washing days, with the door shut between the scullery and the living-room, and the scullery window open, the steam is prevented from penetrating to other parts of the house. Upstairs there are three bedrooms, two of them provided with fireplaces. The third is very small and frequently lacks a fireplace. Few working-men's houses in York are fitted with a bath. The rent of this type of house is about 6s. a week, the rates, which amount to from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. weekly, being paid by the tenant.

CLASS 2.—*Houses occupied principally by those in receipt of moderate but regular Wages; occupied by about* 7145 *Families, or* 62 *per cent of the Working-Class Families in York.*

The streets in which these houses are situated are narrower than those described above. Many

of them are dull and dreary. The houses in this class belong to two general types. In the first they are much on the same plan as houses in Class 1. They are, however, without the bow windows and front gardens, and are built upon a smaller scale, the average frontage being only about 13 feet. In order to leave room for the passage and front parlour, the kitchen, which is also the living-room, is often much cramped, the usual size being about 12 × 11 feet. Pianos are less common, and the parlour is frequently used as a store-room for a perambulator or bicycle. Many houses of this type have only two bedrooms; a third is sometimes built over the scullery, but very small, and without a fireplace. For this extra accommodation fourpence to sixpence a week is added to the rent. The yards are also small, and midden privies are much more common than water-closets, though the latter are being introduced when new houses are built. Some of the houses have no scullery.

The rent for this type of house varies from 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. per week, the general rates, which amount to about 1s. 3d. weekly, being paid by the landlord.

The great majority of houses in this class belong, however, to the type a plan of which is given on the accompanying Plan. Their average frontage is about 12 feet 6 inches. The street door opens straight into the living-room. This room combines the uses of

parlour and kitchen. It is fitted with open range and oven, and all the cooking is done here. The floor is either of tiles or boards covered with linoleum. A table, two or three chairs, a wooden easy-chair, and perhaps a couch, covered with American cloth, complete the furniture of the room. The walls are papered, and decorated with coloured almanacs and pictures, often including some coloured plates from the *Graphic* or other Christmas Supplement. From the living-room a door leads into the scullery, a small room about 9 feet by 12. It is fitted up with a sink and a "copper" used for washing clothes. In some houses a portion of the scullery is partitioned off for a pantry, in others the space under the stairs is made to serve for that purpose. Sometimes a small pantry is erected in the yard. From the scullery a door leads into the yard, which is similar in all respects to those attached to the houses previously described. Occasionally there is no back way, and all ashes and refuse from the midden privy have to be removed through the living-room. Under existing bye-laws, however, a back entrance to every house is insisted upon. Upstairs there are two bedrooms, reached by stairs leading in some cases from the kitchen, in others from the scullery. Many houses approximating more or less closely to this type are being erected at the present time. The rents vary from 4s. to 5s. weekly, the landlord paying the rates, which average about 1s. per week. It is to be regretted that many houses in Class 2 are jerry-built, with thin walls of porous

and damp-absorbing bricks, put together with inferior mortar, and with wood so "green" that after a short time floors, window-frames, and doors shrink, and admit draughts and dust. Such houses will soon tend to degenerate into slums.

CLASS 3.—*Occupied by about* 2949 *Families, equal to* 26 *per cent of the Working-Class Families in York.*

This class comprises all houses which are not good enough to be included in Classes 1 and 2. They may be roughly divided into two grades—first, the houses which are only slightly inferior to those in Class 2, and second, the slum houses. The houses in the first grade are less uniform in general plan than those in Class 2. Many have only two or three rooms, and scarcely any more than four. Their dingy walls add gloom to the narrow streets, and the absence of all architectural relief conveys a sense of depression. Inside a few are clean and tidy, but most are dirty and overcrowded. Generally speaking, it may be said that they are occupied by the struggling poor, who pay rents varying from 2s. or 2s. 6d for a two-roomed house (usually called "an oop-an'-a-doon") to 4s. or 4s. 6d. for a house with four rooms, the landlord paying all rates. Often the closet accommodation is both inadequate and insanitary.

From these houses we descend by degrees to the typical slum dwellings. They were mostly built long before Public Health Acts or bye-laws regulating the width of streets and the construction of houses were heard of. They are generally small, few of them having as many as four rooms. Some are situated in narrow alleys paved with cobbles, others in confined courts which admit sadly too little sunlight and air, and which are often separated from the main street by dark covered passages three or four feet wide.

Overcrowding and insanitary conditions of all kinds abound in the slums, and back-to-back houses in which through ventilation is impossible are common in them. The water-supply is very inadequate, one tap being often the sole supply for a large number of houses. In some cases the tap which supplies the drinking water is fixed in the wall of the water-closet. Pantries and water-closets are sometimes separated by a wall only one brick in thickness. Many of the ashpits are overflowing, and heaps of all kinds of rubbish are distributed promiscuously over the yard or court. Midden privies are usual, and these, like the water-taps, are in many cases shared by several houses. They are particularly offensive in these over-populated and under-ventilated districts. A number of slaughter-houses situated in the midst of the slum districts form another unsatisfactory feature. Even in the poorest districts some

of the houses, to the great credit of the tenants, are kept tidy and clean, but the majority exhibit the usual characteristics of slum property. They have dirty windows, broken panes are frequently stuffed with rags or pasted over with brown paper, and a general appearance of dilapidation and carelessness reveals the condition and character of the tenants.



Inside the rooms are often dark and damp, and almost always dirty. Many of the floors are of red bricks, or of bricks that would be red if they were washed. They are often uneven and much broken, having been laid on to the earth with no concrete or other foundation. On washing-days pools of water collect which gradually percolate through to the damp and unsavoury soil below.

But probably a more accurate picture of the slums

in York will be gained if, instead of dealing with generalities, a few of the houses are described in detail. The writer is indebted for the following particulars to a certificated lady sanitary inspector. The addresses of the houses she describes are omitted.

House No. 1. Four rooms. Seven persons. House very dilapidated. Deep holes in walls, where large pieces of plaster and bricks have fallen away. Frame-work of door partly torn away. Walls and ceiling extremely dirty. People of filthy habits. When inspected the table and floor were covered with crumbs, potato parings, scraps of meat on newspaper, dirty pots, etc. There is one water-tap for two families and one water-closet for three families. The yard and closet were formerly very dirty, but a general improvement has taken place in their condition since first inspected.

House No. 2. Three rooms. Four persons. House dirty in the extreme. Ceiling almost black. Wall-paper begrimed with smoke and dirt. Rain coming through ceiling. Brick floor uneven and in holes ; partially covered with filthy carpet.

House No. 3. Eight single-roomed tenements, situated on the ground floor, and the first, second, and third storeys of a building, and approached by a staircase rising from a dark passage 3 feet wide. Staircase, lighted only by skylight window in highest storey, was also very dark. Wooden stairs worn into holes. The accumulation of dust between the banisters and the wall was measured ; it was of an average depth of 9 inches, measuring 16 inches in one place. One of the tenants states that the staircase has been in this condition for four years. Interior of rooms very dilapidated, having uneven wooden floors, the woodwork round the doors broken away, and deep cracks in the walls. There is no water-supply in the house, the eight families having to share one water-tap, situated in a passage at the back of the buildings, with eight other families who are living in other houses. The grating under this water-tap is used for the disposal of human excreta, and was partially blocked with it when inspected. The above sixteen families also share six water-closets, which are situated in the same passage. The length of the passage is roughly 25 yards, the width 52 inches. The whole is cobbled, and pools of water are standing in some places. A heap of rubbish measuring 3 yards long, 2 feet wide, and 1 foot deep lies in one part, but a considerable portion

of the passage, perhaps a fourth of the whole, is strewn with tin lids, dead flowers, broken bottles, old rags and bones, etc. At the extreme end is an unused privy even more filthy than the passage generally.

House No. 4. Two rooms. Seven inmates. Walls, ceiling, and furniture filthy. Dirty flock bedding in living-room placed on a box and two chairs. Smell of room from dirt and bad air unbearable, and windows and door closed. There is no through ventilation in this house. Children pale, starved-looking, and only half clothed. One boy with hip disease, another with sores over face.

House No. 5. Two rooms. Six inmates. Brick floor in holes. Cupboard door broken off. Wall-paper falling off. Walls in holes in many places, plaster having fallen away and bricks much broken. Staircase very rickety, containing only one sound step. Children very dirty and ragged.

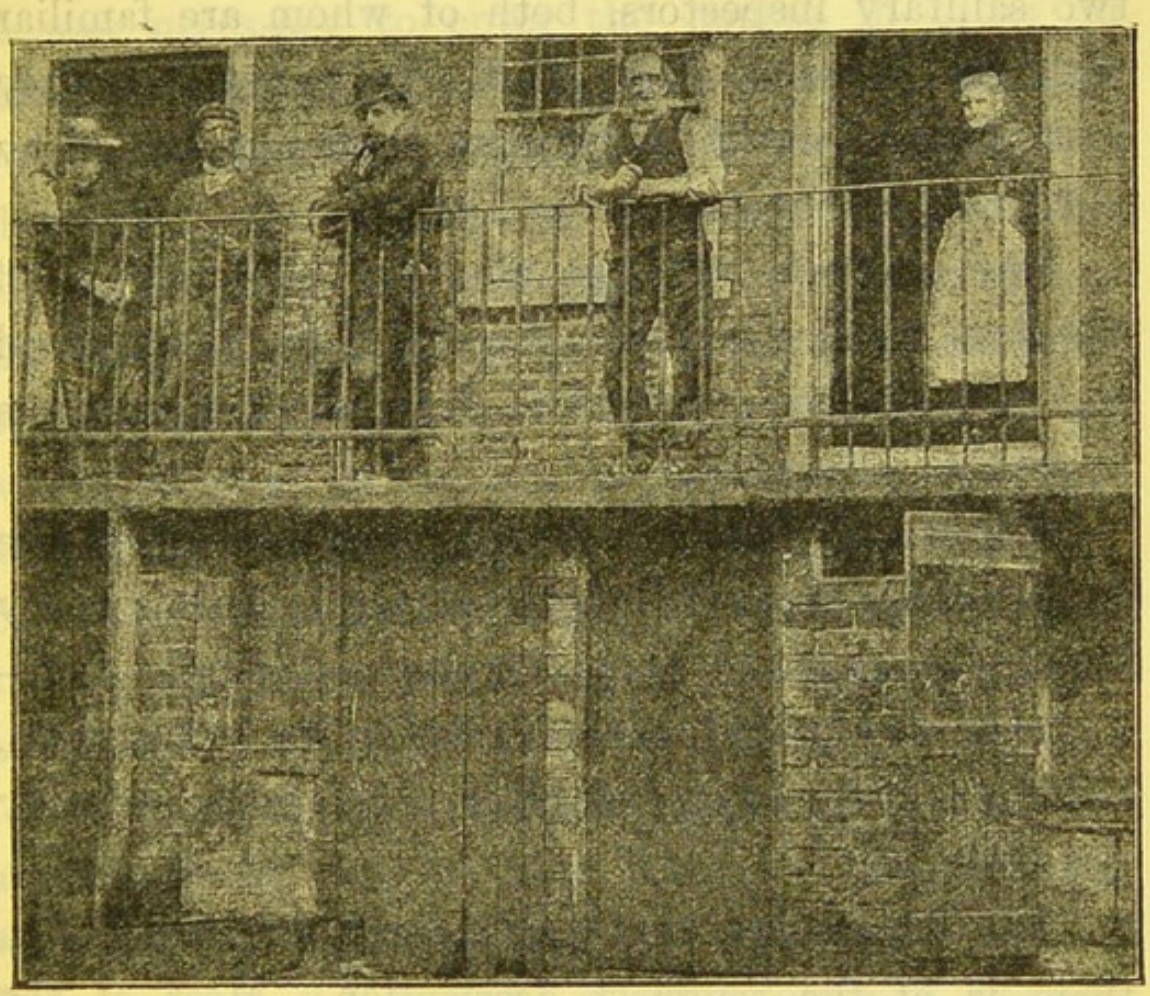
House No. 6. Two rooms. In the lower one the brick floor is in holes. Fireplace without grate in bottom. Wooden floor of upper room has large holes admitting numbers of mice. Roof very defective, the rain falling through on to the bed in wet weather. Outside wall also very damp, plaster falling off. Tenants apparently clean.

House No. 7. Rain comes through roof, requiring pail to be placed below. Holes in walls. Staircase wall-paper falling off. Two window panes broken. Tenant reports that the house is infested with bugs.

Courtyard. Approached by covered passage or tunnel 3 feet wide, 6 feet high, containing staircases leading to two single-roomed tenements. In the yard beyond, which has one row of flags and is otherwise unpaved, are four houses, two being back-to-back with a stable, and a midden-privy adjoins the back wall of the other two. There are three privies and one tap in yard which are shared by these six dwellings.

Courtyard. Entered by passage 3 feet wide. Yard contains in the basement, (*a*) the entrance to six single-roomed tenements, one of which is three storeys high, three are two storeys high, two are on first storey, and below these, on the ground level, are (*b*) six water-closets. The tenement house contains no water, the inmates using a tap in the yard. The roof of the water-closets (approached by a flight of steps) constitutes a landing on to which open four other houses, one of them being let in one-roomed tenements. There is a water-tap on the landing, but the tenants use the closets referred to in the yard below. (See illustration on next page. Note the closets under the balcony.)

Courtyard. Entered by passage 4 feet 9 inches wide. Yard partially cobbled. Six houses join at one tap and one water-closet. Five of these are back-to-back houses, and the sixth is built back-to-back with a slaughter-house. This slaughter-house (which has a stable connected with it) has a block of houses adjoining another of its sides,



and the front of the building is separated from a row of houses by a street only 16 feet wide.

Courtyard. Houses all back-to-back. Yard cobbled and filthy. Ashpit overflowing. Water-supply for twelve houses from one tap *placed in wall of privy.*

It is not to be inferred that all the houses, even in the lower grade of this lowest class, are as bad as those described above, but the number of those where the conditions are as bad, or but little better, is by no means inconsiderable.

The present writer has repeatedly visited typical slums in London, and is convinced that, although larger in extent, they are no worse than those in York. This view is corroborated by the reports of two sanitary inspectors, both of whom are familiar with the London slums, and who agree that they have not seen any in London so degrading and filthy as some they have visited in York.

The necessity of improving the surroundings of the slum dweller is urgent, for it is Nature's universal law that all living things tend to adapt themselves to their environment.

Registered Common Lodging-houses.—There are twenty-three common lodging-houses in York, twenty for single men and three for married couples. Altogether they provide accommodation for 352 persons, but the nightly average number of lodgers is probably not over 300.

The houses are kept fairly clean, but the life in them is of the roughest description. Most of the men pick up a precarious livelihood as general or field labourers, hawkers, drovers, and tramps. They cook their own food at the common fire, eating and often drinking heavily when they have money. When not working they lounge about the streets, or in the common rooms of the lodging-houses.

Back-to back Houses.—For the purposes of this inquiry a special investigation has been made by a sanitary inspector to ascertain the number of back-to-back houses in York.

Owing to the crowded state of the houses in the old parts of the city, in which those which are back-to-back are almost exclusively found, the difficulties of the inquiry have been considerable. In many cases it was necessary to enter the houses in order to ascertain with certainty whether they had through ventilation or not. Altogether it was found that there are 1398 back-to-back houses in York.[1] This is equal to about 9·3 per cent of the total houses in the city, and to about 12 per cent of those occupied by the working classes. The return includes 562 which, although not back-to-back with other *dwelling-houses*, are nevertheless without through ventilation. Some of these are back-to-back with warehouses, stables, or water-closets; others are built against a blank wall.

It is needless to dwell in detail upon the disadvantages of back-to-back houses. To quote the words of Dr. Hill, the Medical Officer of Health of Birmingham: "A house in which there is no through ventilation is necessarily close and stuffy, often dark, and always detrimental to health." Fortunately the bye-laws which have been in force in York since 1870 do not allow houses of this description to be erected. Most municipalities are now alive to the unhealthy character of back-to-back houses, and in some towns numbers of them are being pulled down.

[1] The return is not absolutely complete, as certain parts of the city, where it was known that the proportion of houses which were back-to-back was small, have not been investigated. The figures given are, however, not very far short of the actual number.

Leaving now the general description of the houses occupied by the working classes in York, we note that the number and proportion of houses[1] of different sizes is as follows :—

Size of House.	Number.	Percentage of 11,560 Working-Class Houses.	Percentage of Total Houses in York.
Houses consisting of 1 room	284	2·4	1·8
,, ,, 2 rooms	1401	12·1	9·2
,, ,, 3 ,,[2]	1264	10·9	8·3
,, ,, 4 ,,	4501	38·9	29·5
,, ,, 5 ,,	3607	31·2	24·3
,, ,, 6 or more	503	4·5	3·2
	11,560	100·0	76·3

If we consider the occupants of these houses, we find the numbers living in houses of different sizes to be as follows :—

Size of House.	Number of Occupants.	Percentage of Working-Class Population.	Percentage of Total Population (excluding 2932 Persons in Public Institutions).	Average Number of Occupants per Room.	Average Number of Occupants per House.
1 room (284 houses)	510	1	·7	1·8	1·8
2 rooms (1401 ,,)	4,580	10	6·4	1·6	3·2
3 ,, (1264 ,,)	5,094	11	7·0	1·34	4·0
4 ,, (4501 ,,)	18,548	40	25·4	1·0	4·0
5 ,, (3607 ,,)	15,433	33	21·2	·85	4·2
6 or more rooms (503 ,,)	2,589	5	3·3	·7	4·7
	46,754	100	64·0	...	4·04

We thus see that more than three-fourths of the working classes are living in houses containing four

[1] Here and in subsequent parts of this chapter the term "houses," unless otherwise stated, is meant to cover the 496 tenements which are occupied by separate families, but which are not in separate buildings.

[2] Houses with three or more rooms usually have sculleries. These have not been reckoned as rooms.

rooms or more; and as it is safe to assume that the whole of the servant-keeping class are living in similar or larger houses, we see that 86 per cent of the total population of York are living in houses containing four or more rooms, whilst only 0·7 per cent of the total population are living in single-roomed tenements.

The contrast between the above conditions and those which obtain in London is very striking. In the latter city 386,489 persons or 9·4 per cent of the total population were in 1891 living in one-roomed tenements.[1] No less than 18 per cent of the London tenements consisted of one room only, but even this proportion is low in comparison with the 49·5 per cent of one-roomed tenements in Stockholm, the 44 per cent in Berlin, and the 37·1 per cent in Christiania.[2]

The following table shows the proportion of tenements and houses of various sizes in some other English towns:—

Percentage of Total Tenements and Houses

	1 Room.	2 Rooms.	3 Rooms.	4 Rooms.	Tenements and Houses with 5 Rooms and over.
York . .	**1·8**	**9·2**	**8·3**	**29·5**	**51·2**
London . .	18	20	16	12	34
Leeds . .	1·3	17·5	21·7	25·5	34
Gateshead . .	10·2	36·9	23·1	15·3	14·5
St. Helens . .	0·9	8·7	7·1	42·7	40·6
Stockport . .	1·0	11·8	3·6	50·4	33·2
Southampton .	6·2	9·1	6·6	12·4	65·7

[1] See Census Returns, 1891.

[2] See Paper read before Manchester Statistical Society by Professor Flux, November 1899. It must be borne in mind that in the census returns of some continental cities, a living-room with a small kitchen attached is sometimes returned as a single-room tenement.

Rent

We now come to the important question of *rent*, and will begin the discussion of this subject by a consideration of the cost of building land and of building.

Ground rents are practically unknown in York, the land being almost without exception freehold. On the outskirts of the city, but within the municipal boundary, sites for cottage houses cost about 6s. a square yard. If they are fronting on a main street the cost is somewhat higher. To this sum must be added the cost of making roads and sewers, amounting to about £20 per house. Thus it may be said that sufficient freehold land for the site of a cottage (say 100 square yards) would cost upon the average from £45 to £65, including road-making and sewers.

The cost of building is lower than in many towns. Common bricks may be obtained from the local yards at an average price of 25s. to 28s. per 1000. The Union rates of wages for workmen are as follows :—

Bricklayers	9d. per hour.
Bricklayers' labourers	6d. „
Plasterers	9d. „
Plasterers' labourers	7d. „
Joiners	8¼d. „
Masons	9d. „
Slaters	9d. „
Plumbers	8d. „
Painters	7½d. „

An architect who has had much experience in building cottage property in York informs me that the total cost of a cottage similar to that described on p. 150[1] would be approximately as follows :—

	£	s.	d.
Land (including half-width of road and of back-road)	30	0	0
Making roads and drains	16	0	0
Brickwork (including draining, cement, and tile flooring, supplying and fixing all fire ranges, sink, and "copper")	63	0	0
Joiners' work	33	0	0
Plastering	12	0	0
Plumber and glazier	3	10	0
Painter	3	10	0
Mason	3	10	0
Slater	12	0	0
Papering	1	10	0
Total	178	0	0

If a third bedroom were built over the scullery, the above sum would be increased by about £16.

A cottage similar to that described on p. 152 would cost about £160,[2] whilst the cost of one as described on pp. 147-149, but with a frontage of 16 feet, would be approximately £370.[3] This sum allows for 160 square yards of land at 6s. a yard.

[1] The rent of such a cottage would be 5s. 6d. to 6s. 6d. weekly, the landlord paying all rates (see p. 150).

[2] Rent about 4s. to 5s. weekly, the landlord paying all rates (see p. 151).

[3] Rent about 6s. weekly, the tenant paying all rates, which amount to about 1s. 3d. to 1s. 6d. a week (see p. 149).

If a number of cottages were erected at one time and cash paid for all materials used, the above costs would be reduced by about 5 per cent.

The average rents charged in York for houses of various sizes are as follows (these rents *include* rates in all cases):—

Number of rooms .	1	2	3	4	5
Average rent . .	1s. 7d.	2s. 6d.	3s. 6d.	4s. 7½d.	5s. 9d.

It would be interesting to compare the rents quoted above with those charged for similar accommodation in other towns. But the only reliable figures which are available, relate almost entirely to tenements or houses owned by the municipality (*e.g.* in Glasgow, Birmingham, Liverpool, etc.) or to those owned by Trusts (*e.g.* the Peabody Trust in London, etc.). In these buildings, however, the rents are very frequently below the average sum charged for similar accommodation in the same town, and thus do not form a reliable criterion. There is, however, no doubt that the rents in all the great towns are considerably higher than in York.

Relation of Rent to Income

The total estimated weekly income of the wage-earning classes in York, including the whole earnings of children and other supplementary earners, is

£18,148.[1] The total weekly rent, *including rates*, is £2716, which is equal to 14·88 per cent of the weekly income.

If we analyse these figures further we find the proportion of income which is paid for rent by working-class families with various incomes is as follows:—

Number of Families.	Percentage of Working-class Families in York.	Average Income, including Total Earnings of Children and other Supplementary Earners, and Payments made by Lodgers for Board and Lodging.	Average Rent including Rates.	Percentage of Income paid in Rent.
714	6	Under 18s., average 10s.	2s. 11¼d.	29
1196	10	18s. and under 20s., average 19s. . .	3s. 6¼d.	18
1580	14	20s. ,, 25s., ,, 23s. . .	3s. 11½d.	17
2828	24	26s. ,, 30s., ,, 28s. . .	4s. 6d.	16
2427	21	31s. ,, 40s., ,, 36s. . .	5s. 1d.	14
1006	9	41s. ,, 50s., ,, 45s. 6d. .	5s. 8d.	13
479	4	51s. ,, 60s., ,, 55s. 8d. .	6s. 8¼d.	12
738	7	Over 60s., ,, 74s. . .	7s.	9
592[2]	5	Not known.		
11,560	100			

We thus see that while rent only absorbs 9 per cent of the total income of the few exceptionally well-to-do working-class families earning as much as, or more than, 60s. a week, it absorbs no less than *29 per cent of the total income of the very poor*, whose family earnings are under 18s. weekly.

[1] This sum includes the total earnings of all members of the family who are living at home, and also the sums paid for board and lodging by lodgers. It does not include the wages of domestic servants. See p. 83.

[2] These families consist of those who are living on private means the extent of which was not ascertained, and also a few families regarding whose earnings no satisfactory information was obtained (see note 3, p. 60). The rent of houses occupied by their owners has been estimated according to the class of house.

Of the 11,560 working-class families in York, 680, or nearly 6 per cent, own the houses they live in. The analysis showing the condition or occupation of these 680 house-owners is interesting. The list begins with 120 widows. These live chiefly in the better streets, and are most probably the widows of well-to-do artisans. Then follow 30 spinsters, and 54 men who have retired from active work. Amongst the artisans, joiners head the list with 55 house-owners. Then come the engine-drivers with 45, the large number of the latter being accounted for by the fact that York is a railway centre. After the engine-drivers come 31 clerks, 23 railway-waggon builders, 21 provision-dealers, 15 fitters, 13 builders, 13 cow-keepers, 12 butchers, and 12 "inspectors." After these come a list of 228 persons belonging to no less than 85 different and more or less skilled occupations, and finally we notice that 8 labourers own the houses they live in.

Overcrowding

This may be considered under two heads, (1) density of population per acre, and (2) overcrowding per room.

Overcrowding per acre.—As previously stated, the population of the city on April 1, 1899, was 75,812. Its area is 3692 acres, which gives an average of 20·5 persons per acre.

The following table shows how this figure compares with some other towns:—

Town.	Population.[1]	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
South Shields	97,272	54·0
Plymouth	107,509	42·5
Manchester	544,934	42·1
Birmingham	522,182	41·1
Sunderland	146,565	39·2
Derby	105,785	30·7
Birkenhead	110,960	28·8
Nottingham	239,753	22·0
York	**77,793**	**20·5**
Norwich	111,728	14·7
Bradford	279,809	12·2
St. Helens	84,410	11·6
Bolton	168,205	11·0
Huddersfield	95,008	8·1
Halifax	105,120	7·7

The number of persons per acre in a few of the leading American cities is as follows[2]:—

Town.	Population at Census, June 1, 1900.	Average Number of Persons per Acre.
Baltimore	508,957	21·0
New York	3,437,202	17·4
Pittsburg	321,616	17·0
Philadelphia	1,293,697	14·0
Chicago	1,698,575	13·8
San Francisco	342,782	13·8
Buffalo	352,219	12·0
Boston, Mass.	560,892	9·24
Washington	278,718	6·28

It must, however, be remembered that the population in the various cities, especially in America, is almost invariably unevenly distributed. This is the case in York, where the municipal boundaries were

[1] Taken from the Preliminary Report, 1901 Census.

[2] *Bulletin of the Department of Labour*, No. 30, p. 928. Washington: Government Printing Press, September 1900.

extended in 1884 and again in 1893, and where they now, as may be seen from the map of the city, include large areas of land which have not as yet been opened up for building purposes.

The population per acre in certain of the working-class districts of York rises to a high figure, as may be seen from the following table, the figures of which are based upon a census taken especially in connection with this investigation :—

District.	Population.	Area in Acres.	Population per Acre.	Houses per Acre.
Skeldergate . . .	2009	5·75	349	91·13
Leeman Road . . .	2374	9·66	246	58·07
Walmgate (outside Bar) .	2163	9·14	237	55·58
Nunnery Lane . . .	3110	17·95	173	41·84
Scarcroft Road . . .	1401	11·37	123	32·54
The Groves . . .	4690	38·41	122	30·23
Hungate	1884	17·17	110	26·21
Walmgate (inside Bar) .	4919	47·32	104	25·19
Haxby Road . . .	909	24·36	37	9·81

All the above are residential working-class districts, with the population fairly evenly distributed throughout their midst.

For comparative purposes, it will be interesting to note the density of population per acre for certain of the most overcrowded districts of London.

The figures refer to the year 1891, the latest available at the time of writing.

Registration Sub-District.	Population.	Area in Acres.	Population per Acre.
Bethnal Green (North) . . .	51,520	141	365
Spitalfields	18,869	62	304
Borough Road, Southwark . .	16,624	64	260
St. George's-in-the-East, N. . .	37,738	147	256
Hoxton, Old Town . . .	28,354	117	242
St. Anne, Soho	12,517	53	232
City Road, E.C.	29,177	127	229
Lambeth, Waterloo Road . .	14,031	67	209
Whitechapel (Church) . . .	20,298	105	193
Whitechapel (Goodman's Fields) .	9,413	59	160

It will be observed that the density of population for the district of Skeldergate, York, is 349 persons per acre, a number only exceeded by one of the London figures, viz. that for Bethnal Green, N., where the number of persons per acre is 365.

Of course the York areas given in the table are small, and there is no doubt that there are districts in East London which for areas of corresponding size would show considerably higher figures than those given for York. The figures, however, serve to show that in parts of York the density of population is excessive. The late Sir Benjamin Richardson laid it down that no city would be really healthy which contained more than 25 persons to the acre. We shall therefore be prepared to learn that the health standard in the densely populated districts of York is a low one.

Overcrowding per room. — In the Registrar-General's reports, overcrowding is said to exist when the average number of persons per room is *more than two*. This definition of overcrowding is usually

adopted by writers on social questions, and will be accepted in the present chapter.

According then, to this standard, it was found that 663 families, comprising 4705 persons, are living under overcrowded conditions in York.[1] This is equal to 10·1 per cent of the working-class population, or to 6·4 per cent of the total population[2] of the city.

Analysis of these 4705 overcrowded persons shows that

209	live	in	1	roomed houses.
1714	„		2	„ „
1243	„		3	„ „
1273	„		4	„ „
252	„		5	„ „
14	„		6	„ „

Amongst the 4705 overcrowded persons are included 405 who are living under conditions of *extreme overcrowding* (*i.e.* more than *four* persons to a room).

Although it is unsatisfactory that so many as 6·4 per cent of the total population of the city should be living under overcrowded conditions, the proportion so living in many other towns is very much larger than in York, as will be seen from the following table based upon the figures of the 1891 census :—

[1] The figures given on p. 160 showing the number of persons per room in the 11,560 houses investigated, being *average* figures, do not of course conflict with this statement.

[2] The 2932 persons in public institutions are not included in this calculation.

Town.	Population (1891 census).	Percentage of Population living more than two persons to a room.
Glasgow	564,981	59·0
Gateshead	85,709	40·0
Newcastle-on-Tyne	186,345	35·0
Sunderland	130,921	32·0
Plymouth	84,179	26·0
Halifax	82,864	21·0
Bradford	216,361	20·0
London	4,211,056	19·0
Leeds	367,506	16·0
St. Helens	71,288	15·0
Birmingham	429,171	14·0
Sheffield	324,243	11·0
Liverpool	517,951	10·0
Stockport	70,253	8·5
Manchester	505,343	8·0
Bristol	221,665	8·0
York (1899)	**72,880**	**6·4**

On the other hand, there are a number of towns, some of them of considerable size, where the proportion of overcrowding is, according to the 1891 census returns, considerably less than in York. Amongst these the following may be named :—

Town.	Population.	Percentage overcrowded.
Cardiff	128,849	4·0
Southampton	65,325	3·3
Nottingham	211,984	3·0
Derby	94,146	2·75
Leicester	142,051	2·25

Now let us contrast the amount of air space provided in the houses of the 4705 overcrowded persons in York with that which authorities consider necessary for the maintenance of health. In Messrs. Notter and Firth's standard work, *The Theory and Practice*

of Hygiene, the question of the air space required for health purposes is fully discussed. They point out that although the amount of carbonic acid gas expired by different individuals at different times is not constant, "We shall not be far from the probable truth if we adopt the following amounts of carbonic acid gas as being evolved during repose :—

Adult males	(say 160 lbs. weight)	0·72	of a cubic foot per hour
„ females	(„ 120 lbs. „)	0·6	„ „ „
Children	(„ 80 lbs. „)	0·4	„ „ „
Average of a mixed community		0·6	„ „ „

Under those conditions the amount of fresh air to be supplied in health during repose ought to be :—

For adult males	3600	cubic feet per head per hour	= 102	cubic metres
„ „ females	3000	„ „ „	= 85	„
„ children	2000	„ „ „	= 57	„
„ a mixed community	3000	„ „ „	= 85	„ [1]

The number of cubic feet of space to be allowed to each person in order that they may have this quantity of air will of course depend upon the number of times that the air is changed per hour by ventilation. Speaking on this point they say :— "If the renewal of air is carried on by what is termed natural ventilation, under the ordinary conditions of this climate a change at the rate of six times per hour could not be attempted. Even five times per hour would be too much ; for in barracks with 600 cubic feet per head, the rooms are cold and draughty when anything approaching to 3000 cubic feet per head per hour are passing through, that is, a change

[1] *Theory and Practice of Hygiene*, p. 184.

of five times per hour for each 600 cubic feet of air space. A change equal to three times per hour is generally all that can be borne under the conditions of warming in this country, or that is practically attainable with natural ventilation, and if this be correct, from 1000 to 1200 cubic feet should be the minimum allowance for the initial air space. . . . The amount of cubic space thus assigned for healthy persons is far more than most people are able to have; in the crowded rooms of the artisan class, the average entire space would probably be more often 200 to 250 cubic feet per head than 1000. The expense of the larger rooms would, it may be feared, be fatal to the chance of such an ideal standard being generally carried out, but after all the question is not what is likely to be done, but what ought to be done, and it is an encouraging fact that in most things in this world, when a right course is recognised, it is somehow or other eventually followed."[1]

In view of the above figures, it will be seen that we shall certainly not be adopting too high a standard if we say that each person should have *as a minimum* 800 cubic feet of space for himself. This is the quantity which the late Professor Huxley considered necessary for health. He laid it down that "to be supplied with respiratory air in a fair state of purity, every man ought to have at least 800 cubic feet of space to himself."

In connection with the present inquiry a number of

[1] *Theory and Practice of Hygiene*, pp. 189-190.

measurements have been made to ascertain the average sizes of rooms in houses occupied by the working classes in York. The investigation was confined to houses with less than five rooms. It was found that the average size of room varied from 1080 cubic feet in some houses to 1365 in others. We may take 1200 cubic feet as the general average size of room. This estimate is borne out by the Medical Officer of Health, who has measured a large number of rooms. In a letter to the writer he states that "the average height of the bedrooms of houses of less than five rooms in York is 8 feet to 8 feet 6 inches; the average superficial area is 140 feet; they vary from 50 to 160 square feet." The cubic capacity of a room 8 feet 6 inches high, and having a superficial area of 140 feet, is 1190 cubic feet, which, it will be noted, almost exactly coincides with the estimate arrived at by the writer, as a result of his own investigations. Supposing, therefore, we take 1200 cubic feet as the average size of room and allow 800 cubic feet of air space for each person, each room would provide adequate accommodation for 1·5 persons only, whereas according to the standard adopted for measuring overcrowding, no house has been considered to be overcrowded unless the average number of persons per room *exceeded two.* It must also be remembered that in the majority of the houses only half the rooms are bedrooms, and therefore during the night the *actual* number of persons per room in these overcrowded houses exceeds *four;* in other

words, the air space is less than 300 cubic feet for each person.

It appears, then, to be a fact that there are many families who are in reality living, and especially sleeping, under overcrowded conditions, although the average number of persons to a room is not more than two, when all the rooms in the house are taken into account. It would have been exceedingly interesting to have ascertained this number with accuracy. To do this it would, however, have been necessary to know the cubical capacity of each bedroom, and the number of adults and of children sleeping in each room. It is obvious that information of this kind could not be obtained in connection with an unofficial inquiry, like the present one, covering over 11,000 houses.[1]

With a view to seeing how far the evil effects of overcrowding in the bedroom are in practice lessened by ample ventilation, an examination was made of 2480 houses in working-class districts on the night of

[1] In Glasgow, Edinburgh, and some other towns, the sanitary authorities have ascertained the cubical contents of a number of tenements chiefly in block dwellings, and have placed tickets on the doors of these tenements indicating the number of persons who may sleep in them. Should a larger number be found sleeping in the tenement than is indicated on the ticket, the householder is liable to prosecution.

In Glasgow during 1900 no less than 51,544 visits were paid to these "ticketed" houses, for the purpose of detecting overcrowding, with the following results, viz.—

Total number of cases of overcrowding detected	5015
,, ,, warned by inspectors	3620
,, ,, summoned before magistrates	1395
which were dealt with thus:—	
Fined	624
Admonished	750

Wednesday, September 12, 1900, between 11 P.M. and 2 A.M., and the number of those with window or windows opened counted. The outside temperature was 50° Fahr. Only the fronts of the houses were examined. The result of the investigation was as follows :—

Character of Houses (see p. 147).	Number of Houses examined.	Number with Open Windows.	Percentage with Open Windows.
Class 1 (highest) . .	486	48	10
,, 2 (middle). . .	704	37	5
,, 3 (poorest). . .	1290	39	3
Total .	2480	124	5

This return is interesting as showing how great is the need for instruction regarding the value of fresh air, especially among those who are living in the poorest districts and under the most overcrowded conditions. Probably in the houses with closed windows a certain amount of ventilation is secured through ill-fitting doors and window frames and through the chimney, when the latter is not blocked up. But after making full allowance for such accidental ventilation, there is no doubt that the air in these overcrowded and under-ventilated bedrooms must be to a high degree injurious to health.

Before we leave the question of overcrowding, it will be well to ascertain the relation in which it stands to *poverty*.

Of the 663 families who are living under

overcrowded conditions, *no less than* 627 *or* 94·5 *per cent are in poverty either "primary" or "secondary."*

In Chapter V. reference was made to the physical deterioration which results from poverty. Overcrowding is no doubt one of the factors responsible for this. "Overcrowding causes debility. The air is vitiated and the people herd in their unhealthy beds, in their unhealthy rooms, in their unhealthy slums, and become languid and worn out. They go about with a jaded and spiritless air."[1] The Housing Commission reported some years ago that "the general deterioration in the health of the people is a worse feature of overcrowding even than the encouragement by it of infectious disease. It has the effect of reducing their stamina, and thus producing consumption and diseases arising from general debility of the system, whereby life is shortened."[2]

We have hitherto considered overcrowding only from the standpoint of physical health. The difficulty, and all but impossibility, of maintaining conditions of decency and morality in overcrowded houses must not however be overlooked, and it must also be remembered that this difficulty is not confined to "overcrowded" houses, but exists in all homes where there are boys and girls past childhood, and where there is no third bedroom. How widespread this difficulty is will be realised when it is remembered

[1] *No Room to Live*, p. 96.

[2] *First Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners for inquiring into the Housing of the Working Classes*, p. 25.

that 64 *per cent of the houses in York have not more than two bedrooms.*

When we come to inquire into the immediate causes of overcrowding, the evidence points clearly to the fact that the great bulk of it is due to sheer inability on the part of the tenants to pay rent enough to secure adequate accommodation.

Undoubtedly in a certain number of cases overcrowding is due to wasteful expenditure of the household income upon drink and gambling, and there are other cases in which the tenants, although temperate and respectable, appear to be quite content with their overcrowded conditions, and evince no desire to secure more commodious houses, although their incomes would enable them to do so. With some of these overcrowding appears to have become a habit. Still, after full allowance has been made for these two causes, there can be no doubt that the cause first named (smallness of income) is by far the most general one.

An analysis of the occupations of the 663 overcrowded householders supports this statement. The list of these is headed by 312 unskilled labourers; next come 50 widows employed in charing, washing, or working in the fields. These are followed by 120 men belonging to 31 different skilled trades, amongst whom we notice 20 joiners, 15 bricklayers, 12 tailors, and 10 engine-drivers. With the exception of 7 persons who are ill or old, the remaining 181 householders belong to a variety of different occupations

which are partially skilled or entail a certain amount of responsibility, such as painters' labourers, strikers, grooms, sweeps, cab-drivers, porters, etc. Thus we see that considerably more than one-half of the overcrowding occurs in the families of general labourers, or of indigent widows, whilst only about a quarter occurs in the families of skilled artisans.

Conclusion.—To sum up the information given in this chapter, we have seen that whilst about 12 per cent of the working-class population in York are living in comfortable and sanitary houses, the housing conditions of many of the remaining 88 per cent leave much to be desired.

It has been shown that 4705 persons are living more than two to a room, whilst the actual number of those overcrowded, whether viewed from the standpoint of health or of decency and comfort, must be much larger than this.

We have seen that the rents, although much lower than in many other towns, swallow up an unduly large proportion of the income of the poorer sections of the working classes, the proportion thus absorbed being no less than 29 per cent in the case of those families earning less than 18s. weekly.

And finally, we have seen that York, although a comparatively small city, contains slums which are probably as bad as any to be found in London.

The question forces itself upon us, Are these conditions the inevitable accompaniments of town

life, or can they be remedied? I venture to think that no one will say that they cannot.

Already many municipal authorities, including those in York, are awakening to the powers which they possess under the Public Health Acts; and there is no doubt that the first step to reform lies in the vigorous enforcement of these Acts, and in the insistence upon a much higher standard of cleanliness and of sanitation in connection with the housing of the poorer sections of the community.

In many towns the root difficulty in connection with the housing of the working classes lies in the high price of building land, but in York this difficulty has not yet presented itself. Land suitable for building and within three miles of the centre of the city can be bought for about £60 to £80 per acre. There is therefore the less excuse for many of the conditions which exist.[1]

[1] At the time of writing a movement is on foot in York to float an "Industrial Dwellings Company" on the lines of that carried on for so many years in Leeds.

The proposal is that the Company shall buy property in the poorer parts of the city as it comes into the market, put it into sanitary condition, and let it under strict conditions as to cleanliness and overcrowding. It is further proposed that the rents shall be collected by ladies, who would visit the houses weekly. It is intended that the interest paid to shareholders shall be confined to 5 per cent upon their money—any profits made above this sum to go to the improvement of their property or the purchase of new houses.

Already a small beginning upon these lines has been made, twenty-seven houses having been purchased, and the results of this experiment are in every way encouraging.

The Leeds Industrial Dwellings Co. Ltd., working upon the above lines, was founded in 1876. It has now a paid-up Capital of £70,000, a reserve fund of £3000, and owns 1000 houses, and the Company has regularly paid 4 per cent upon all subscribed Capital since its formation.

The success of a scheme such as the above depends to no small extent upon the personal influence exercised upon the tenants by the weekly visits

of the lady rent-collectors. The value of such influence has been proved by Miss Octavia Hill, during her long experience of rent-collecting in London.

Work on similar lines to that done by Miss Hill in London is now being done on a large scale in Edinburgh by the Social Union, under the able guidance of Mrs. Kerr. In the latter city a number of properties belonging to the municipality and to other owners are "factored" by the Social Union.

A detailed account of the work of the Leeds Industrial Dwellings Company is given in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for February 1900 (George Bell and Sons, York Street, Covent Garden, 6d.).

Interesting information regarding the work done by lady rent-collectors will be found in *Homes of the London Poor*, by Octavia Hill (Macmillan, 1s.), aud in the Annual Report of the Edinburgh Social Union (Secretary, Mrs. Cunningham, 13 Ramsay Gardens, Edinburgh).

An excellent bibliography of the books and other literature dealing with the large and difficult problems connected with the housing of the working classes will be found in Fabian Tract No. 101, *The House Famine and how to relieve it* (Fabian Society, 276 Strand, London, W.C., 1d.).

CHAPTER VII

THE RELATION OF POVERTY TO THE STANDARD OF HEALTH

In this chapter an attempt is made to indicate the relation which exists between poverty and the standard of health. Other questions dealing with the public health of the city are only discussed in so far as they relate to this problem.[1]

General Health Conditions of the City

York is built upon river sand, varied by occasional areas of peat, the whole underlaid by a stratum of impervious boulder clay 60 to 100 feet thick, resting upon new red sandstone. The clay is from 6 inches to 16 feet below the surface; the surface soil is therefore easily polluted. The situation of the city is low; parts of it are only some 30 feet above sea level. On account of its extreme flatness the city

[1] Those who are interested in the general question of the public health of the city are referred to the various reports of the York Medical Officer of Health. An interesting description of the Sewerage Scheme will be found in a report prepared for the Sewerage Committee of the York Corporation, by James Mansergh, C.E., in 1896.

is at a disadvantage, owing to a general absence of that interchange of air which goes on incessantly between hill and dale in more undulating areas.

Meteorological conditions.—The following table shows the chief meteorological conditions of York for some years past, compared with some other towns in various parts of the United Kingdom :—

	Mean Temperature (1871-1895) (Degrees Fahrenheit).					Mean Rainfall (1866-1895).	Number of Hours of bright Sunshine (with percentage of possible duration).	
	Jan.-March.	April-June.	July-Sept.	Oct.-Dec.	Annual.	Inches.	Hours.	Per cent.
York . . .	39·0	51·4	58·4	42·4	47·8	25·95	1280	29
London . . .	40·3	53·9	61·2	44·3	49·9	24·84	1240	28
Glasgow . . .	39·1	50·2	56·0	42·2	46·8	39·61	1095	25
Dublin . . .	42·3	52·3	58·4	45·1	49·5	27·55	1514	34
Manchester . .	39·2	51·0	57·6	42·6	47·6	37·81		
Cambridge . .	39·1	52·6	60·1	42·5	48·7	23·39	1522	35

Although the number of factory chimneys in York has increased of late years, it cannot be described as a smoky city. The air, though not bracing, is comparatively pure.

Drainage and sanitation.—As stated in Chapter I., the drainage of the city presents a somewhat difficult problem, owing to the absence of marked gradients. A sewage disposal scheme which cost over £200,000 was completed in 1897. Under this scheme the sewage of the city is conveyed to precipitation works about four miles distant, where it is treated with chemicals, the effluent being discharged

into the river Ouse below the city, and the sludge dried and disposed of (with difficulty) as manure.

Although the drainage has been improved by this scheme, it cannot yet be described as satisfactory, for the work has left many old and faulty sewers in existence. Neither are the sewers, whether old or new, sufficiently ventilated.

During the course of the house-to-house inquiry which I instituted, the attention of the investigators was repeatedly drawn to cases of defective house drains, but the information under this head is not sufficiently complete to tabulate. Full information was, however, obtained regarding (*a*) closet accommodation, (*b*) water supply, (*c*) the sanitary condition of the courts and yards, and (*d*) much information regarding back-to-back houses.[1] A consideration of these details will help to give an idea of the general sanitary conditions of the city.

Closet accommodation.—The detailed information under this head is confined to a statement of the adequacy or otherwise of the closet accommodation without reference to the construction or sanitary condition of the closets. Out of 11,560 houses investigated it was found that 3130 had no separate closet accommodation. This is equal to 27 per cent of the houses investigated, and to *over* 20 *per cent of the total houses in the city.* An analysis of these 3130 cases in which two or more houses share one closet shows that

[1] Details regarding back-to-back houses are given on pp. 158, 159.

In the case of	1498	there is only	1	closet to	2	houses
„ „	927	„ „	„	„	3	„
„ „	352	„ „	„	„	4	„
„ „	125	„ „	„	„	5	„
„ „	126	„ „	„	„	6	„
„ „	49	„ „	„	„	7	„
„ „	16	„ „	„	„	8	„
„ „	9	„ „	„	„	9	„
„ „	13	„ „	„	„	13	„
„ „	15	„ „	„	„	15	„
	3130					

It may be noted that the last 228 houses in the above list have only 33 closets among them.

A large proportion of the closets in the working-class districts of the city take the form of midden privies.[1] In these the closet and ashpit are combined, the refuse from both accumulating in a brick-lined pit. From the point of view of public health there is no doubt that midden privies are unsatisfactory, even when they are frequently cleansed. Until January 1901, however, the Corporation made a charge of about 1s. each time an ashpit or midden privy was cleared, thus giving the householder a strong inducement to allow refuse to accumulate for as long a time as possible.

In his report on the prevalence of typhoid fever in York, drawn up at the request of the Local Government Board in 1900, the Medical Officer of

[1] According to the Report of the Medical Officer of Health, there were 6418 midden privies in York at the end of 1900.

Health says: "*Taking the whole of the cases into consideration*, I find that the *majority were associated with* the existence of midden privies, most of which were more or less foul or leaking, with uncemented walls and floors, in not a few instances with dilapidated walls, most of them permitting of the pollution of the adjacent soil. The cementing of the walls and floors with many of the privies is insufficient to prevent pollution of the soil, as it is often cracked and so permits soakage; a large number of them are found inches deep in liquid filth, or so full of refuse as to reach above the cemented portions of the walls."

At the time when the present investigation was being made (1899) the condition of many of these midden privies was extremely foul. The description given by the Chief Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow regarding the midden privies of that city applies equally to those in York: "None," he says, "but those who have spent days in the slums can adequately realise the difference it makes when an ashpit can no longer with truth be called a midden. To be in one of these midden-courts when the satellite of cleansing is busy at his operations can only compare with the experience of poor Falstaff in Mrs. Ford's buck basket, 'that *there* is the rankest compound of villanous smell that ever offended nostril.' The midden even in its undisturbed state, if the weather is mild, 'smells to heaven' every hour of the day, and no housewife with any remnant of an

olfactory nerve will open her window if it be 15 feet from it."

In the case of not a few houses in York the closet is only separated from the pantry by a partition wall $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick.

Water supply.—The water is drawn from the river Ouse about a mile above the city, and is of average hardness and purity.[1] The water supply is in the hands of a private company, who levy a water-rate equal to about five per cent of the rateable value of each house, with an additional sum varying from 3s. to 9s. 8d. according to the rent of the house for each water-closet and 9s. 4d. for each bathroom. There are a few deep wells in the city, the water from which is used for manufacturing purposes. The present investigation has shown that no less than 2229 houses in the city are without a separate water supply. This is equal to 19 per cent of the working-class houses and to about 15 *per cent of the total houses in the city.*

On analysing the above figure it is found that

In the case of 164 of the houses there is only 1 water-tap to 2 houses.							
"	"	126	"	"	"	3	"
"	"	380	"	"	"	4	"
"	"	170	"	"	"	5	"

[1] Average of analyses of York water in 1898, 1899, and 1900.

	Parts.	
Total solids	16	per 100,000.
Free ammonia	·004	"
Albuminoid ammonia	·00191	"
Chlorine	1·5	"
Hardness	10·5° (Clark).	

Purification ascertained by bacterial cultivation over 99 per cent.

In the case of	276	of the houses	there is only	1	water-tap to	6	houses.
"	"	147	"	"	"	7	"
"	"	200	"	"	"	8	"
"	"	108	"	"	"	9	"
"	"	150	"	"	"	10	"
"	"	66	"	"	"	11	"
"	"	180	"	"	"	12	"
"	"	52	"	"	"	13	"
"	"	14	"	"	"	14	"
"	"	45	"	"	"	15	"
"	"	17	"	"	"	17	"
"	"	42	"	"	"	21	"
"	"	44	"	"	"	22	"
"	"	23	"	"	"	23	"
"	"	25	"	"	"	25	"
		2229					

It may be noted that there are only 30 water-taps for the last 442 houses in the above list.

In many cases the water-taps are at a considerable distance from some of the houses which they serve; it will be realised that this circumstance militates against the free use of water for washing and other domestic purposes. The grates under many of those water-taps which are shared by several houses are in a filthy condition.

Courts and Yards.—The following details refer to a certain number of large courts and yards round which are built a considerable number of houses sharing the central yard in common and having no private "back-yards."

There are about 105 of these large courts in York, almost all situated in the poorest parts of the city. Of these 57 are entirely unpaved, 10 are partly

paved or cobbled, and 38 are entirely paved or cobbled. The condition of many of these yards is so insanitary that it cannot fail to have a serious effect upon the health of those living in their vicinity.

The following extracts from the investigator's notebook will best serve to describe them (the names of the yards have been omitted) :—

1. Yard unpaved and extremely dirty. The ashpit is so full that the refuse lies in the yard. The smell here is very bad. One closet is shared by five houses.

2. Large unpaved yard. The grate of the drain in the centre is partially blocked with all kinds of dirt and refuse. There is one closet to four houses.

3. Yard dirty and unpaved. The smell from the closets and ashpits is very bad. There is one tap to six houses in this yard, and one closet to four houses.

4. Large unpaved yard, full of holes. One ashpit and one closet used by nine houses. Another house adjoining this yard has an open ashpit. The smell from these places is simply horrible in hot or wet weather.

5. Filthy unpaved yard. The ashpit is so full that refuse is being thrown into the yard.

6. An unpaved yard in a dreadful state of filth. The lower part is flooded in times of heavy rain. Tenants dirty and intemperate.

7. Yard unpaved, but kept very clean. One ashpit serves for the six houses, and there are two closets, which are clean.

8. Unpaved yard. Ashpit, closets, and urinal are all dirty. At the lower end of the yard a slaughter-house causes a bad stench at times.

9. Unpaved yard. Ashpit and closets in a bad state of repair. Deposit from these is oozing through the walls. Sanitation here is extremely bad.

10. Unpaved yard with open ashpit. Until recently this ashpit has been used in common with a hide and skin business. Another open pit has now been built in the yard for this refuse. The smell is very bad.

11. Yard paved. The smells here are very bad. One closet to four houses. House adjoining this yard is uninhabitable on account of bad smells.

12. Yard laid with cobble stones, and is kept fairly clean. The houses are supplied with water-closets.

13. Yard partly paved and partly laid with cobble stones. The grates of the drains are in bad order, and the smells are foul. There are water-closets in this yard, but they are out of repair.

14. Yard paved. The large open ashpit is full, and about half a cart-load of rubbish is lying in the yard. The whole yard is filthy.

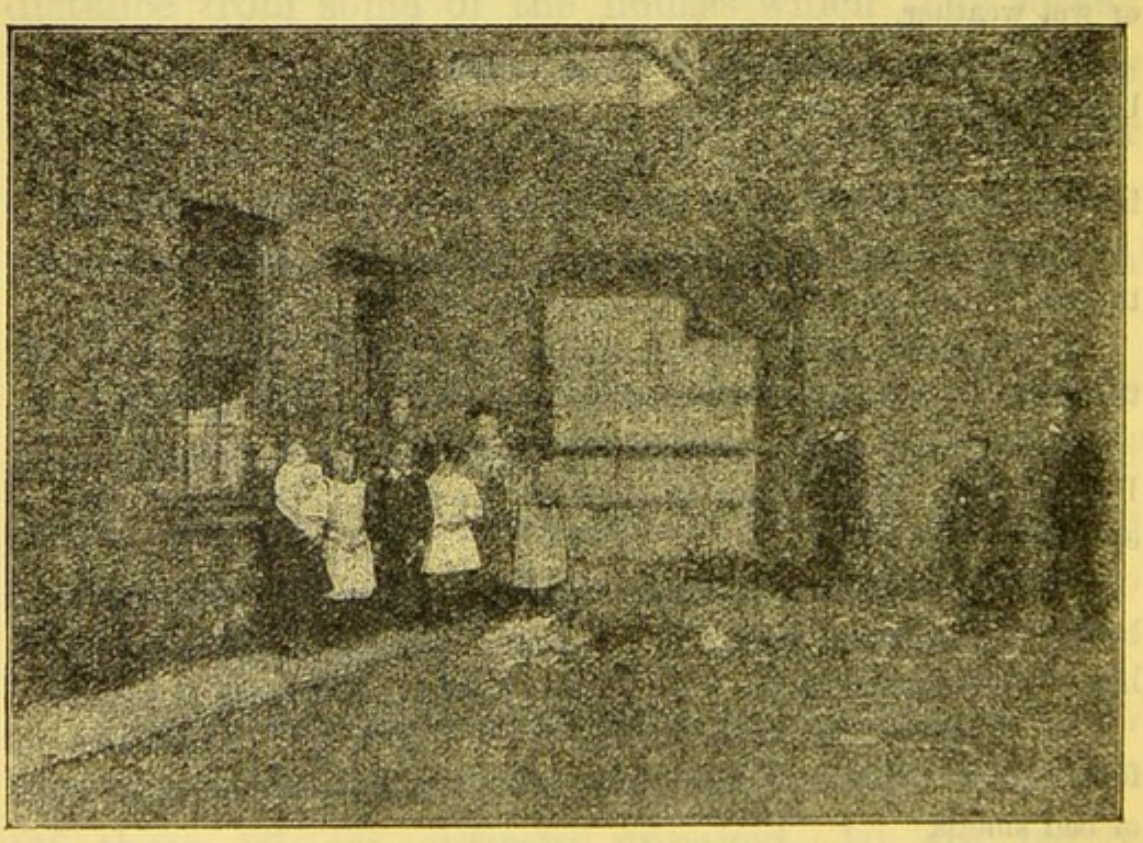
15. Yard laid with cobble stones. There is one closet to every two houses. The yard is fairly clean.

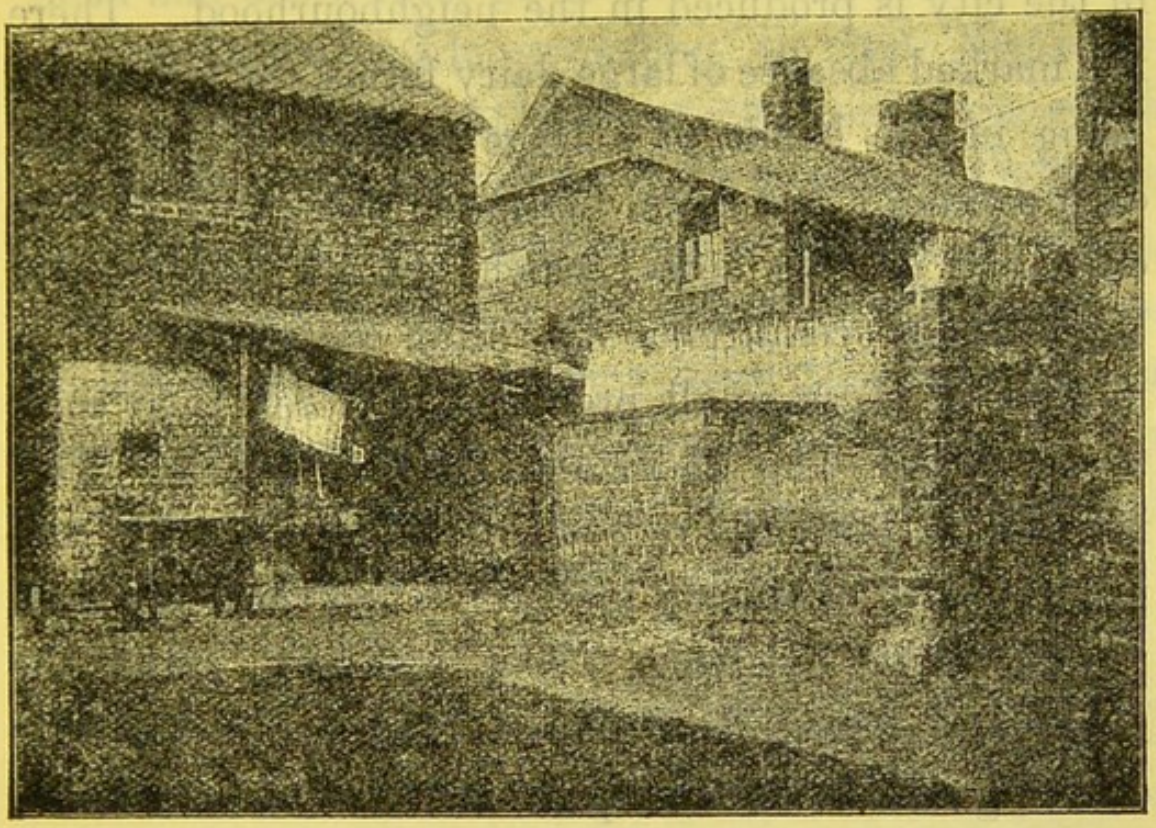
16. Yard laid with cobble stones. Water-closets clean and tidy. The approach to this yard is through a narrow passage in which are two open drains from a slaughter-house. Stench very bad.

17. Yard paved, open ashpit, and two closets in a bad state. Two stench-pipes in this yard are lower than the buildings, and the tenants complain strongly of the nuisance arising from them. Other smells in the yard are also very bad.

18. Partly paved, rest of yard in a bad state. Tenants very tidy, and keep yard fairly clean.

The following illustrations are from photographs of two of the yards mentioned above.





Meat Supply.—There are no less than 94 private slaughter-houses in York. These are too frequently situated in densely populated poor districts, often up narrow passages. After slaughtering, the blood is allowed to run into the common sewer, the grates of which are in some cases close to dwelling-houses; the occupants of such houses not unnaturally complain of smells from these open grates. Not a single one of these 94 slaughter-houses is built in accordance with the Local Government Board bye-laws.

Not only is it unsatisfactory for the people to have these slaughter-houses in such close proximity to their dwellings, but their number and situation render adequate inspection all but impossible.[1]

Milk Supply.—Practically all the milk consumed

[1] See Appendix E.

in the city is produced in the neighbourhood. There is a marked absence of large dairy farms, the milk trade being in the hands of a large number of dairymen each owning a few cows. Some of these men possess only one or two cows, which are not infrequently kept under conditions far from satisfactory. A number of these small producers will sell their milk to one dealer, who undertakes its distribution. This method increases the risk of infection from milk, and the difficulty of tracing infection when there is reason to suspect its existence. New bye-laws, under the Dairy and Cowsheds Order of 1899, are now (1901) effecting considerable improvement in the cowsheds, but, as in the case of meat, the large number of centres from which milk is distributed render adequate inspection of the conditions of production and distribution difficult.[1]

Unhealthy Trades.—Although there are trades carried on under unhealthy conditions, there are none in York that are either dangerous or unhealthy according to the official acceptation of these terms.

Vital Statistics of the City

The following table, which refers to the year 1898, shows the birth and death rates for York compared with other towns. The estimate of the population of York in 1898 upon which the vital statistics are based has been corrected in view of the figures disclosed by the 1901 census. The other

[1] See Appendix F.

birth and death rates given are based upon estimates of population made according to the Registrar-General's method, but without the correction which was made in the case of the York figures. They are, however, the average figures for a number of towns, and although no doubt the estimates of population in these towns are in some cases too high and in others too low, such errors, and consequently the errors in vital statistics based upon the estimates of population, will largely cancel each other.

	Death-rate from all Causes per Annum per 1000 of the Population.	Death-rate of Children under 12 months per 1000 Births.	Birth-rate per Annum per 1000 of the Population.
York	18·5	176[1]	30·0
England and Wales	17·6	160	29·4
33 largest towns	19·0	178	30·3
67 other large towns (of which York is one)	17·2	173	29·4
England and Wales, less the 100 large towns	16·7	116	28·8

These figures show that, judged by the vital statistics, the health of York is about the same as that of the 33 largest towns, is worse than the average of England and Wales, and is also worse than

[1] The corresponding figures for York for 1899 and 1900 are as follows :—

York.	Death-rate from all Causes.	Death-rate of Children under 12 months per 1000 Births.	Birth-rate.
1899	16·6	156	30·3
1900	20·3	211	29·3

The high death-rate in 1900 was chiefly due to epidemic influenza, typhoid fever, and summer diarrhœa.

the average of other towns about the size of York. This somewhat high death-rate is due probably to the insanitary conditions which have for too long been allowed to continue in many of the poorer districts of the city. More attention is now, however, being given to these districts by the sanitary authorities, and probably the death-rate of the city will decrease accordingly. Until the year 1900 there was no Medical Officer of Health giving his whole time to the work of the office, the post being filled by a medical man who also had a private practice.

Some information regarding the birth and death rates in York during past times may prove of interest:—

"Drake, the historian of York, has given the number of births and burials for seven years, from August 5, 1728, to August 5, 1735. During this period the average annual excess of burials above births was 98; and calculating the then population in the ratio of 1 birth to 27 inhabitants (the ratio of all large cities), the deaths were 1 in 21·77, or 498 annually to 10,800."[1] This is equal to a death-rate of 46·1 per 1000 per annum.

Our next piece of information is contained in a paper communicated to the Royal Society of London by Dr. White of York in 1777. By this time the birth-rate had exceeded the death-rate. Dr. White in his paper compared the mortality of York for the seven years from 1770 to 1776 with the tables of Drake. He estimated the population of

[1] See *Report on the Health of York in* 1844, by Dr. Laycock.

the city by two different methods at 12,798, being an increase of 2000 in the years subsequent to Drake's publication; but the annual average number of deaths had decreased nearly 45 annually, and the births now exceeded the deaths by 21 annually; the population living to one death annually having risen to 28·22. The death-rate was thus 35·4 per 1000 per annum.

Dr. White attributes this great improvement in forty-five years (one-third fewer dying in the latter than in the former period) partly to the introduction of inoculation and the improvements in medicine, and in the hygiene as well of infants as adults; partly to the local improvements in the city during the preceding years. "The streets," he says, "have been widened in many places by taking down a number of old houses built in such a manner as almost to meet at the upper stories, by which the sun and air were almost excluded from the streets and inferior apartments. They have also been new paved, additional drains made, and by the present method of conducting the rain from the houses are become much drier and cleaner than formerly. The erection of the locks, about four miles below the city, has been a great advantage to it, for before this the river was frequently very low, leaving quantities of sludge and dirt in the very heart of the city, also the filth of the common sewers, which it was unable to wash away."

Dr. Laycock in his *Report on the Health of York,*

published in 1844, estimated that the death-rate between 1781 and 1811 was over 30 per annum per 1000 living, but there are no reliable figures showing the birth and death rates until 1877.

The following table shows the vital statistics for York from 1877 onwards :—

Year.	Average Death-rate per Annum per 1000 living.	Average Birth-rate per Annum per 1000 living.	Estimated Population.
1877	22·2	35·8	47,151
1881	19·0	32·9	49,530
1891	23·8	30·0	07,004
1892[1]	20·9	31·9	67,807
1893	19·9	29·0	69,388
1894	17·4	30·8	70,392
1895	19·2	31·0	71,396
1896	17·8	30·4	72,500
1897	18·4	30·8	73,604
1898	18·5	30·0	74,708
1899	16·6	30·3	75,812
1900	20·3	29·3	76,916

The following table of deaths for the city in 1898, classified according to diseases, and distinguishing deaths of children under 5 years of age, is taken from the Report of the Medical Officer of Health :—

[1] The figures from 1892 to 1901 have been corrected by the Medical Officer of Health, in accordance with the information regarding the population of the city revealed by the 1901 census.

Disease.	Under 5 years.	Over 5 years.	Total.
Smallpox	...	1	1
Scarlatina	4	4	8
Diphtheria	1	1	2
Typhoid	2	15	17
Puerperal	...	3	3
Erysipelas	...	1	1
Measles	32	4	36
Whooping cough	6	...	6
Diarrhœa and dysentery	115	5	120
Rheumatic fever	...	3	3
Phthisis	5	116	121
Bronchitis, pneumonia, and pleurisy	80	144	224
Heart disease	5	95	100
Injuries	7	19	26
Premature birth	48	...	48
"Debility," "debility from birth," "inanition," and "marasmus"	79	...	79
Convulsions (due to teething, improper feeding, etc.)	88	...	88
Tubercular meningitis, tabes mesenterica, and general tuberculosis	45	...	45
All other causes	34	424 [1]	458
	551	835	1386

The continued prevalence of typhoid fever calls for comment. In 1898 there were 132 cases with 17 deaths, whilst in 1899 there were 134 cases with 26 deaths, and in 1900, 244 cases with 38 deaths. In 1900 the Local Government Board requested that a special report dealing with this subject should be prepared and submitted to them. In this report, as stated on p. 186, the Medical Officer of Health ascribes the prevalence of the disease as largely due to the number of midden privies, most of which were more or less foul or leaking, and thus polluting the adjacent soil.

[1] These 424 deaths were due to "unpreventable" causes, *i.e.* cancer, apoplexy, and consequent paralysis, intestinal diseases, kidney diseases (Bright's disease, etc.), alcoholism and other ill-defined complaints. None of them were due to zymotic diseases.

Vital Statistics of Typical Sections of the York Population

The York death-rate given in the table on p. 193 is an average comprising low death-rates in the wealthy and favoured districts, and high death-rates in the slums. Confining myself to the working-class districts, I have tried to measure the influence which poverty and its accompanying conditions have upon the health of the community. With this object in view certain typical areas of the city were selected, inhabited respectively by three sections of the working-class population :—

1. The poorest section.
2. The middle section.
3. The highest section.

The area representing No. 1 consists of one district only, but it was not found possible to select single districts inhabited by Sections 2 and 3 large enough for the purposes of the present inquiry.

The areas representing 2 and 3 are therefore made up of small districts not necessarily adjacent to each other, but each inhabited by the particular section of the population which it was wished to examine.

Let me briefly describe the three areas before considering their respective standards of health.

Area No. 1.—*The poorest Section—Walmgate inside the Bar, with Hungate*

This is the poorest large district in the city. It contains 1642 families, comprising 6803 persons. The average size of family is therefore 4·14. Of this population no less than 4737 or 69·3 per cent of the whole are living in poverty ("primary" or "secondary"). The birth-rate in this district is 39·83 per 1000 living, which is about 9 per 1000 above the average for the whole city. All classes of workers are represented in this area; there are many casual and unskilled workers, and, on the other hand, a number of artisans, many of whom would be living in better districts but for their unsteady habits. The population also includes a large contingent of Irish. A few of the women work in the fields during the summer time, whilst many of the young persons, both girls and boys, are employed in factories. The district is situated in the old part of the city, and lies entirely within the walls. It comprises some typical slum areas. A broad thoroughfare (Walmgate) runs through one portion of it. Some of the houses and shops in this, and in a few of the other streets, are of considerable size, and are inhabited by comparatively well-to-do people; but a number of narrow and often sunless courts and alleys branch from these larger streets, and it is here that the poverty is chiefly found.

There are thirty-nine public-houses in the district,

or one for every 174 of the population. Thirty-four of these are fully licensed, five are beer-houses, and in addition there are four houses with "off" licenses.

The river Foss, which runs through the district, often becomes more or less stagnant and unsavoury in the summer time, although its condition is not such as to poison the fish.

Many of the yards and courts are unpaved, and brick ashpits and midden privies, cleared only at rare intervals, abound.

1613 persons, or about one-fourth of the whole population of the district, are living under overcrowded conditions, that is, more than two persons to each room. Of these 1613 persons 200 are living under conditions of extreme overcrowding, *i.e.* more than four persons to each room. This fact alone would suffice seriously to affect the health standard, but the mere statement of overcrowding does not represent the full extent of the evil—not only are many of the houses overcrowded, but a large proportion of them are insanitary.

It has not been possible to ascertain the exact number of insanitary houses. A rough measure of the extent of insanitation is, however, afforded by the following facts. There are 584 back-to-back houses in the district,[1] equal to about one-third of the whole number. Of the 1642 inhabited houses, only 742

[1] Included in these 584 back-to-back houses there are 178 which are not actually back-to-back with other dwelling-houses, but which have no through ventilation. Some of them are back-to-back with stables, warehouses, and even water-closets.

have private sanitary accommodation. In the case of the remaining 900 the closets are used by two or more houses in common.[1] It need hardly be said that very many of the closets are in a most filthy condition. There is likewise an inadequate water supply; less than half of the houses (only 809 out of 1642) can boast a private water-tap. In some cases one water-tap is shared by over twenty houses.[2]

Areas grouped as No. 2.—*Representing the Middle Section*

The three districts which have been selected as most typically representing the middle class of labour are :—

1. Parts of the Groves district.
2. Parts of Nunnery Lane district.
3. Leeman Road district.

[1] In the case of 334 houses in the district 1 closet is shared by 2 houses.

,,	,,	381	,,	,,	,,	,,	3	,,
,,	,,	104	,,	,,	,,	,,	4	,,
,,	,,	35	,,	,,	,,	,,	5	,,
,,	,,	30	,,	,,	,,	,,	6	,,
,,	,,	7	,,	,,	,,	,,	7	,,
,,	,,	9	,,	,,	,,	,,	9	,,

[2] In the case of 56 houses in this district, 1 water-tap is shared by 2 houses.

	,,	52		,,	,,	,,	3	,,
	,,	112		,,	,,	,,	4	,,
	,,	80		,,	,,	,,	5	,,
	,,	150		,,	,,	,,	6	,,
	,,	56		,,	,,	,,	7	,,
	,,	72		,,	,,	,,	8	,,
	,,	36		,,	,,	,,	9	,,
	,,	70		,,	,,	,,	10	,,
	,,	11		,,	,,	,,	11	,,
	,,	68		,,	,,	,,	12	,,
	,,	22		,,	,,	,,	22	,,
	,,	23		,,	,,	,,	23	,,
	,,	25		,,	,,	,,	25	,,

Altogether, these districts contain 2159 families, comprising 9945 people. The average size of family is therefore 4·65. 3699 persons, or 37 per cent of the whole population, are living in poverty either "primary" or "secondary." Although there are a number of public-houses just outside the area, there are only nine situated *actually within it;* this is equal to 1 per 1105 inhabitants, as compared with 1 per 174 inhabitants in Area No. 1. Seven of these are fully licensed and two are beer-houses; there is also one "off" license in the area. The birth-rate in these districts is 40·32 per 1000 living.[1]

The population resident in these areas is engaged upon all kinds of labour, though there are few instances either of casual and very low class, or of the highest class of workers found here. These are typical working-class districts, containing row after row of small uninteresting-looking two-storeyed houses, built of the dingy York bricks, and roofed with slates, with here and there a small shop. The streets are, with few exceptions, of moderate width, and the houses fairly sanitary. There are, however, about 32 back-to-back houses in the area, and some others have no back entrance, so that ashes, night-soil, etc., have to be removed through the living rooms. Most of the houses have midden privies, though some have water-closets. In the case of 360

[1] This high birth-rate is probably due to the facts that the districts under consideration are situated near to the chief workshops and factories, and the population comprises a large proportion of young married people.

houses, or 16·67 per cent of the whole, one closet is used by 2 or more houses.[1]

The water supply is upon the whole adequate. 248 houses are, however, without a separate supply.[2]

The houses in the Leeman Road districts have been built somewhat recently, and a large proportion of them have been run up in the cheapest possible way.

Areas grouped as No. 3.—*Highest Section*

As stated on p. 72, the houses of the best paid section of the working classes are not confined to any one part of the city; it was therefore necessary, for the purposes of the present investigation, to select small districts situated in different parts. These selected districts comprise 1348 families and 5336 persons, the average number of persons per family being therefore 3·96. None of these persons are living in poverty either "primary" or "secondary."

The birth-rate in these districts is 29 per 1000 living. It will be noted that this is about one-fourth less than in the case of the other two areas.

The population is employed in all classes of labour.

[1] In the case of 278 houses in this district, 1 closet is shared by 2 houses.

,,	69	,,	,,	,,	3 ,,
,,	8	,,	,,	,,	4 ,,
,,	5	,,	,,	,,	5 ,,

[2] In the case of 60 houses, 1 water-tap is shared by 2 houses.

,,	21	,,	,,	,,	3 ,,
,,	108	,,	,,	,,	4 ,,
,,	5	,,	,,	,,	5 ,,
,,	18	,,	,,	,,	6 ,,
,,	24	,,	,,	,,	8 ,,
,,	12	,,	,,	,,	12 ,,

Where the householder is an unskilled worker the wages are augmented by the earnings of the children. Many families are in the habit of taking a few days' holiday out of York during the summer. The houses contain as a rule 6 to 8 rooms; only a few have bath-rooms.

In these districts there is no overcrowding, there are no back-to-back houses, the streets are wider than in Areas 1 and 2, and many of the houses have small gardens in front. There are no public-houses actually *in* the districts, though there are many immediately adjacent to them.

Generally speaking, it may be said that this section consists of people who are comfortably off, and are living under sanitary conditions.

Let us now examine the relation between the health of the people and the conditions which we have noted in these three areas. The statistics given are based upon a census specially taken for this inquiry by my investigators, and not upon the Medical Officer of Health's intercensal estimate.

General Death-Rate.[1]

The death-rate is the best instrument for measuring the variations in the physical well-being of the people.

[1] In order to make a really accurate comparison between the death-rates in these three areas it would have been necessary to know the exact age distribution of the population living in each area, and in particular, the numbers under and over five years of age respectively. Although it has not been possible to obtain this information, there is no reason to suppose that such knowledge would have modified the figures given in this and subsequent tables so as to materially affect the broad conclusions which have been drawn from the statistics available.

Applying this test, we find the death-rate in the various areas to be as under [1] :—

Area No. 1 (poorest), 27·78 [2] deaths per annum per 1000 of the population.
„ No. 2 (middle), 20·71 [2] „ „ „
„ No. 3 (highest), 13·49 „ „ „
Whole of York, 18·5 [3] „ „ „

It will thus be seen that the mortality amongst the very poor is more than twice as high as amongst the best paid section of the working-classes.

In considering these figures, it must be remembered that a high death-rate implies a low standard of general health, and much sickness and suffering which is not registered. As the late Lord Playfair said: "The record of deaths only registers, as it were, the wrecks which strew the shore, but it gives no account of the vessels which are tossed in the billows of sickness, stranded and maimed, as they often are, by the effects of recurrent storms."

Mortality of Children under Five Years of Age

If now we confine ourselves to the mortality of children below five years of age, we obtain the following results in the three areas :—

[1] These figures, and the whole of the subsequent vital statistics given in this chapter, refer to the year 1898.

[2] Deaths of persons coming from these districts, but occurring in public institutions (*e.g.* workhouse, hospital, etc.), have not been included in these figures.

[3] This figure of the death-rate for the whole of York in 1898 is based upon the estimated population for that year, corrected in accordance with the 1901 census return.

Area No. 1 (poorest),	13·96	per annum per 1000	population of all ages living.
„ No. 2 (middle),	10·50	„ „	„
„ No. 3 (highest),	6·00	„ „	„
Whole of York,	7·37	„ „	„

In comparing these figures from the point of view of the present inquiry, it should be borne in mind that, whilst the birth-rate in Areas No. 1 and No. 2 is 40 per 1000 living, that of Area No. 3 is only 29. This fact undoubtedly affects the statistics of mortality for the children under 5 years. Had the birth-rate in Area No. 3 been 40 per 1000 instead of 29, it is probable that the death-rate of children under 5 years of age would have been somewhat higher.

Mortality of Children under Twelve Months

When we examine the mortality of children under twelve months of age, we find the same terrible waste of human life proceeding in the poorer areas. In addition to the three areas previously considered, particulars have been ascertained regarding the infant mortality amongst the servant-keeping class. The results are as follows:—

Area No. 1 (poorest),	out of every 1000 children born		247	die before they are twelve months old
„ No. 2 (middle),	„	„	184	
„ No. 3 (highest),	„	„	173	
Servant-keeping class,	„	„	94	
Whole of York,	„	„	176	

We thus see that in the poorest area one child out of every four born dies before it is twelve months old. In one parish in this area one out of every three children born dies in its first year. Such facts as these bring

out in strong relief the adverse conditions under which the poor are living.

It is sometimes urged that although the individual suffering indicated by a high infant mortality is considerable, it is not without some counterbalancing advantages, as the sickly children are thus weeded out. Even if this Spartan view be accepted, it must be remembered that of those who survive, a large proportion do so only with seriously enfeebled constitutions.[1]

The high mortality in Area No. 3 (highest class labour) in comparison with that among the servant-keeping class calls for comment. As the housing conditions in this area are comparatively satisfactory, it is believed that the high mortality is largely due to ignorance regarding the feeding and management of infants, and to the close and stuffy rooms in which the children spend so large a proportion of their time.[2] This fact indicates the need which exists for further instruction upon health subjects, even amongst the highest section of the working-classes.

In view of the high infant mortality in Area No. 1 (poorest class), it may perhaps be urged that the high general death-rate observed in that area is chiefly due to ignorance in the feeding and management of infants rather than to other causes arising out of the poverty of the people. The high rate of mortality is, however, not confined to the infants, for if we eliminate

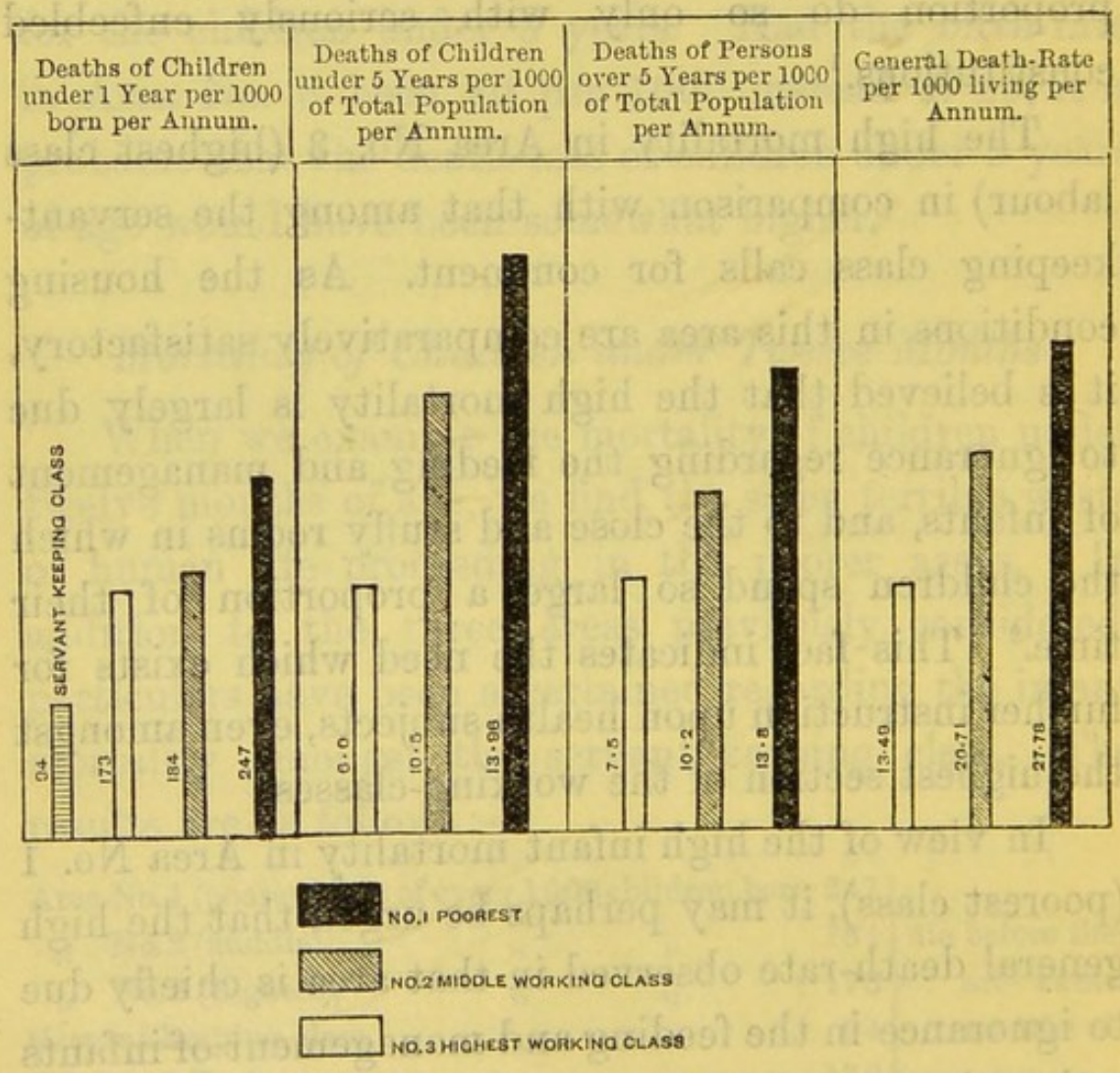
[1] Facts in proof of this statement will be found on pp. 209 *et seq.*

[2] This view is strongly held by the Medical Officer of Health for the city.

all deaths of children under five years, and consider only the mortality of those above that age, we obtain the following figures :—

DEATH-RATE OF PERSONS ABOVE FIVE YEARS OF AGE PER 1000 LIVING

Area No. 1 (poorest),	13·8	deaths	per annum	per 1000 living.
„ No. 2 (middle),	10·2	„	„	„
„ No. 3 (highest),	7·5	„	„	„
Whole of York,	11·1	„	„	„



It is thus seen that even after eliminating the children under five years of age, the death-rate in the poorest area is almost twice as high as in Area No. 3.

The facts given above regarding the comparative

mortality in the three areas are graphically shown in the diagram on previous page.

Physical Condition of School Children

In Chapter V. reference was made to the serious physical deterioration which must result from a poverty so acute as to render it impossible to obtain enough food for the maintenance of physical efficiency. In proof of this contention, I supplemented the figures of vital statistics by direct investigation into the physical condition of a number of school children drawn from the three sections of the working-class community which we have been considering, although not in all cases living in exactly the same areas. As before

Section 1 comprises children belonging to the poorest class.
" 2 " " " middle class of labour.
" 3 " " " highest " "

Altogether, 1919 children were examined, namely, 1014 boys and 905 girls. Of these, 384 boys and 287 girls belonged to Section 1, 393 boys and 397 girls to Section 2, and 237 boys and 221 girls to Section 3. Each of the 1919 children was carefully weighed and measured, and his or her age ascertained. In addition, the general physical condition of each child was noted.

It would have been interesting had we been able to compare the weights and heights of the children with some national standard, but for the purposes of this inquiry such a comparison would have been unreliable. The average heights and weights vary in different parts of the country, and consequently a

comparison of results in two districts might be due to racial differences, and not to the nourishment and physical condition of the people. Moreover, weight investigations are affected by the time of year at which they are made. In a letter upon this subject addressed to the present writer, Professor Karl Pearson states: "There is in my own measurements a cyclic change in the weight of an adult which may amount independently of summer and winter clothing to from two to three pounds, and there is a corresponding lesser change in children, although this is largely screened by the growth factor." But whilst it is not possible to make a reliable comparison between the York results and any national standard, reliable comparisons can be made between the weights and heights of the children in the three sections examined. The investigations were carried out at the same time of year (October 1900), and all the schools examined were day schools situated in York, care being taken to avoid schools largely frequented by children coming from the Irish quarter of the city. It is therefore practically safe to state that the differences which are found to occur between the heights and weights in the different sections are due to the conditions under which the children or their parents have lived.

The results of the investigations will be given under the three heads—Height, Weight, and General Physical Condition.

Height.—The average height of children of varying ages in the three sections is as follows:—

Age.	Boys' Heights (Average).			Girls' Heights (Average).		
	Section 1 (poorest).	Section 2 (middle).	Section 3 (highest).	Section 1 (poorest).	Section 2 (middle).	Section 3 (highest).
	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.
3 to 4 years	36¼	39¾	39¼	37	39	38¼
5 ,,	40½	41½	42	40	42	41¼
6 ,,	42½	43½	45¼	41½	43¼	43¾
7 ,,	45	46	45½	44½	45½	46
8 ,,	47	47½	47¾	46½	47½	48
9 ,,	48	49½	50¾	48½	49¼	49¼
10 ,,	47	51	52½	50¼	51	51½
11 ,,	53	53¾	54¼	51¾	53	53½
12 ,,	53	55¼	56¼	53¾	55	55
13 ,,	55	56¾	58½	56¼	57½	58
Combined Average .	45¾	48½	49¼	47	48¼	48½

We thus see that the average height of the boys and girls in the poorest section is at all ages less than the height of the children in Section 3, whilst the general average height of the children in Section 2 comes between that of the other two sections. The average height of the boys when they leave school at 13 is *less by* 3½ *inches in the poorest section than in Section* 3.

Weight.—Weight is, however, probably a still better test of physical condition than height, as many ill-developed children are tall. The following table gives the weights of the children in the three sections[1]:—

[1] Objection may be raised to these figures that clothing disturbs the comparison of weights, and the poorer children are in body weight not quite so far below the others as appears.

Had the investigation been conducted in the winter, this might have been

Age.	Boys' Weights (Average).			Girls' Weights (Average).		
	Section 1 (poorest).	Section 2 (middle).	Section 3 (highest).	Section 1 (poorest).	Section 2 (middle).	Section 3 (highest).
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
3 to 4 years	33	35¼	37¾	33	34¾	34
5 ,,	38½	40¼	44	38	39¼	38
6 ,,	42	46	46¼	40	42½	42
7 ,,	46	47	47	45½	47	46
8 ,,	50	50	53¾	48¾	49¾	51
9 ,,	53	56¼	57	50¾	56	56
10 ,,	54	60½	65¼	57¾	60¼	59½
11 ,,	66¼	64½	69½	61¼	65	69
12 ,,	68	72	75½	69	73½	75
13 ,,	73	80	84¼	79¼	84½	83¼
Combined Average.	52½	55¼	58	52¼	55¼	55½

The above figures afford a valuable measure of the extent of the physical deterioration which accompanies poverty.

It will be noted that the weights of the boys in the poorest section are, throughout, considerably below those in Section 3. By the time they reach thirteen years of age, when they are leaving school to go to work, this difference in weight is *no less than 11 pounds.* And it must be remembered that in comparing the children in Section 1 with those in Section 3, we are still comparing them with children belonging to the working classes and not with those belonging to the more favoured servant-keeping class. There is similarly a difference between the average

the case, but the weather was not cold at the time when the investigation was made, and any disturbance of results due to clothing would be so slight as not materially to affect the results of the investigation.

weights of the girls in Sections 1 and 3, though this difference is not so great as in the case of the boys.

General Physical Condition.—It was quite impossible to make a thorough examination of the physical condition of all the children, but as they came up to be weighed and measured they were classified under the four headings, "Very good," "Good," "Fair," or "Bad," by an investigator whose training and previous experience in similar work enabled her to make a reliable, even if rough, classification.

By "Very good" is meant that the child appeared to be markedly healthy and well developed.

"Good" implies that the general physical condition of the child appeared to be up to the average.

"Fair" implies that the child was scarcely up to an average standard, and yet its condition could hardly be described as bad.

"Bad" implies that the child bore physical traces of under-feeding and neglect.

The numbers classified under the various heads were as follows:—

Boys

	Very Good.	Good.	Fair.	Bad.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Section 1 (poorest) .	2·8	14·6	31·0	51·6
,, 2 (middle) .	7·4	20·1	53·7	18·8
,, 3 (highest) .	27·4	33·8	27·4	11·4

GIRLS

	Very Good.	Good.	Fair.	Bad.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Section 1 (poorest) .	2·1	14·6	31·0	52·3
,, 2 (middle) .	7·5	21·2	50·4	20·9
,, 3 (highest) .	27·2	38·0	23·1	11·7

It will be seen that the proportion of children classed as "Very good" in Section 3 is about ten times as large as in the poorest section, and that *more than half of the children in the poorest section are classed as "bad."*

These "bad" children presented a pathetic spectacle; all bore some mark of the hard conditions against which they were struggling. Puny and feeble bodies, dirty and often sadly insufficient clothing, sore eyes, in many cases acutely inflamed through continued want of attention, filthy heads, cases of hip disease, swollen glands—all these and other signs told the same tale of privation and neglect. It will be noticed that the condition of the children in Section 2 (middle-class labour) comes about half-way between Sections 1 and 3. In considering the above table it must of course be remembered that there was no absolute standard by which each child could be judged, but the broad comparison between the different classes is unimpeachable. The table affords further evidence of serious physical deterioration amongst the poorest section of the community.

Defective Children.—An examination of the list of defective children, drawn up by the York School

Board Attendance Officers, furnishes still further evidence of this fact. There are 55 such children on the books of the York School Board. Of these 38 come from very poor districts, 10 from middle-class districts, and 7 from districts inhabited by the highest section of the working classes. If, however, instead of considering the whole 55 defective children, we confine ourselves to those coming from the three areas which have been previously considered in this chapter, it is found that 18 are living in Area No. 1 (poorest), none are living in Area No. 2 (middle-class labour), and 2 are living in Area No. 3 (highest class labour). The proportion of defective children to the total population in these three areas is therefore—

Area No. 1 (poorest) .	.	2·8 per thousand.
Area No. 2 (middle)		
Area No. 3 (highest) .	.	1·3 „

We have thus tested the health standards of various sections of the working-class community in York by

(*a*) The general death-rate;
(*b*) The death-rate amongst infants; and
(*c*) A careful investigation into the physical condition of the children.

And all three tests point clearly to the low standard of health amongst those living in poverty. Some of the unhealthy conditions here noted are removable by the application of existing Public Health Acts, and

it is of the utmost importance that the community should insist upon the vigorous enforcement of their provisions. Yet even if this were done there would still remain the fact that *nearly 30 per cent of the population are living in poverty and are ill-housed, ill-clothed, and under-fed.* So long as this state of things continues a low average standard of physical efficiency among the wage-earning classes is inevitable.

Physical Condition of Army Recruits.—Striking evidence of the low standard of physical efficiency which obtains among the working classes generally is afforded by the statistics which show the proportion of recruits applying for enlistment in the army who are rejected on account of physical unfitness. The writer has obtained detailed particulars regarding the medical examination of 3600 recruits who applied for enlistment at York, Leeds, and Sheffield, between 1897 and 1901.[1] The proportion accepted and rejected was as follows:—

Recruiting Stations.	Period.	Number applying for Enlistment.	Accepted.	Rejected.	Percentage rejected.
York, Leeds, and Sheffield	1897-1901	3600	2650	950	26½

Of those who were accepted 760, or 21 per cent, were first taken as "specials." "Specials" are men

[1] It does not of course follow that the men applying for enlistment at these centres belong to the respective towns—indeed, it is known that this is not the case; certainly some of them come from country districts.

who, although not up to standard when they apply for enlistment, are taken on trial, with a view to seeing whether a few months of army life, with its good and sufficient food, drill, and regular habits, will bring them up to standard. An officer of long experience in the army informed the writer that the improvement which a few months of army life makes in the physical condition of the majority of these "specials" is most marked.

In order to arrive at the proportion of recruits whose physical condition was not up to the army standard when they applied for enlistment, the number of "specials" must be added to the number rejected. If this be done it is found that out of 3600 recruits no less than 1710, or 47½ per cent, must be so classed. When it is borne in mind that, in order to obtain the required number of men, the army standards of health and physical development have been repeatedly lowered, and are now by no means high,[1] the low standard of health amongst the working classes which the above figures indicate becomes increasingly apparent.

[1] The following are the present standards in some of the main arms of the service :—

	Minimum Height.	Minimum Chest Measurement.
Cavalry—	ft. in.	in.
Dragoons of the Line and Lancers	5 7	34
Hussars of the Line . . .	5 6	34
Infantry—		
Infantry of the line . . .	5 3	33
Mininum weight for all branches 115 lbs. (8 st. 3 lbs).		

The causes which led to the rejection of the 950 recruits were as follows:—

	Number.	Per cent.
Defective vision	149	15·7
,, hearing	2	·2
Under-developed (*i.e.* chest, weight, or height)	297	31·1
Dull intellect	3	·3
Many decayed teeth	99	10·5
Deformed limbs	110	11·6
Diseases[1]	290	30·6
	950	100·0

Although the proportion of recruits rejected on account of physical unfitness at the York, Leeds, and Sheffield recruiting stations (viz. 26½ per cent) may appear high, it is nevertheless below the average for the United Kingdom.

The following table, taken from the Annual Report of the Inspector-General of Recruiting for 1900 (p. 14), gives particulars, covering the whole of the United Kingdom, of the number of ordinary recruits who presented themselves for medical examination during

[1] Viz.—73 diseases of heart.
64 diseases of veins.
33 hernia, laxity of abdominal rings.
32 undefined.
20 diseases of the lungs, including tuberculosis.
14 debility and disease of nervous system.
14 hæmorrhoids.
11 venereal diseases.
8 impaired constitution and debility.
8 diseases of cutaneous system.
4 diseases of urinary organs.
3 palpitation.
2 diseases of ear.
2 diseases of nose and mouth.
2 sore eyes.
290

the past five years, the number of those who were rejected, and the percentage of rejections :—

	1896.	1897	1898.	1899.	1900.
Numbers medically inspected[1]	54,574	59,986	66,501	68,059	88,402
Numbers rejected—					
For various ailments .	11,251	12,630	13,969	13,501	13,788
For want of physical development . . .	11,781	10,183	9,318	8,892	9,317
Total rejected .	23,032	22,813	23,287	22,393	23,105
Percentage of rejections—					
For various ailments .	20·6	21·0	21·0	19·8	16·9
For want of physical development . . .	21·6	17·0	14·0	13·1	11·1
Total .	42·2	38·0	35·0	32·9	28·0

It will be noted that so far from the percentage of rejections in 1900 being unusually high, it is considerably below the average. The following explanation of this circumstance is given in the Report above named (p. 14) :—"All officers concerned in recruiting have instructions not to send a recruit up for medical examination unless there is a reasonable probability of his passing. The very great reduction in the percentage of rejections—from 42 in 1896 to 28 in 1900—shows that these orders have been carried out with marked success. The reduction is also due partly to the reduction of standard of which mention has already been made, and partly to the fact that owing to the war more matured recruits came forward for enlistment."

[1] 90 per cent of the recruits examined in 1900 belonged to the working classes, 7 per cent were shopmen or clerks, 3 per cent boys under seventeen years of age, and only 1 per cent belonged to the servant-keeping class.

The return gives no particulars regarding the proportion of those accepted who were first taken as "specials." Supposing the proportion of these was the same for the United Kingdom as for the York, Leeds, and Sheffield recruiting stations, then it follows that the health and physical development of *one-half* of the recruits who applied for enlistment in the British army during 1900 was below the comparatively low standard required by the army authorities, and it must be remembered that even this does not adequately measure the low standard of health amongst the working classes generally, for, as stated above, only those men were sent up for medical examination who were "reasonably probable" to be passed by the army doctors.

The following remarks on the importance of physical efficiency as a factor in the industrial future of the community may be here suitably quoted[1]:—

"It is the more necessary to concentrate attention on this point by reason of changes that are rapidly shifting the centres of commercial activity and intensifying the forces of industrial competition. In the commercial world things are not as they were. Other nations have been moving up to our own standards of efficiency, so that British labour 'does not enjoy the same incontestably high relative position that it formerly did.' The fact, in short, as Mr. Benjamin Kidd has lately reminded us, has 'begun to make

[1] *The Temperance Problem and Social Reform*, by Rowntree and Sherwell, p. 48.

itself more and more distinctly felt that the competing nations in most cases possess but little advantage one over the other, and that the probable tendency is for even this to become less.' Within the last thirty years Germany, Belgium, and even Russia, have transformed themselves economically. The two former especially are now highly developed industrial states claiming a large share of the world's markets, while we are also face to face with the unprecedented competition of the United States. The conditions of industrial competition are, therefore, wholly changed, and the question of efficiency—mental and physical—has become one of paramount importance.

"At present our most highly equipped—and therefore most formidable—competitors are our kinsmen across the Atlantic. America is commercially formidable, not merely because of her gigantic enterprise and almost illimitable resources, but because, as recent investigations have shown, her workers are better nourished and possesss a relatively higher efficiency."

Even if we set aside considerations of physical and mental suffering, and regard the question only in its strictly economic and national aspect, there can be no doubt that the facts set forth in this chapter indicate a condition of things the serious import of which can hardly be overstated.

CHAPTER VIII

FAMILY BUDGETS: A STUDY IN THE EXPENDITURE AND DIET OF WORKING-CLASS FAMILIES

Object of Inquiry

THE chief purpose of the investigations described in this chapter was to obtain reliable information regarding the diet of the working classes in York. It was thought that this object would be best achieved by the detailed study of selected families, and it is the results of these studies and the conclusions drawn from them which form the subject of the present chapter. In addition to the information regarding diet, particulars have also been obtained regarding general expenditure.

Scope of Inquiry

As regards diet, the particular information sought fell under the following heads :—

1. The kinds of food bought.
2. The prices paid.

3. The quantities of each individual purchase.
4. The menu of meals provided.

From a consideration of the above it has been possible to ascertain

(*a*) How far the diet is adequate, judged by a given standard.

(*b*) How far the selection of food is economical.

Method of Inquiry

The method of inquiry adopted was as follows. Note-books were prepared and given to the families whose diet it was wished to study. On the first page of these the housewife was asked to write down the total income received during the week *from all sources* in money or in kind (including gifts), the age and sex of all members of the household, and the sum paid for rent. Following this were fourteen pages, two for each day of the week. On one of these pages the housewife was asked to keep an account of all money spent, showing the kind and quantity of goods purchased each day and the prices paid. On the opposite page she was asked to state what the family had to eat and drink at each meal, and the number of persons present. It was felt to be important that these books should be kept by each family for as many consecutive weeks as possible, in order that a fair statement might be

obtained regarding their average expenditure and diet.

Number of Budgets

Particulars were obtained regarding thirty-five working-class families, but as the work proceeded it was found that to ensure absolute accuracy certain special precautions were necessary, and consequently many of the earlier returns have been discarded; not because they were known to be inaccurate, but because their accuracy was not absolutely certain. In the end, eighteen of the thirty-five working-class budgets have been retained. In addition, particulars were obtained regarding the diet of six families belonging to the servant-keeping class. These are inserted here for purposes of comparison.

Of the eighteen working-class budgets

1	was kept	for	90	consecutive	weeks
3	were	„	13	„	„
2	„	„	8	„	„
1	was	„	5	„	„
2	were	„	4	„	„
6	„	„	3	„	„
2	„	„	2	„	„
1	was	„	1	week	
18					

Two of the six budgets of families belonging to the servant-keeping class were kept for two weeks, the others for one week.

By frequent visits paid to the families during the period their diets were being studied,[1] and in other ways, the writer has satisfied himself that the particulars given respecting the above budgets are accurate. In some cases it was found that the payment of a small sum ensured care and accuracy. Except in the case of families belonging to the servant-keeping class, no stock was taken of the food in the house at the time of commencing and finishing the inquiries. These always began and ended just before a pay day, when the stock of food in the house is at the very lowest, and therefore even in the budget which extends only over a week, any possible error due to this source would be negligible; whilst in the case of the majority, which were kept for three weeks or more, the error, if any, would be infinitesimal.

It has been assumed that all food purchased has been consumed, *i.e.* that there has been no waste of any edible portion. In the case of families belonging to the servant-keeping class, careful inquiries were made concerning this, and it was ascertained that in all cases stringent care was exercised that nothing edible was wasted. With regard to the working-class families, the results of a number of dietary studies made in other places, in which the waste food has been ascertained, tend to show that the amount

[1] Visits were not paid in the case of families belonging to the servant-keeping class. These families, however, thoroughly understood the need for absolute accuracy, and the writer has satisfied himself as to the accuracy of all the returns here made use of.

of waste in the case of respectable working-class families is, as a rule, very small.[1]

The amount spent upon alcoholic drinks by any of the families from whom returns were obtained was previously known to be exceedingly small. In common with other investigators, the present writer has found it impossible to obtain any reliable particulars regarding the expenditure and diet of families in which one or both of the parents drink immoderately.

Method of Estimating Results of Inquiry

The standard adopted in judging of the adequacy or otherwise of the diets is the same as that adopted in Chapter V. in connection with the fixing of the "primary" poverty line. It may be well briefly to recall the standard and the main arguments upon which it is based.

It will be remembered that the nutrients contained in food fall under three heads :—

Protein—which forms tissue and muscle and serves as fuel.	All producing energy.
Fats—which form fatty tissue (not muscle) and serve as fuel.	
Carbohydrates, *i.e.* sugar and starches—which serve as fuel and may be transformed into fat.	

[1] In a study of the diet of the labouring classes in Edinburgh, made in 1900, the average percentage of the edible portion of food *wasted* by fifteen families was only 1·5 per cent of the food purchased. See *A Study of the Diet of the Labouring Classes in Edinburgh* (Otto Schulze and Co., Edinburgh).

Since all three nutrients produce energy, it is evident that in one sense the food value of any diet may be expressed in terms of *the total energy which it is capable of yielding.* This energy is usually measured in Calories, a Calorie being the amount of heat required to raise 1 kilogram of water 1° Centigrade (or 1 lb. of water 4° Fahr.).[1] But in estimating the adequacy of a diet for practical purposes, it is not enough to know its total energy value; another factor has to be considered. The only nutrient which is capable of repairing the constant waste which is going on in the muscles is PROTEIN, and consequently an adequate supply of this must be present in the diet to repair the muscular waste. It is obvious that the greater the muscular work to be done, the greater will be the amount of protein required.

When, however, sufficient protein has been secured for the repair of muscular waste, it is a matter of indifference, within limits, whether the remaining energy is derived from further protein, or from fat or carbohydrates.[2]

The amount of food required varies with the

[1] Rübner has shown that

1 gram of protein			will yield	4·1	Calories of heat energy.		
1	,,	carbohydrates	,,	4·1	,,	,,	,,
1	,,	fat	,,	9·3	,,	,,	,,

In adopting this standard of measurement, it is not of course implied that all the energy is used to produce heat. It merely shows the amount of heat which *would* be yielded were all the energy employed to that end.

[2] "It is generally found that when the amount of carbohydrates exceeds about 500 or 600 grams (*i.e.* 18 or 21 oz.) per man per day the digestive organs begin to be disturbed." See *A Study of the Diet of the Labouring Classes in Edinburgh*, p. 9.

severity of the work to be done, The most recent and most reliable observations[1] have shown that the daily diet for men doing various amounts of muscular work should yield the following amount of protein and of total food energy :—

	Grams of Protein required daily.	Calories of energy required daily.
Man without muscular work .	100	2700
,, with light work . .	112	3000
,, ,, moderate work . .	125	3500
,, ,, severe work . .	150	4500

There is no *absolute* standard by which the severity of work can be measured, but a careful consideration of the work done by the eighteen working-class families dealt with in this chapter shows that their work must *at least* be classed as "moderate." Practically all of the men are engaged as labourers or mechanics—their hours of work averaging from eight to ten daily. The hours during which the wives are engaged in domestic work are long, and their work is often heavy, including, as it does, washing clothes and scrubbing floors. The children, too, with the demands made upon their nature by rapid growth and with their active muscular habits, require the diet of "moderate" work.

Accordingly, the diet required for a man at "moderate" muscular work, viz. 125 grams (or about $4\frac{1}{2}$ oz.) of protein and 3500 Calories of energy value, has been adopted as the standard by which the

[1] See p. 92.

adequacy or otherwise of each of the diets examined has been tested.

The dietary requirements of women and children may be stated as follows :—

Woman, equivalent to		0·8	of a man at	moderate work.
Boy, 14 to 16	„	0·8	„	„
Girl, 14 to 16	„	0·7	„	„
Child, 10 to 13	„	0·6	„	„
„ 6 to 9	„	0·5	„	„
„ 2 to 5	„	0·4	„	„
„ under 2	„	0·3	„	„

In order to compare the various diets with the standard, it was necessary to ascertain the proportion of protein, fat, and carbohydrates contained in each. The composition of many of the foods used, which are similar in this country and in America, was taken from tables given in *American Food Stuffs* by Atwater and Bryant.[1] In other cases tables based upon analyses made in the laboratory of the Royal College of Physicians in Edinburgh have been used. The analyses of most materials "*as purchased*" were selected, since in these the *refuse* has been allowed for. The composition of the various foods is given in Appendix G.

For the purpose of comparison, each of the family diets was reduced to a common basis, *i.e.* the diet provided "per man per day." An example may serve to make clear how this was done.

[1] Bulletin 28. Revised Edition, U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1899.

Study of family of say 5 persons—father, mother, girl 12 years, boy 7 years, and girl 3 years—continued for 1 week.

The man	is expressed as	1·0	
„ woman	„	·8	of a man
„ girl (12 yrs.)	„	·6	„
„ boy (7 yrs.)	„	·5	„
„ girl (3 yrs.)	„	·4	„
		3·3	

So that the whole family is equal to 3·3 men.

The man was present at 21 meals during the week, which is equal to 1 man for 7 days.

The woman and children were present at 21 meals each, which is equal to 2·3 men for 7 days.

So that the whole is equal to 3·3 men for 7 days, or 1 man for 23 days.

With these standards in mind, let us now resume the examination of the budgets, taking them in the following order:—

Class 1. Working-class families whose total weekly earnings are under 26s.

Class 2. Working-class families whose total weekly earnings are 26s. and over.

Class 3. Servant-keeping class.

Class 1.—Working-Class Families. (Total Weekly Earnings under 26s.)

Of the eighteen working-class families studied, fourteen are in this class.

The following two examples will give a fair idea of their standard of living. Similar detailed descrip-

tions of the remaining twelve families in this class will be found on pp. 263-284.

BUDGET No. 7

CARTER. WAGES (regular) 20s.

The father drives a lorry ; he is now in regular work, but was out of work for six months last year. During that period the family incurred a heavy debt, which Mrs. D. is now striving to clear off. Questioned as to how they lived during these six months when Mr. D. was earning no regular money, Mrs. D. replied that she didn't know ; her brother was very kind to her and bought shoes for herself and the children, her mother gave her odd things, and for the rest they got into debt.

There are two children, a boy aged 5, and a little girl aged 2. The children do not look very strong, and are just recovering from the whooping-cough.

The mother lacks method, and always apologises for the house and children being dirty. Although the house in which the family live contains only three rooms, it is three storeys high. From the living room you go upstairs straight into the bedroom, and from that by means of a ladder into the attic. The only place for keeping food in is an unventilated cupboard under the stairs. There is a water-tap in the living room, in a corner behind the entrance door, but as there is no sink or drain the droppings from the tap fall on to the floor, which consists of red bricks, badly broken and uneven. The floor is partly covered with a piece of linoleum, in addition to which there are several woollen rag mats about. The fireplace is usually untidy. A square table (generally covered with dirty cups, saucers, plates, etc.) occupies the centre of the room, around the sides of which there are two wooden easy-chairs, a sofa covered with American cloth, and a large chest of drawers. Under the window stands a table on which many household treasures are displayed—fancy vases, glass slippers, photographs, etc. There are several framed photographs on the wall, and an unframed almanac or two. The house is situated down a narrow cobbled thoroughfare, and being faced by a high brick wall it gets very little sun. The rent is 3s. per week.

The meals are fairly regular, Mr. D. coming home for them. One day when the investigator was making a call on Mrs. D. the little boy came running in to his mother with $2\frac{1}{2}$d. in his hand, and the message, "Father will be home at 12 o'clock and wants something good for his dinner, and here is some money to buy it with." Mrs. D. appears to do her principal shopping at the end of the week, and deals at the Co-operative Stores. She makes her own bread. She is glad to do a

day's charing, or will do plain sewing at home, but her needlework is not very good, so that it is difficult to find work for her, as she has no sewing machine. Although Mrs. D. lacks method she has great ideas of keeping her house, etc., nice, and always imagines that when they "get round a bit" it will be easier to do so

This budget was kept for eight consecutive weeks during February and March 1901. The total income during this period was £8 : 14 : 6. Mr. D. made some overtime, and Mrs. D. was also able to earn a little money.

The deficiency in the energy value of the diet amounts to ·5 per cent, that of the protein supply to 18 per cent.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Eight Weeks

Income—						
Eight weeks' wages at 20s.					£8	0 0
Overtime					0	4 6
Mrs. D.					0	10 0
					£8	14 6
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages			£3	19 0		
Rent and Rates			1	4 0		
Coals and firewood			1	1 3		
Oil, matches, candles			0	2 8		
Soap, etc.			0	1 5½		
Sundries			0	2 3½		
Sick Club			0	8 3		
Life Insurance			0	6 5		
Clothes			0	8 9½		
Boots			0	5 10½		
Doctor's Bill			0	9 9		
Repayment of debt			0	5 0		
			£8	14 9		
Deficit			0	0 3		
					£8	14 6

Purchases during Week ending February 22, 1901

Friday.—2 bags of coal, 2s. 6d.; 1½ st. flour, 2s.; yeast, 1d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 7d.; ¼ lb. tea, 4½d.; 1 lb. butter, 1s.; 3½ lbs. bacon, 1s. 5d.; firewood, 2d.; ½ lb. lard, 2½d.; baking powder, 1d.; 6 eggs, 6d.; candles, 1d.; matches, ½d.; 1 lb. soap, 2d.; starch, 1d.; soda, 1d.

Saturday.—Doctor's bill, 1s. 3d.; frying-pan, 6½d.; 2 teaspoons, 1d.; 1 tablespoon, 2d.; ½ st. potatoes, 5d.; cabbage, 2d.; 3 lbs. pork, 1s. 7½d.; 1 lb. onions, 1d.; 1 qt. oil, 2½d.; ½ lb. rice, 1d.; milk, 1d.; ¼ lb. coffee, 3d.; kippers, 2d.; 2 tins condensed milk, 5d.

Monday.—Insurance, 11d.; Club, 1s. 3d.; Doctor's bill, 1s.

Tuesday.—Debt, 1s.; 1 lb. figs, 5d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending Feb. 22, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, toast, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	
Saturday	Bread, bacon, coffee.	Bacon, potatoes, pudding, tea.	Bread, butter, shortcake, tea.	Tea, bread, kippers.
Sunday	Bread, butter, shortcake, coffee.	Pork, onions, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, shortcake, tea.	Bread and meat.
Monday	Bread, bacon, butter, tea.	Pork, potatoes, pudding, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	One cup of tea.
Tuesday	Bread, bacon, butter, coffee.	Pork, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, boiled eggs, tea.	Bread, bacon, butter, tea.
Wednesday	Bread, bacon, butter, tea.	Bacon and eggs, potatoes, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	
Thursday	Bread, butter, coffee.	Bread, bacon, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	

BUDGET No. 10

Polisher. Wages 25s.

This household consists of a father, aged 35, a mother, aged 33, two boys, aged 12 and 8, and a girl aged 5. The mother and children look healthy and well, but the father seems delicate. He is a joiner by trade, but cannot follow this occupation now owing to a serious illness he had some time since which has unfitted him for heavy work. He is a bright intelligent man.

The house consists of three rooms and a scullery. There is a tiny bit of garden in the front, separated from the street by wooden palings. The front door opens into the living room, which is beautifully clean. The furniture includes a large chest of drawers, a sofa, rocking-chair, and table. The scullery, which is also spotlessly clean, contains a sink, and copper for washing. Out of this a door leads to the yard. There are many added conveniences in this house made by the father—a cupboard for boots, a bookcase with glass doors, etc., etc. The rent paid for the house is 4s. 3d. per week.

The meals are regular, and are made as appetising and attractive as the limited means at Mrs. B.'s disposal will allow.

Mrs. B. is always busy mending, making, washing, or baking, and certainly makes the best of all that comes in her way, any little extra windfall being fully appreciated and spent to the greatest advantage. Mrs. B. buys in a stock of things weekly, and is a member of the Co-operative Stores.

Mrs. B. states that they can never afford money for recreation or for a holiday out of York.

A study of the diet of this family reveals a deficiency of 25 per cent in the protein, but of only ·06 per cent in fuel value.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Three Weeks

Income—				
Three weeks' wages at 25s., less "broken time"				£3 10 1
Expenditure—				
Food, including beverages	£2	0	7¼	
Rent and rates	0	12	9	
Coals and firewood	0	4	4	
Soap, etc.	0	1	0½	
Sundries	0	0	11½	
Insurance	0	4	9	
Clothing	0	2	8	
Boots	0	4	0	
Papers	0	0	9	
	£3	11	10½	
Deficit	0	1	9½	
				£3 10 1

Purchases during Week ending June 22, 1901.

Friday.—½ lb. beefsteak, 6d.; 1 lb. onions, 1d.; 1 lb. sugar, 2d.; ¼ lb. cheese, 2d.; ¼ lb. potted meat, 1½d.; 1 oz. tea, 1½d.; ½ lb. bacon, 3½d.

Saturday.—3 lbs. jam, 10½d.; 4 lbs. beef, 2s. 6d.; ½ lb. tea, 1s. 1d.; Insurance Club (Sick) 2s. 3d.; 6 lbs. sugar, 1s; yeast, 2d.; literature, 3d.; 1 lb. lard, 6d.; 1 st. potatoes, old and new, 9d.; cabbages, 1½d.; 1 pt. vinegar, 2d.; pepper, 1d.; one week's milk, 10½d.; 1 lb. soap, 2½d.; blacking, 1d.; 1 lb. currants, 5d.; ½ lb. dripping, 3d.; 2 st. flour, 2s. 8d.

Monday.—1 fortnight's rent, 8s. 6d.; ¼ lb. cheese, 2d.

Tuesday.—1 pair boots, soling and heeling, 2s. 6d.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING WEEK ENDING JUNE 22, 1901.

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bread, butter, pie, tea.	Bread, beef-steak, coffee.	Bread, cheese, tea.	Bread, potted meat.
Saturday .	Bread, bacon, tea.	Bread, beef, tea.	Bread, butter, jam, tea.	Bread, butter.
Sunday . .	Light cake, butter, tea.	Roast beef, potatoes, cabbage, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, jam, tea.	Jam, bread.
Monday . .	Bread, butter, jam, tea, cheese.	Bread, beef, tea, potatoes, cabbage.	Bread, butter, jam, tea.	Jam, bread.
Tuesday . .	Bread, butter, jam, tea.	Meat pie, potatoes.	Bread, butter, jam pie, tea.	Shortcake.
Wednesday .	Bread, butter, jam, tea.	Beef hashed, bread, tea, rice pudding.	Bread, butter, shortcake, tea.	Currant cake.
Thursday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, bread, potatoes.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter.

Diet of Class 1. (*Total Weekly Family Earnings under* 26s.).—The results of the inquiry into the diet of the fourteen families in this class are summarised in the table on opposite page.

An examination of this table reveals the fact that *in every case the diet is inadequate.*

The energy value of the diets varies from 2523 Calories in Study No. 5, to 3498 Calories in Study No. 10; the average for all the studies being 2901, or *17 per cent below standard requirements* (3500 Calories).

In the case of the protein the deficiency is even greater. This varies from 63 grams per man per day in Study No. 4, to 115 grams in Study No. 11: the average for all the studies is 89 grams, or no less than *29 per cent below standard requirements* (125 grams).[1] It is not surprising to find great

[1] The writer was not prepared to find so serious a deficiency, and

Statement showing the Results of Inquiry into the Diet of Families in Class I.

Study Number.	Budget kept. Period.	Budget kept. No. of Weeks.	Occupation of Head of Household.	Number in Family. Adults.	Number in Family. Children.	Equivalent to	Average Weekly Income of Family (including children's earnings).	Aver'ge weekly Expenditure on Food. Amount.	Aver'ge weekly Expenditure on Food. Percentage of Total Expenditure.	Expenditure on Food per Man per Day.	Protein per Man per Day.	Deficiency of Protein per Man per Day. (Standard Requirements = 125 grms.)	Energy Value of Diet per Man per Day.	Deficiency of Energy Value per Man per Day. (Standard = 3500 Calories.)
							£ s. d.	s. d.		Pence.	Grams.	Grams.	Calories.	Calories.
1a[1]	Apr.-Sept. 1898	26	Labourer	2	5	4·10 men	0 17 9	10 6¼	59	4·32	74	51	2833	667
1b	Oct.-Mar. 1898-9	26	,,	2	5	4·30 ,,	0 18 2¼	10 6¾	58	4·18	91	34	2913	587
1c	June 1900 to Feb. 1901	38	,,	3	5	4·86 ,,	0 19 11	12 1¼	61	4·15	82	43	2612	888
2	Sept.-Nov. 1900	13	,,	2	3	3·00 ,,	1 1 9¼	10 2½	47	5·77	92	33	2944	556
3	July 1899	1	Soldier's widow	1	5	2·86 ,,	0 15 0	7 9½	52	4·44	97	28	2892	608
4	Apr.-June 1900	13	Labourer	2	3	2·86 ,,	0 15 0	8 1¾	52	5·24	63	62	2533	967
5	May-June 1900	8	,,	3	2	3·71 ,,	1 0 0	11 9¼	54	5·37	74	51	2523	977
6	Feb.-Mar. 1901	4	Widow, office-cleaner	2	..	1·57 ,,	0 11 9	5 5	44	6·21	94	31	2939	561
7	Feb.-May 1901	8	Carter	2	2	2·57 ,,	1 1 10	9 10½	45	6·57	102	23	3483	17
8	February 1901	4	Labourer	2	3	3·14 ,,	1 5 0	11 6	47	6·28	88	37	2619	881
9	April-May 1901	5	,,	2	1	2·14 ,,	0 17 5	7 11	43	6·22	79	46	2489	1011
10	June 1901	3	Polisher	2	3	3·19 ,,	1 3 4	13 5¼	57	7·00	94	31	3498	2
11	,,	3	Labourer	2	1	2·29 ,,	1 3 4	11 4½	49	8·26	115	10	2993	507
12	,,	3	,,	2	4	3·43 ,,	1 1 1	13 9¼	54	6·84	93	32	3195	305
13	,,	3	,,	2	2	2·14 ,,	1 3 4	10 5	44½	8·25	79	46	2539	961
14	,,	3	,,	2	3	2·90 ,,	1 0 8	11 3	54	5·74	97	28	3183	317
AVERAGE	..	..	..	..	..	..	0 19 8	10 4½	51	5·93	89	36	2901	599

[1] Budgets 1a, 1b, and 1c refer to the same family, but to different periods.

variations in the supply of protein, as its amount has no necessary relation to the quantity of food consumed, but depends upon the *selection* of food stuffs. Peas, beans, lentils, and a few other cheap vegetable foods are rich in proteids, but the proteid-rich foods which are most generally in use are comparatively dear. Amongst these are meat, milk, eggs, etc.

The physiological results of a scanty supply of protein are described by Dr. Robert Hutchison (*Food and the Principles of Dietetics*, pp. 23, 169), who says that "the daily consumption [of protein] should never be allowed to sink below 100 grams, but should preferably be 125. . . . It is well to have an excess of proteid above that barely required for tissue repair. To live on a minimum of proteid is to run the risk of having what one may call 'thread-bare tissues,' and of having no reserve for use in emergencies. And such a condition of things makes for low resistance and for disease. There is also reason to believe that proteid, besides acting as a repairer of tissue and a source of energy, exerts upon the cells a stimulating influence which increases vitality and energy. A deficiency of it, too, seems to impair the condition of the blood and lower the tone of the muscles and of the heart, besides enfeebling the

consequently five Studies (Nos. 10-14) were undertaken in June 1901, in order to check the results of those made previously.

The average weekly income of the five families is comparatively high, viz. 22s. 4d., and the average number of children 2·6. Nevertheless, the energy value of their diet shows an average deficiency of 17·7 per cent, and the protein a deficiency of over 23 per cent.

digestive powers by restricting the supply of the material from which the digestive ferments are elaborated. . . . The difference, in fact, between an animal fed on highly nitrogenous diet and one supplied with little nitrogen is the difference between a steam-engine at half pressure and one which is producing its full horse-power. . . . To growing children a deficiency of proteid in the diet is specially disastrous, for the lack of building material which it entails may result in impaired growth and development, the consequence of which may last throughout life. For the same reason, persons who habitually live on a minimum of proteid are apt to convalesce but slowly after an acute illness; for once their tissues are broken down, they have no ready surplus of building material out of which to repair them."

In estimating the value of the figures given in the table it must be remembered that, as already stated, the families studied represent the steady, respectable section of the labouring classes, who spend practically nothing upon drink.[1] If, then, sober and industrious families of the labouring class receive only about three-fourths of the food required for physical efficiency, how serious must be the mal-nutrition of families with small incomes in which money is wasted on drink? As already stated (p. 143), the average

[1] There is one exception to this generalisation (viz. Study No. 11), where the husband, although in regular work, has occasional drinking bouts, and was, in fact, indulging in one of these during part of the time that the budget was being kept. But this did not materially affect the average expenditure for household purposes, as the wife met this expenditure out of her savings (see p. 278).

expenditure upon drink per working-class family in the United Kingdom cannot be estimated at less than 6s. weekly.

Not only is it clear from the foregoing that in the case of average families whose earnings do not exceed 26s. per week there is no margin for expenditure upon *drink*, but it should also be noted that there is no margin for *thrift*—money saved means necessary food forgone.

Cost of Diets

Since the nutritive value of a diet depends not only upon its *energy value*, but also upon the amount of *protein* which it contains, a comparison of the relative cost of the diets comprised in the above table will be best made by showing (*a*) the total Calories of fuel energy procured for one shilling in each diet, and (*b*) how many grams of proteid are contained in the food purchased for this amount.

This information is given in the following table:—

TABLE SHOWING TOTAL CALORIES OF FUEL ENERGY AND GRAMS OF PROTEIN PURCHASED FOR ONE SHILLING

Number of Study	1a.	1b.	1c.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
Protein in Grams	208	261	240	193	199	144	157	182	189
Fuel value in Calories	7869	8362	7552	6121	7479	5800	5638	5679	6361

Number of Study	8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	Average.
Protein in Grams	168	152	161	167	163	115	176	179
Fuel value in Calories	5004	4801	5996	4348	5605	3693	5778	5731

Now let us consider how far the average diet of the labouring class, as represented by the families included in the foregoing table, may be considered an *economical* one.

In the York Workhouse, where the diet is regulated by the general order of the Local Government Board, the cost of feeding a family consisting of man, wife, and three children works out at almost exactly 6½d. per man per day, *calculating the cost of the food at contract prices.* The diet obtained for this sum contains 136 grams of protein, and yields 3724 Calories of fuel energy. The Workhouse authorities, therefore purchase food yielding 7037 Calories of fuel energy, and containing 254 grams of protein, for a shilling, as compared with 5731 Calories and 179 grams purchased by the fourteen families studied.[1]

At first sight, indeed, this might appear to indicate that if the labouring classes selected their food more judiciously, they could obtain an adequate diet for the money they now spend. But in comparing the relative cost of the York Workhouse diet with that of the labourers, we must remember—

1. That the Workhouse diet requires not only more cooking utensils, but also more trouble

[1] It may be asked, How does the cost of the diet of these fourteen families compare with that of the stringently economical diet of which particulars were given on p. 99 *et seq.*, and on which was based the estimate of minimum food expenditure required for the maintenance of physical efficiency? The latter yields 266 grammes protein and 7348 Calories fuel energy per shilling of expenditure. But this diet cannot here be taken as a reasonable standard in judging of the economy or otherwise of labourers' diets, on account of its severely stringent character. It will be remembered that it allows for no fresh meat, and for tea only once a week.

in cooking than the labourers' diet, and this is seen to be a serious drawback when we remember how much is already expected of the mother in a labourer's family where there are young children. It may, indeed, almost be said that in many cases any diet requiring a large amount of time for its preparation is out of the question.

2. That a large number of persons can be fed more economically than a single family; and

3. That the cost of the Workhouse diet is calulated at contract and not at retail prices.

But although the labouring classes generally cannot reasonably be expected to procure an adequate diet as cheaply as that of the able-bodied paupers in the Workhouse, there is no doubt that some improvement might be effected in their diet, without increasing its cost, if they possessed greater knowledge of the relative value of different food stuffs, and were prepared to profit by such knowledge.

Proportions of Animal and Vegetable Food

An examination of the diet of the fourteen families shows that on the average 58·45 per cent of the total food expenditure is for animal foods,[1] whereas only 39·3 per cent of the protein of their diet and 30·90 per cent of its total energy value is derived from them.

[1] This, of course, includes butter, milk, eggs, cheese, dripping, etc., in addition to meat.

On the other hand, the 35 per cent of total food expenditure devoted to vegetable foods yields 60·45 per cent of the total protein and 68·88 per cent of the total energy value represented by the diet.

It will be noted, that upon the average, 7 per cent of the food expenditure went to the purchase of beverages, though these have very little nutritive value, yielding, indeed, only ·28 per cent of the total protein and ·22 per cent of the energy value. This expenditure (chiefly upon tea and coffee) cannot, however, be considered extravagant, when the general character of the meals consumed by these fourteen families is considered.

The figures given above clearly show the relative cheapness of vegetable as compared with animal foods, and no doubt a pecuniary economy might be effected were a larger proportion of the food expenditure of the labouring classes devoted to vegetable foods; but how far the present animal diet could with advantage in other directions be replaced by a vegetable one is a question upon which authorities differ widely, and which cannot be adequately dealt with here.

Apart from questions of custom and of palate, the main objections to an exclusively vegetable diet appear to be:—

(1) A much greater *bulk* of food is required to supply adequate protein.

(2) Vegetable protein is less readily assimilated than animal protein.[1]

[1] The *incompleteness of absorption*, which is the characteristic of most

(3) Many of the most nutritious vegetable foods, such as peas, beans, lentils, etc., take more time to prepare than animal foods containing the same nutriment, and require more skill in cooking, to make them palatable.

In the York Workhouse, about 55 per cent of the food expenditure for able-bodied paupers is for animal food, and 45 per cent for vegetable food and beverages. It will be noticed that these proportions are almost the same as the average of the fourteen Studies here under consideration (viz. 58 per cent animal and 42 per cent vegetable and beverages).

It would be interesting to discuss in further detail the alterations which might with advantage be made in the diets of the labouring classes, but the subject lies beyond the scope of the present inquiry.

vegetable foods, affects in different degrees their different nutritive constituents. The *fats* appear to be hardly affected by it at all. Cocoa butter is as well absorbed as ordinary butter, and olive oil as cod-liver oil. *Starch and sugar* also are digested and sucked up into the blood almost to the last particle. . . . It would appear, in fact, that the *proteids* have to bear almost alone the brunt of the defective absorption. Why the proteids of vegetable food should be so much less completely absorbed than the other ingredients, it is somewhat difficult to say; but the results of all experimenters are at one in showing that a relatively larger amount of nitrogen is excreted by the bowel on a vegetable than on an animal diet.

RELATIVE ABSORPTION OF PROTEIN IN VARIOUS FOODS

	Proteid not absorbed.
Meat	2·3 per cent
Lentil flour (218 grams daily)	10·5 ,,
Dried peas (600 ,, ,,)	17·0 ,,
Beans (500 ,, ,,)	... ,,
Flour (17 ,, ,,)	30·3 ,,
Potatoes (3000 ,, ,,)	32·0 ,,
Carrots and fat (412 grams daily, dried) . .	39·0 ,,
Lentils (250 grams simply soaked and boiled till soft)	40·0 ,,

See *Food and the Principles of Dietetics*, Dr. R. Hutchison, p. 164.

The following table, taken from U.S. Department of Agriculture, Circular No. 43, may, however, be cited in this connection :—

Gradation by Amounts of Protein.	Gradation by Fuel Values.
Very Large	
Canned corned beef ; cheese ; beans, dry.	Butter ; salt pork ; cheese ; smoked ham ; crackers ; sugar ; oatmeal.
Large	
Canned salmon ; beef, round ; beef, sirloin ; salt codfish ; beef, chuck.	Pork, spare rib ; corn (maize) meal ; wheat flour ; rice ; beans, dry ; wheat bread.
Medium	
Mutton, leg ; pork, spare rib ; beef, rib ; eggs ; fresh codfish ; oatmeal ; wheat flour.	Canned corned beef ; beef, rib ; beef, sirloin ; canned salmon ; beef, chuck ; mutton, leg ; beef, round ; eggs.
Small	
Smoked ham ; wheat bread ; milk crackers ; corn (maize) meal ; rice.	Milk ; salt codfish ; potatoes.
Very Small	
Oysters ; salt pork ; milk ; butter ; potatoes ; sugar.	Oysters ; fresh codfish.

Further information upon the point may be obtained from Dr. Hutchison's *Food and the Principles of Dietetics*, from *A Study of the Diet of the Labouring Classes in Edinburgh* (published by Schulze and Co., Edinburgh), and from the admirable series of Bulletins published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (Washington U.S.A. Government Printing Press).

Before passing to a consideration of the diet in Classes 2 and 3, it will be of interest to state some particulars as to the general expenditure in Class 1.

Summary of General Expenditure in Class 1. (*Total Weekly Earnings under* 26*s.*)

The following table shows the percentage of the total expenditure of each family which is devoted to various purposes :—

PERCENTAGE OF EXPENDITURE DEVOTED TO VARIOUS PURPOSES BY FAMILIES IN CLASS 1

No. of Study.	Number in Family.		Average Weekly Income.	No. of Weeks Budget kept.	Percentage of Total Expenditure devoted to							Balance being Excess of Income over Expenditure.	Total Percentage.
	Adults.	Children.			Food.	Rent.	Clothing.	Fuel and Lighting.	Insurance and Sick Clubs.	Sundries.	Repayment of Debts.		
			£ s. d.										
1a [1]	2	5	0 17 9	26	58·4	18·0	3·6	9·9	2·3	6·9	..	0·9	100·0
1b	2	5	0 18 2	26	59·0	18·2	8·0	8·7	2·6	3·5	..	..	100·0
1c	3	5	0 19 11	38	60·7	16·3	5·0	8·7	2·1	5·6	0·6	1·0	100·0
2	2	3	1 1 9	13	47·3	20·8	11·6	9·5	2·5	5·1	3·1	0·1	100·0
3	1	5	0 15 0	1	51·9	26·6	3·3	7·8	3·3	2·5	..	4·6	100·0
4	2	3	0 15 0	13	46·1	22·0	6·5	6·0	3·3	4·6	11·5	..	100·0
5	3	2	1 0 0	8	54·0	19·0	1·0	9·0	3·1	11·9	..	2·0	100·0
6	2	..	0 11 9	4	43·7	13·0	10·0	22·2	4·0	3·1	4·0	..	100·0
7	2	2	1 1 10	8	45·2	13·7	8·5	13·7	8·3	2·1	8·5	..	100·0
8	2	3	1 5 0	4	46·6	12·2	7·2	7·8	6·0	15·4	2·0	2·8	100·0
9	2	1	0 17 5	5	43·3	17·8	4·0	13·8	0·9	3·6	16·6	..	100·0
10	2	3	1 3 4	3	57·0	17·7	9·2	6·0	6·6	3·5	..	..	100·0
11	2	1	1 3 4	3	48·7	22·5	5·2	5·0	2·5	16·1	..	..	100·0
12	2	4	1 1 1	3	54·0	13·7	10·0	5·0	3·0	12·3	2·0	..	100·0
13	2	2	1 3 4	3	45·5	15·0	4·9	6·3	6·1	18·8	..	3·4	100·0
14	2	3	1 0 8	3	54·3	21·8	3·4	5·3	5·1	4·6	..	5·5	100·0
AVERAGE OF STUDIES	..	..	0 19 8	..	51·0	18·0	6·3	9·0	3·9	7·5	3·0	1·3	100·0

In Study No. 1c 1s. 6½d. or 0·3
,, 6 3s. 8½d. or 7·2
,, 9 4s. 9½d. or 5·0
,, 10 1s. 9½d. or 2·1
,, 12 13s. 1d. or 20·2

} per cent of Total Expenditure has been spent in Excess of Income, a debt to this amount having been incurred.

It will be noted that on the average almost exactly half the total expenditure is for *food*. Study No. 9 shows the lowest proportion of food expenditure. This is because the family were being threatened with legal proceedings if they did not at once pay a debt

[1] Budgets 1a, 1b, 1c, refer to the same family but to different periods.

they owed, and hence the proportion of expenditure under the head "Repayment of Debts" rises to 16·6 per cent, and that for food drops to 43·3 per cent. The highest proportion of food expenditure is 60·7 per cent in Study No. 1[c]. Here the family is a large one, and the rent and income low.

Rent on the average absorbs almost one-fifth of the total income—varying from 12·2 per cent in Study No. 8 to 26·6 per cent in Study No. 3. In Study No. 8 the family occupy a house the rent of which is only 3s. per week, whilst their income is higher than that of any of the other thirteen families, viz. 25s. weekly. In Study No. 3, where the proportion of rent expenditure is 26·6 per cent, the income is very low (15s.), and there are six persons in family. The widow who is at the head of this household has known better days, and although she could obtain a smaller and cheaper house in a less respectable neighbourhood, she is evidently making a great effort to avoid this course.

The expenditure on *clothing* may probably be taken as about 6·3 per cent. But to obtain really reliable figures under this head, budgets should be kept for at least a year. In Budget No. 1, kept for 90 weeks, the clothing expenditure amounted to 5·46 per cent.

As a rule, the proportion of expenditure for *fuel* and *lighting* does not vary greatly. In Studies 7 and 9 the comparatively high amount is presumably due to unsystematic and somewhat careless house-

keeping. The probable reason for the high figure in Study No. 6 is given later.

It will be noticed that every family spends money on *insurance* or *sick clubs*, and that no less than eight of the fourteen are burdened with past *debts* which they are slowly paying off. In only three cases, however, does the sum devoted to repayment of debts amount to more than 4 per cent of the total expenditure.

In seven Studies the income has been slightly in excess of expenditure; this in most cases represents an effort to put money aside week by week with a view to some special expenditure such as the purchase of a pair of boots or a suit of clothes.

Five of the fourteen families have spent money in excess of income and thus incurred debt. Study No. 6 is that of a poor family in which such expenditure is quite exceptional. It was in anticipation of a windfall of 4s. known to be coming in, and appears to have been spent on an extra bag of coal. On the other hand, Study No. 9 is that of a family always in debt, and although, as noted from the above table, 16·6 per cent of their expenditure is devoted to re-payment of old debts, they are incurring new ones equal in amount to 5 per cent of their total expenditure. In Study No. 12, over 20 per cent of the family's expenditure is in excess of income. The husband has had some broken time, and the wife felt that though the income was in consequence diminished, she could not manage to cut down expenses.

Class 2.—Working-Class Families. (Total Weekly Earnings 26s. and over)

Four of the families studied come into this class.

Particulars regarding the home life of one of these is given below; and similar particulars regarding the other three families will be found on pp. 285-288. To prevent identification it has been necessary to restrict these descriptions to a few brief outlines, but they will serve to give the reader an idea of the standard of comfort in which the families are living.

BUDGET No. 17

Clerk. Wages 35s.

This household consists of a father, aged about 35, a mother aged 37, two daughters, aged respectively 14 and 13, and a baby boy under 12 months old. The father suffers from indigestion, but the others have average health. The house is nicely furnished and comfortable. It contains 5 rooms and a scullery. There is a small garden in the front, which is bright with flowers during the summer, the window-box in the parlour window being particularly gay. There is a fair-sized yard at the back. The rent is 5s. 6d. a week including rates.

The wife is a good manager, and makes all her own and the children's dresses and other clothes; she also makes many little things for the house, such as fire-screens, cushions, etc.

The meals are regular and well cooked. The whole family have breakfast before the father leaves for business. The food is bought in fairly large quantities at the Co-operative Stores. Mrs. X. makes her own bread, tea-cakes, etc. It will be noticed that oatmeal is used in this family. The whole family are teetotalers, but the father smokes. The family are insured, and the father belongs to a Medical Aid Society.

A study of this family's diet shows that its fuel value is 13 per cent in excess of requirements, but the protein is 5 per cent below.

Total Income and Expenditure during Thirteen Weeks

Income—			
Thirteen weeks' wages at 35s., less "broken time"		£22 0	9
Expenditure—			
Food, including beverages	£12 6 7		
Rent and rates	3 11 6		
Coals, etc.	1 8 7		
Gas	0 8 0		
Soap	0 2 1		
Sundries	0 1 0		
Insurance and medical aid	1 6 0		
Shoes, etc.	0 2 6		
Tobacco	0 3 6		
Balance	2 11 0		
		£22 0	9

Purchases during Week ending May 20, 1900

Friday.—2 sheep's hearts, 6d.; 1 mackerel, 4d.; 1 lb. tomato sausage, 9d.; ½ lb. potted beef, 6d.; 1 lb. bacon, 7d.; week's milk, 1s. 9d.; 1½ lbs. butter, 1s. 9d.; 12 eggs, 1s.; 1 st. flour, 1s. 4d.; yeast, 2d.; 8 lbs. sugar, 1s. 4d.; bread and teacakes, 1s.; 2 oz. tobacco, 6d.; ¼ lb. tea, 1s. 2d.

Saturday.—Vegetables, 1s.; 3 lbs. pork, 2s.; 1½ lbs. spare-rib of pork, 6d.; gas, 8d.; coals, 2s. 6d.; Insurance and medical clubs, 2s.

Wednesday.—1½ lbs. mutton, 1s.

Thursday.—Tin luncheon tongue, 1s. 3d. rent, 5s. 6d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending May 20, 1900.

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Fried eggs, bacon, bread, butter, tea.	Stuffed hearts, potatoes, jam pudding.	Pickled mackerel, bread, butter, tea.	Porridge, bread, butter, cocoa.
Saturday	Potted meat, bread, butter, tea-cakes, tea.	Tomato sausages, potatoes, pastry, tea.	Boiled eggs, bread, butter, brown bread, cakes, tea.	Porridge, fried fish, bread, cocoa.
Sunday	Cold tomato sausages, boiled eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Stuffed pork, new potatoes, cauliflower, Yorks. pudding, cakes, tea.	Bread, butter, tea-cakes, raspberry sandwich, tea.	Cold meat, pickled beetroot, bread, cocoa.
Monday	Fried bacon, brown bread, butter, cakes, tea.	Spare-rib pie, potatoes, Quaker oats pudding, tea.	Potted meat, bread, butter, tea-cakes, tea.	Porridge, cocoa.
Tuesday	Boiled eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Cold pork, mashed potatoes, jam roll, sauce.	Toast, butter, tea-cakes, tea.	Porridge, brown bread, butter, cocoa.
Wednesday	Fried bacon, eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Boiled mutton, onion sauce, potatoes, vegetables, pudding, tea.	Bread, butter, scones, tea-cakes, tea.	Porridge, fried fish, bread, cocoa.
Thursday	Boiled eggs, bread, butter, scones, tea.	Haricot mutton, lemon pudding, sauce, tea and cakes.	Lunch tongue, bread, butter, tea.	Porridge, cocoa.

Adequacy of Diet

The particulars regarding the diet of the families in this class are summarised in the table on following page :—

It will be noted that in Studies 15 and 17 the fuel energy is in excess of standard requirements. In Study 15 the supply of protein is also greatly in excess of requirements, but in Study 17 it falls slightly below. A small alteration in the choice of food stuffs by securing a larger proportion of those rich in protein would correct this. In the other two budgets both energy value and proteins are below standard requirements. In the case of Study No. 16 this is probably due to lack of income. It will be noted that there are 2 adults and 2 children in the family, whose total weekly income is only 27s. The father being a foreman will feel it necessary to "maintain appearances," and consequently the money available for food

STATEMENT SHOWING THE RESULTS OF INQUIRY INTO THE DIET OF FAMILIES IN CLASS 2

Budget Number.	Budget kept.		Occupation of Head of Household.	Number in Family.			Average Weekly Income of Family including Children.	Average Weekly Expenditure on Food.	Percentage of Total Expenditure.	Expenditure on Food per Man per Day.	Protein per Man per Day.	Deficiency or Surplus of Protein per Man per Day. (Standard 125 Grams.)	Energy Value of Diet per Man per Day.	Deficiency or Surplus of Energy Value. (Standard 3500 Calories.)
	Period.	No. of Weeks.		Adults.	Children.	Equivalent to								
15	Oct. 1899	2	Foreman	2	6	4·86 men	£1 18 0	£1 5 6	66	Pence. 9·32	Grams. 149	Grams. +24	Calories. 4969	Calories. +1469
16	Oct. 1899	2	Foreman	2	2	2·86 ,,	1 7 0	0 16 0	59	9·48	111	− 14	3356	− 144
17	Mar.-June 1900	13	Clerk	2	3	3·00 ,,	1 15 0	0 18 10½	57	10·75	118	− 7	3968	+ 468
18	June 1901	5	Railway Employee	3	2	3·57 ,,	2 12 3	1 3 2	45	11·26	100	− 25	3359	− 141
AVERAGE	..	..	..	2	3	3·39 ,,	1 18 1	1 0 10½	56	10·20	119	− 6	3913	+ 413

will be reduced accordingly. The deficiency, however, is not serious, especially as the father's work does not entail much muscular effort.

Discussing the matter of the deficiency in the diet in Study No. 18 I was informed by the father: "I like a good square meat meal when I come in, but my wife and the boys prefer an egg and a little pastry." The family are comfortably off, and this choice of food is prompted by personal inclination, and not by motives of economy.

The number of diets studied in this class is not large enough to base generalisations upon, but they would appear to indicate that the families in the class are adequately fed. Some of the poorer ones probably get rather less than they would take if their incomes were larger, whilst probably the diet of many of those with high wages is in excess of that required for men doing moderate work.

Of course where much money is spent upon drink or otherwise wasted, the diet may be very deficient, in spite of high wages.

Cost of Diet

As in the case of Class 1, we will state the cost of the diet in this class in terms of (*a*) the amount of protein, and (*b*) of total fuel energy bought for one shilling. This is shown in the following table:—

Number of Study	15.	16.	17.	18.	Average.
Protein in Grams	192	140	132	108	143
Fuel value in Calories	6397	4248	4429	3579	4663

It will be noted that, upon the whole, the choice of food stuffs is less economical than in Class 1, where the average amount of protein purchased for one shilling was 179 grams, and of fuel energy 5731 Calories.

Class 3.—Servant-Keeping Class

The six Studies comprised in this class represent families who are comfortably off (keeping from one to four servants) but who live simply. In no case, it will be noted, are any wines or alcoholic drinks consumed. Only one of the families dines in the evening. The male heads of the household are engaged either in professions or in the control of business undertakings.

The following example will serve to illustrate the character of the diets in this class. Particulars regarding the diets of the other five families will be found on pp. 289-294.

BUDGET No. 22

(Five Adults and Three Children)

List of Food Stuffs used during Week ending May 23, 1901

4 oranges, 4d.; 3 lbs. neck of mutton, 2s. 4d.; 3 lbs. chicken, 2s. 9d.; 7 lbs. Hovis flour, 1s. 2d.; 4 lbs. bacon, 3s.; 1½ lb. oatmeal, 2½d.; 2 lbs. lump sugar, 5d.; 4½ lbs. granulated sugar, 9½d.; 3 lbs. Demerara sugar, 9d.; 1 lb. coffee, 1s. 5½d.; 1 lb. tea, 1s. 4d.; 1½ lb. tapioca, 4d.; 1 cauliflower, 4d.; 8 lbs. 3 oz. leg of mutton, 6s. 7½d.; 1 lb. sausages, 9d.; ½ lb. lard, 3d.; ¼ lb. potted meat, 5½d.; 2 lb. loaf of bread, 3d.; 6 oz. cornflour, 3d.; ½ lb. turnips, 1d.; 10 oz. cheese, 5d.; 2½ oz. cocoa, 2½d.; ½ lb. suet, 2d.; 12 oz. cutlets, 8½d.; 1 lb. bottled fruit, 8½d.; ½ lb. biscuits, 5d.; 10 lbs. flour, 10d.; 6½ oz. Frame food, 7d.; 31 eggs, 1s. 11½d.; 26 qts. of milk, 6s. 6d.; 4½ lbs. butter, 3s. 10½d.; yeast, 6d.; 6 lbs. rhubarb, 1s.; 1½ lb. rice, 4d.; 1½ st. potatoes, 1s. 1½d. ¾ lb. sultanas, 5½d.; 3 lbs. carrots, 6d.; 1½ fresh haddock, 1s.; ½ lb. tea-cakes, 3d.; 2 lbs. marmalade, 9d.; 2 oz. chocolate, 1½d.; ½ lb. seed-cake, 1½d.; ¼ lb. glacé cherries, 4½d.; 2 oz. peel, 2d.; ½ lb. castor sugar, 1½d.; 4 lbs. shoulder of mutton, 3s.; 5 bananas, 5d.; ½ pt. of cream, 2d.; greens, 2d.; parsley, ½d.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING WEEK ENDING MAY 23, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Porridge, fried bacon and eggs, toast, white and brown bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee, milk, cream.	Haricot mutton, carrots, potatoes, tapioca pudding.	Brown and white bread, butter, cake, tea, milk.	Boiled chicken, white sauce, bacon, potato chips, stewed rhubarb, bread, butter, cocoa.
Saturday	Porridge, fried bacon and eggs, toast, white and brown bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee, milk, cream.	Haricot mutton, cold chicken, sausages, boiled rice, stewed rhubarb.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, cake, tea, milk, cream.	Chicken, cheese, potatoes, bread, butter, milk.
Sunday	Porridge, eggs, bread, butter, milk, coffee, tea, cream.	Mutton, cauliflower, bread sauce, potatoes, rhubarb custard, blancmange, oranges, biscuits tea.	Potted meat sandwiches, bread, butter, cake, marmalade, tea, milk.	Potted meat, cornflour mould, bread, butter, cake, rhubarb custard, cheese, hot milk.
Monday	Porridge, fried bacon and bread, toast, bread, butter, marmalade, treacle, tea, coffee, milk, cream.	Boiled mutton, carrots, turnips, potatoes, caper sauce, roly-poly pudding, rice pudding, oranges, tea.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, cake, milk, tea.	Fish, bread, butter, biscuits, cake, oranges, cocoa.
Tuesday	Porridge, fried bacon and eggs, bread, butter, toast, marmalade, coffee, tea, milk, cream.	Mutton, carrots, turnips, caper sauce, potatoes, hayrick pudding, lemon sauce, tapioca pudding, tea.	Bread, butter, Frame food, marmalade, milk, cream, tea.	Cutlets, stewed plums, bread, biscuits, cheese, cocoa.
Wednesday	Frame food, fried eggs, bacon and bread, toast, white and brown bread, butter, marmalade, coffee, tea, milk, cream.	Rissoles, poached eggs, potatoes, bread pudding, bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, Frame food, milk, tea.	Baked haddock, stewed plums, biscuits, hot milk.
Thursday	Frame food, bacon, eggs, toast, white and brown bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee, milk, cream.	Roast mutton, greens, potatoes, chocolate mould, rhubarb and orange tart, bananas, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, seed-cake, Frame food, marmalade, milk, tea.	Fish cakes, stewed rhubarb, biscuits, bread, butter, hot milk.

Adequacy of Diets in Class 3

The accompanying table shows the nutritive value of the diets in this class.

It will be noticed that in four cases out of the six the energy value of the diet per man per day is considerably above, but in two cases slightly below, the amount required by men engaged on moderate work (3500 Calories).

The explanation of the deficiency in Study No. 20 is that one member of the family is an invalid, and does not eat much; allowing for this, there is little doubt but that the food of the other members of the family is up to the standard for moderate work.

In the case of Study

STATEMENT SHOWING THE RESULTS OF INQUIRY INTO THE DIET OF FAMILIES IN CLASS 3

Budget Number.	Budget kept. Period.	Budget kept. No. of Weeks.	Number in Family. Adults.	Number in Family. Children.	Equivalent to	Average Weekly Expenditure on Food.	Expenditure on Food per Man per Day.	Protein per Man per Day.	Deficiency or Surplus of Protein per Man per Day. (Standard 125 Grams.)	Energy Value of Diet per Man per Day.	Deficiency or Surplus of Energy Value. (Standard 3500 Calories.)
							Pence.	Grams.	Grams.	Calories.	Calories.
19	Jan. 1901	1	5	2	5·14 men	£2 16 8	18·85	143	+18	4559	+1059
20	March 1901	2	6	0	5·71 ,,	2 3 6	12·67	105	−20	3474	− 26
21	,,	1	3	0	2·57 ,,	1 3 6	15·77	144	+19	4818	+1318
22	June 1901	1	5	3	5·43 ,,	2 10 6	15·83	117	− 8	4081	+ 581
23	,,	1	6	3	6·86 ,,	3 19 7	19·53	148	+23	4790	+1290
24	,,	2	3	3	3·86 ,,	1 9 7	13·23	98	−27	3366	− 134
AVERAGE	..	..	4	2	4·93 ,,	2 7 3	15·99	126	+ 1	4181	+ 681

No. 24 the father suffers from dyspepsia, and his diet in hot weather consists largely of fruit. (It will be noted this Budget refers to two weeks in June 1901.) He states that the family eat much more meat in the winter.

The average energy value of the six diets is 4181 Calories per man per day, or 681 more than are required by men engaged upon moderate work.

Turning to the *protein*, we notice that in three of the Studies this is in excess of the amount required for men doing moderate work (125 grams), and in three cases it falls below this amount. The deficiency in the case of Studies No. 20 and No. 24 has already been explained. In Study No. 22 the slight deficiency (117 grams instead of 125) is due, not to insufficient diet, for the energy value shows a large excess over standard, but to the selection of food stuffs.

Considering these six diets as a whole, it is clear that the amount of food consumed is in excess of requirements, especially when it is remembered that the muscular work done by these families is considerably less than in the case of the working-class families in Classes 1 and 2. Indeed it is doubtful whether the work done by the six families here considered is more than "light muscular work," the food requirements for which are only 112 grams of protein per man per day and 3000 calories of fuel energy.

It is often supposed that persons engaged in brain work require a large amount of food to support them. There is, however, no scientific proof that this is the case. Dr. Robert Hutchison, writing on this point, says :—

Mental work influences the amount and nature of the food required in a very different way from muscular labour. The first thing which it is important to realise clearly is that brain work does not appreciably increase bodily waste at all. On this point all exact experiments agree. One of the most recent and careful of these is recorded by Atwater. A man was confined in a respiration calorimeter for a number of days, and on certain of them he engaged in the severe mental work of reading a German treatise on physics. The subject of the experiment, it may be added, was an intelligent person, who fully understood the nature of the experiment, and did not shirk mental application. It was found that on the working days bodily waste was no greater than during rest. . . . It comes, then, to this, that the digestibility of a food is of far greater concern to a brain worker than its chemical composition. . . . Compared with the diet of muscular labour, therefore, the diet for mental work should be small.[1]

Cost of Diet

The amount of protein and of fuel energy which the six families of Class 3 obtain for one shilling is as follows :—

[1] *Food and the Principles of Dietetics*, by Robert Hutchison, M.D., Edinburgh, M.R.C.P., p. 43.

Study No.	Protein (Grams).	Fuel Energy (Calories).
19	92	2902
20	98	3290
21	109	3666
22	88	3094
23	91	2943
24	89	3052
AVERAGE .	94½	3157

Apart from Study No. 21, where the diet is an especially simple one, the amounts vary but little. It will be noted that these six families obtain for each shilling not much more than half the nourishment secured for the same amount by the labouring classes.

The relative nutritive values of the diets in the respective classes is shown in the accompanying diagram. The outstanding fact is there clearly indicated, that whilst the diets in Classes 2 and 3 are, generally speaking, up to the standard, the families in Class 1 are *in every case underfed*, receiving indeed only about three-quarters of the food required for moderate work; and it must, I repeat, be remembered that this deficiency is due in the main to inadequate income and not to unwise selection of food stuffs.

Comparison of Results with other Countries, etc.

Numerous investigations have been made regarding the food consumption in European countries, but direct comparison between these studies and those detailed in the present chapter is only possible in a

few cases owing to differences in the method of tabulating the results.

An admirable series of investigations has, however, recently been made in America, with the results of which the York figures may be compared. The food consumption of the well-paid artisan and of the servant-keeping classes in America would appear to be closely similar to that of corresponding families studied in York; but when we come to the labourers, we find that they are better fed in America, as may be seen from the following table:—

Dietaries.	Protein (per man per day).	Potential Energy (per man per day).
	Grams.	Calories.
25 families in poorest part of Philadelphia [1]	109	3235
26 families in poorest part of Chicago [1]	119	3425
12 labourers' families New York City [2]	101	2905
11 poor families New York City [2] .	93	2915
14 families in York, wages under 26s.	89	2901
Standard requirements for men at moderate work (Atwater) . .	125	3500

It will be observed that even in the studies made in New York City, in which the food consumption is less than in those made in Chicago and Philadelphia, it is still *greater* than in the fourteen typical families studied in York. The contrast between the York studies and those made in Chicago and Philadelphia is very marked, especially in the case of the protein.

The economic bearing of the facts set forth in

[1] *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin No. 21*, p. 183.
[2] *Year-Book of the Department of Agriculture, U.S.*, 1898.

the above table will be recognised when we consider the effect of inadequate nutrition upon the general health and vitality of the worker.

Comparison with Prison and Workhouse Diets

If we compare the diets of the families in Class 1 with the diets provided in prisons and workhouses, the serious inadequacy of the former is again disclosed.

Dietaries.	Protein (per man per day).	Energy Value (per man per day).
	Grams.	Calories.
WORKHOUSES—		
English, Class 1[a] [1]	136	3702
PRISONS—		
English :		
Class B	134	3038
Convict (hard labour)	177	4159
Scotch :		
Rate IV.	134	3115
Convict (Rate VII.)	173	3717
Munich	104	2915
Brandenburg	127	3410
York average of 14 families, wages under 26s.	89	2901
Standard requirements for moderate work (Atwater)	125	3500

An examination of this table shows that the diet of the labourers in York compares very unfavourably, as regards nutritive value, and even more unfavourably as regards supply of protein, with the diet given to the inmates of prisons and workhouses.

[1] This is the diet provided for able-bodied paupers in York Workhouse. Under the new Local Government Board Regulations, the nutritive values of diets in different English Workhouses vary only within narrow limits.

Summary and Conclusion

Before passing from the subject of the adequacy and economy of diet amongst the working classes in York, it may be convenient briefly to summarise the main conclusions to which the facts set forth in this chapter clearly point.

1. In the first place, it is evident that the diet of the servant-keeping class is, upon the whole, in excess of that required for the maintenance of health.

2. Secondly, it is probably safe to assume that, in the case of average families of the artisan class, the food supply is adequate, although it is clear that in many cases it can only continue so by abstention from wasteful expenditure upon drink, etc.

3. On the other hand, the labouring classes, upon whom the bulk of the muscular work falls, and who form so large a proportion of the industrial population, are *seriously underfed.*[1] The average energy value of the diet in the case of the fourteen families selected for study being no less than 17 per cent below standard,

[1] This remark must be taken as applying to families whose income is not over 26s. weekly, and where there are two children or more.

while the average deficiency in proteids amounts to as much as 29 per cent. The inquiry, it is true, has shown that the money available for the purchase of food is not always spent in the most economical way, but the fact remains that unless an unreasonably stringent diet be adopted, the means to purchase a sufficient supply of nourishing food are not possessed by the labourers and their families. The serious physiological effects of inadequate food have already been pointed out, and they are powerfully attested by the health statistics given in a previous chapter. But it may be doubted if the English public has yet recognised their economic importance. The relation of food to industrial efficiency is so obvious and so direct as to be a commonplace amongst students of political economy. "What an employer will get out of his workman," as a well-known economist[1] has reminded us, "will depend very much on what he first gets into him. Not only are bone and muscle to be built up and kept up by food, but every stroke of the arm involves an expenditure of nervous energy which is to be supplied only through the alimentary canal. What a man can do in twenty-four hours will depend very much on what he can

[1] Walker, *The Wages Question*, p. 53.

have to eat in those twenty-four hours; or, perhaps, it would be more correct to say, what he has had to eat the twenty-four hours previous. If his diet be liberal, his work may be mighty. If he be underfed, he must underwork."

These facts, always important, have now acquired an urgency that it is not easy to exaggerate in consequence of the stress and keenness of international competition; and, at a time when increasing thought is being given to the conditions of commercial success, it is not inappropriate to direct attention to a most serious and depressing fact in the present social situation. If adequate nourishment be necessary to efficiency, the highest commercial success will be impossible so long as large numbers even of the most sober and industrious of the labouring classes receive but three-fourths of the necessary amount of food.[1]

[1] The importance attached in America to adequate nutrition where severe muscular work is required is well shown by an examination of the food consumption of boat crews and football teams. The following examples may be cited:—

Food Consumption of Athletes in U.S.A.

	Protein.	Fuel Energy.
	Grams.	Calories.
Harvard University Boat Crew, 1898	162	4130
,, Freshman ,, ,, 1898	153	4620
Yale University Boat Crew, Newhaven, 1898	145	3705
,, ,, ,, ,, New London, 1898	171	4070
Football Team, Connecticut, 1889	181	5740
,, ,, California, 1897	270	7885

(See *U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bulletin 98*, p. 43.)

An interesting case may also be cited of 237 brickmakers engaged upon

In the following pages, the working-class families whose diets have been considered in this chapter are described in some detail.

The following particulars are given respecting each family :—

(*a*) Description of family and their home.
(*b*) Statement of their income and expenditure.
(*c*) Statement showing their purchases during one week.
(*d*) Menu of their meals during one week.

The writer has set forth these particulars in some detail, as he feels that they serve to illustrate the conditions of home life amongst the wage-earning classes in York.

Particulars are also given showing the food expenditure of each of the families who belong to the servant-keeping class, along with a menu of their meals during one week.

heavy muscular work in Middletown, Con. These men were boarded by their employer, who found that in order to get the maximum amount of work out of them it paid him to give them a diet containing 180 grams protein and 8850 calories energy value per man per day.

BUDGETS

CLASS 1

[*Families whose total weekly earnings are under* 26*s.*]

BUDGETS Nos. 1[a], 1[b], AND 1[c]

LABOURER. WAGES 15s. RECEIVED WEEKLY FROM OTHER SOURCES, 2s. 6d.—TOTAL, 17s. 6d.

This household consists of a father, mother, and five children,—four boys aged respectively 11, 9, 7, and 2, and one girl aged 4. The budget extends over a period of twenty-one months, from May 1898 to February 1901. The father is an intelligent man, and interested in Social and Labour questions. He is unable to earn a good wage on account of a physical disability, which was left after a long illness. The mother is a bright, capable little woman, and a good manager; she has had to fight against tremendous odds. She looks underfed and overworked, but is always bright and never complains. Johnnie, the eldest boy, is deformed, and is threatened with tuberculosis, but his health improves greatly as soon as fresh air and extra food are provided. Mrs. R. has been very conscientious in carrying out the doctor's directions, as far as her means allow; the windows are kept open day and night. Johnnie cannot go to school, for as soon as he gets into a room with other children he becomes ill, and the cough and pain in his side return. So the poor lad is growing up without training of any sort, spending most of his time playing in the streets, or sitting in a little chair outside the house door. The other children mostly bear some signs of the privations they have so long endured.

The house, which is one in a long row, contains four rooms, and is clean. The door from the street opens into the living-room. There is a pair of lace curtains in the window under which is placed the couch on which Johnnie lies when too ill to go out to play. There is no easy-chair in the room. A table covered with a table-cloth stands back against the wall, on which is placed a fancy box or two and a few books. A table in the centre of the room, a few chairs, and some framed photographs and pictures on the wall, complete the furniture. The open grate with the oven at the side is kept bright and clean. Mrs. R. bakes her own bread; she makes both whole wheat-meal bread and white, as it "makes a bit of a change."

Mrs. R. buys some cheap fresh meat for the Sunday dinner, when the children then have a tiny bit each. During the rest of the week Mrs. R. and the children do not have meat for dinner. But the cold meat which is left over from Sunday is saved for Mr. R., who takes his dinner with him to work each day. In cold weather the children often have pea soup for dinner, or, if this is not forthcoming, content themselves with bread, dripping, and tea. The week's supplies are bought in chiefly on Friday and Saturday, sundries, such as soap, soda, etc., being purchased on other days.

When anything extra is wanted for the house the family go short of food, and if the required expenditure is considerable it is paid off in weekly instalments. Thus, when Mrs. R. bought a mattress, she paid a certain sum down, and then paid 6d. or 1s. per week until the whole outlay had been cleared off.

The family get a good many old clothes given to them, which are carefully repaired, and then probably wear longer than cheap new ones would do. The father mends the children's boots himself in the evening, thus effecting a considerable saving.

Mr. R. smokes, and buys a weekly paper. He is not a teetotaller, but "cannot afford to buy beer." The family spend 5d. weekly upon life insurance.

For purposes of analysis this family budget has been divided into three periods, viz. :—

(1[a]) 6 summer months (April–September).
(1[b]) 6 winter months (October–March).
(1[c]) 9 months (June 1900 to February 1901).

During the whole period the food of the family has been very inadequate, especially so during the last period of 9 months, when Mrs. R.'s mother was living with her. The amount of protein and of energy value provided per man per day in the diet of this family was as follows :—

	Protein. (Grams.)	Deficiency. (Standard 125 Grams.)	Energy Value. (Calories.)	Deficiency. (Standard 3500 Grams.)
Period 1[a] . .	74	41 per cent	2833	19 per cent
Period 1[b] . .	91	27 ,, ,,	2913	17 ,, ,,
Period 1[c] . .	82	34 ,, ,,	2612	25 ,, ,,

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Twenty-six Weeks. Period 1[a] (Summer Months)

Income—						
Wages, twenty-six weeks at 15s.				£19	10	0
Mrs. R., charing, etc. . .				3	11	9
				£23	1	9
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages . .	£13	13	9½			
Rent . . .	4	4	6			
Coals, etc. . .	1	19	1			
Oil and candles .	0	1	0½			
Soap, etc. . .	0	6	1½			
Sundries . .	0	1	2½			
Life Insurance .	0	10	10			
Clothing . . .	0	11	4			
Boots . . .	1	6	0½			
Tobacco and matches	0	5	2			
Stamps, stationery, papers . . .	0	4	2			
	£23	3	3½			
Deficit . . .	0	1	6½			
				£23	1	9

Purchases during Week ending June 30, 1899

Friday.—1½ st. flour, 1s. 10½d.; ¼ st. wheatmeal, 4d.; yeast, 1d.; 1 lb. butter, 10d.; 2½ lbs. bacon, 1s.; 6 oz. tea, 6d.; 1 lb. currants, 3d.; 1 lb. lard, 4d.; 1¼ lbs. fish, 4d.; 1 tin condensed milk, 5½d.; onions, 1d.

Saturday.—Bag of coal, 1s. 3d.; 4 lbs. beef, 1s. 7½d.; 5 lbs. sugar, 9d.; ½ lb. dripping, 2½d.; ½ st. potatoes, 2d.; 8 eggs, 6d.; baking powder, 1d.; literature, 2d.; 1 oz. tobacco, 3d.; black lead, 1d.; lemons, 2d.; cabbage, 2d.; insurance, 5d.

Sunday.—Milk, 1d.

Monday.—Stamp, 1d.; stationery, 1d.; sewing-cotton, 2d.; glycerine, 2d.; pair of slippers, 1s. 1½d.; rent, 3s. 3d.

Tuesday.—Yeast, 1d.; 1 lb. soap, 2½d.; starch, 1d.; blacking, 1d.; scrubbing brush, 3½d.

Thursday.—Lettuce, 1d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending June 30, 1899

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Brown and white bread, butter, tea.	Fish, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, onions, tea.	
Saturday .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Bread, dripping, onions, tea.	
Sunday . .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Potato pie, potatoes, cabbage.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea.	
Monday .	Porridge, bread, butter, tea.	Potato pie.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea.	
Tuesday . .	Brown and white bread, butter, tea.	Meat, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, dripping, tea.	
Wednesday .	Brown and white bread, butter, tea.	Bread, bacon, tea.	Bread, butter, dripping, tea.	
Thursday .	Porridge, bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, bread, bread pudding, tea.	Bread, butter, lettuce, tea.	

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Twenty-six Weeks. Period 1[b] (Winter Months)

Income—			
Wages, twenty-six weeks at 15s.		£19 10	0
Mrs. R., charing, etc. . .		4 3	1
		£23 13	1
Expenditure—			
Food, including beverages . .	£13 17	5¼	
Rent and rates .	4 4	6	
Coals, etc. . .	2 3	4½	
Oil and candles .	0 4	6½	
Soap, etc. . .	0 14	4½	
Life Insurance .	0 10	10	
Clothing and bedding	0 9	5	
Boots . . .	0 7	5	
Tobacco and matches	0 7	6½	
Pan, wall paper, and clock . .	0 5	3½	
Stamps, stationery, and papers .	0 5	4½	
Balance	0 2	11¾	
		£23 13	1

Purchases during Week ending January 12, 1900

Friday.—1½ st. flour, 2s.; ½ st. wheatmeal, 8d.; yeast, 1d.; tin condensed milk, 5½d.; 5 lbs. sugar, 7½d.; 3 eggs, 3d.; 2 oz. coffee, 1½d.; black lead, 2d.; ¼ lb. tea, 4d.; ¼ lb. cocoa, 2d.; 3½ lbs. bacon, 1s.; ½ lb. butter, 7d.; ½ lb. dripping, 2½d.; 1 pt. new milk, 1½d.

Saturday.—1 lb. lard, 4d.; 1 lb. currants, 3d.; 2½ lbs. meat pieces, 10d.; coals, 1s. 9d.; insurance, 5d.; literature, 3d.; ½ st. potatoes, 3d.; 1 oz. tobacco and matches, 3½d.; 1 qt. lamp oil, 2d.; ½ lb. rice, 1d.; 1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; oranges, 1d.; giblets, 3d.

Sunday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.

Monday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; sewing-cotton, 1d.; 3 yds. shirting, 1s.; rent, 3s. 3d.; 1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; yeast, 1d.; 1½ lbs. soap, 3½d.; blue, 1d.; starch, 1d.

Wednesday.—1 pt. new milk, 1d.; ½ lb. liver, 2½d.

Thursday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; 1 lb. fish, 3d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending January 12, 1900

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bacon, bread, butter, coffee, cocoa.	Bread, butter, tea, cocoa.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea.	
Saturday .	Bacon, bread, coffee.	Bread, butter, tea, currant cake.	Soup, bread, butter, tea.	
Sunday . .	Bacon, bread, coffee, cocoa.	Beef, potatoes, rice pudding.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea, cocoa.	
Monday . .	Bacon, bread, dripping, coffee, cocoa.	Meat, potatoes, bread.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea, cocoa.	
Tuesday . .	Bacon, bread, dripping, coffee, cocoa.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea.	Bread, butter, dripping, custard, tea, cocoa.	
Wednesday .	Bacon, bread, coffee, cocoa.	Dripping, bread, butter, tea.	Liver, bread, tea, cocoa.	
Thursday	Bacon, bread, dripping, coffee, cocoa.	Bread, butter, tea.	Fish, bread. tea, cocoa.	

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Thirty-eight Weeks. Period 1°

Income—						
Wages, thirty-eight weeks at 15s.				£28	17	0
Mrs. R., charing, etc. . .				9	1	9
				£37	18	9
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages . .	£23	0	8			
Rent . . .	6	3	6			
Coals, coke, etc. .	3	1	9½			
Oil and candles .	0	4	4½			
Soap, etc. . .	0	16	6			
Sundries . . .	0	7	1½			
Life Insurance .	0	15	10			
Clothing . . .	0	15	6½			
Boots . . .	1	3	5			
Tobacco and matches	0	11	2½			
Stamps, stationery, and papers . .	0	7	5			
Doctor's bill . .	0	5	0			
Balance . . .	0	6	4½			
				£37	18	9

Gifts.—Hat, pair of shoes, pair of boots, wall paper, suit of clothes, girl's dress, piece of beef, dripping, mince-pies.

Purchases during Week ending August 31, 1900

Friday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; ¼ lb. cheese, 2d.; 2 st. flour, 2s. 6d.; ¼ st. wheat-meal, 4d.; yeast, 1d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 7d.; 6 oz. tea, 6d.; tin condensed milk, 5½d.; 1 lb. butter, 1s. 2d.; 2 lbs. bacon, 8d.; ½ lb. dripping, 2½d.

Saturday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; 1 qt. soup (gift); 3 eggs, 3d.; lemons, 1d.; cabbage, 2d.; ½ st. potatoes, 3½d.; 3½ lbs. beef, 1s. 9d.; insurance, 5d.; literature, 2d.; coals, 1s. 5d.; 1 lb. lard, 5d.; 1 lb. currants, 3d.; baking powder, 1d.; 1 oz. tobacco and matches, 3½d.; curd, 2d.; 1 pr. boots, 4s. 6d.

Sunday.—Milk, 2d.

Monday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; sewing-cotton, 2d.; rent, 3s. 3d.

Tuesday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; kippers and bloaters, 4d.; 1 lb. soap, 3d.; yeast, 1d.

Wednesday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; ½ lb. sheep's liver, 2½d.

Thursday.—1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; 1 lb. fish, 3d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending August 31, 1900

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bacon, dripping, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Cheese, bread, butter, tea.	
Saturday .	Bacon, dripping, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Soup,[1] bread, butter, tea.	
Sunday . .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Beef, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes, cabbage.	Cheesecake, currant cake, bread, butter, tea.	
Monday . .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Meat, potatoes, cabbage.	Cheesecake, cake, bread, butter, tea.	
Tuesday . .	Bacon, bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Kippers, bloaters, bread, tea.	
Wednesday .	Bacon, dripping, bread, tea.	Liver, bread, tea.	Bread, currant cake, butter, tea.	
Thursday .	Bacon, dripping, bread, tea.	Cake, bread, butter, tea.	Fish, cake, bread, butter, tea.	

[1] Gift.

BUDGET No. 2

Labourer. Wages 22s.

This family consists of a father aged 33, a mother 35, and three children, whose ages vary from 2 to 8 years. The mother and children do not look strong. Mr. V. has an allotment the produce of which is of great value to the family. Mrs. V. says that at times when they are particularly "hard up" they can "almost always get a bit of something from the garden."

Some time ago Mr. V. became security for a sum of money for a friend of his who afterwards absconded and left Mr. V. to meet the payment. This has been a very heavy strain upon Mr. V.'s resources. He has been paying off the debt gradually, and, it will be noted, paid 9s. during the thirteen weeks this budget was being kept. The whole appearance of the home and the scantiness of the furniture suggest that the family have been passing through a time when the greatest economy has been necessary.

Mrs. V. buys her food at the end of the week. She deals at the Co-operative Stores, and is hoping to become a "member" next quarter. She is saving all the odd coppers she can spare so as to have the necessary 1s. 3d. ready to pay her entrance fee with.

The V.'s live in a four-roomed house, for which they pay 4s. 4½d. per week rent.

An examination of this family's diet shows that its fuel value is 16 per cent and the protein 25 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Thirteen Weeks

Income—						
Wages, thirteen weeks at 22s. (some short time)					£14	3 6
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages	£6	12	8			
Rent and rates	2	16	10½			
Rent of garden for half-year	0	5	0			
Coal	0	19	6			
Coke	0	4	0			
Candles and matches	0	2	2½			
Lamp oil	0	3	3			
Soap, soda, etc.	0	3	1½			
Sundries	0	3	4½			
Tobacco	0	4	1½			
Clothes, boots, etc.	1	12	11			
Life Insurance and Sick Club	0	7	2			
Loan (being paid back in instalments)	0	9	0			
Balance	0	0	3½			
					£14	3 6

Purchases during Week ending October 24, 1900

Saturday.—1½ st. flour, 2s.; 1 lb. butter, 1s. 1d.; 1 lb. bacon, 7d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 7d.; 5 lbs. beef, 2s. 6d.; 1 lb. soap, 2½d.; ¼ lb. tea, 6½d.; ¼ lb. coffee, 3d.; ½ lb. cheese, 3d.; 1 st. potatoes, 6d.; 6 eggs, 6d.; 1 bag coal, 1s. 6d.; 1 bag coke, 4d.; week's milk, 6d.; clothes, 1s. 6d.; rent, 4s. 4½d.; insurance, 6d.; repayment of loan, 1s.; ¾ lb. sausage, 4½d.; 1 pair little socks, 5d.; 1 lb. rice, 2d.; 2 doz. buttons, 3d.; 1½ oz. tobacco, 4½d.; 2 oz. wool, 4d.; 1 qt. lamp oil, 2½d.; yeast, 1d.

Monday.—2 yds. calico at 3d., 6d.; 2 yds. lace, 2½d.; tape, 1d.; 1 doz. matches, 1½d.; salt, ½d.

Tuesday.—1 doz. bootlaces, 1½d.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING ONE WEEK

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, bread, coffee.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, cheese, coffee.
Saturday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Sausage, bacon, bread, coffee.	Bread, butter, watercress, tea.	Bread, cheese, coffee.
Sunday . .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Beef, potatoes, cauliflower, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, jam, tea.	Cold potatoes left from dinner, fried, coffee.
Monday . .	Bread, bacon, tea.	Beef, potatoes, beetroot.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, cheese, coffee.
Tuesday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Beef, potatoes, pickles, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Toast, butter, coffee.
Wednesday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Beef, potatoes, rice pudding.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, cheese, tea.
Thursday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Hashed beef, potatoes, suet pudding.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, coffee.

BUDGET No. 3

SOLDIER'S WIDOW

Mrs. X. has a weekly income of 15s. When her husband died, a lump sum of "deferred pay" and a grant from Lord Wolseley's Fund was paid over to a lady on her behalf. This lady keeps the money and gives Mrs. X. 10s. per week from it. She also has 5s. per week from a "Tea Pension." (A Tea Company started a scheme under which a regular purchaser of a $\frac{1}{4}$ pound of their tea per week on being left a widow is entitled to a pension of 5s. per week during her widowhood,—the only apparent condition for the continuation of this pension being that she continues to buy the regular quantity of tea each week.)

The household consists of a mother, aged 33, and five children, the eldest being under 7 years old and the youngest 14 months. Mrs. X. is Scotch. She is a good manager, has good health, and is always cheery. Two of the children are very delicate. The husband died in a lunatic asylum after a short illness.

The house is in a respectable neighbourhood, and has three rooms, one bedroom being but little larger than a cupboard. The rent is 4s. per week. The furniture is plain and simple. In the living room there are a few chairs and a round table, a pair of lace curtains in the window, and various knick-knacks on the mantelpiece and walls. Mrs. X. has a sewing-machine, and is clever at making or altering clothes; she gets many old clothes given to her.

The food of the family is economically selected. The children have porridge almost every day for breakfast, Sunday excepted, when they often have bread fried in dripping. Mrs. X. makes her own

bread. The two eldest children have never missed attending school since they began to go.

Mrs. X. buys her things in on Saturday. We learn from her accounts that she puts 6d. per week aside "for boot repairs or articles for wear as may be required." She never owes a farthing.

It will be noted that over 26 per cent of the total income goes for rent.

In spite of economical selection of food the diet of this family is more than 17 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for One Week

Income—						
Deferred pay					£0 10	0
"Tea Pension"					0 5	0
					£0 15	0
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages			£0 7	9½		
Rent and rates			0 4	0		
Coal			0 1	0		
Firewood and oil			0 0	2		
Soap, etc.			0 0	4½		
Life Insurance			0 0	6		
Saved for boot repair, etc.			0 0	6		
Balance			0 0	8		
					£0 15	0

Purchases during Week ending July 7, 1899

Friday.—½ lb. sheep's liver, 2½d.; ½ lb. onions, ½d.; 1 qt. skimmed milk, 1½d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.

Saturday.—1 st. flour, 1s. 2d.; yeast, 1d.; ¾ st. potatoes, 8½d.; ¼ st. oatmeal, 6d.; 1 lb. cheese, 4½d.; ¼ lb. butter, 3½d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 7d.; ¼ lb. tea, 6d.; 1 lb. dripping, 4d.; ½ lb. semolina, 2d.; 1 lb. rice, 2d.; soap, 1½d.; face soap, 1d.; soda, ½d.; blue, ½d.; 1½ lbs. meat pieces, 6d.; firewood, 1d.; 1 pt. lamp oil, 1d.; cabbage, 1d.; 1 qt. skimmed milk, 1½d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.

Sunday.—1 qt. skimmed milk, 1½d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.

Monday.—1 qt. skimmed milk, 1½d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.; insurance, 6d.; coal, 1s.; saved for clothes, 6d.

Tuesday.—1 qt. skimmed milk, 1½d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.; ½ lb. split peas, 1d.; 1 lb. bacon shank, 6d.

Wednesday.—½ lb. neck of cod fish, 2d.; 1 qt. skimmed milk, 1d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.

Thursday.—1 qt. skimmed milk, 1½d.; ½ pt. new milk, 1d.; ½ lb. giblets, 3d.; 1 egg, 1d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending July 7, 1899

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Porridge, milk, bread, butter, tea.	Sheep's liver, onions, potatoes.	Toast, dripping, tea.	Bread and milk.
Saturday	Porridge, milk, bread, butter, tea.	Potato pie, semolina pudding.	Bread, dripping, tea.	Bread and cheese.
Sunday	Bread fried in dripping, tea.	Meat pie, potatoes, cabbage.	Short cake, bread, butter, tea.	Bread and cheese.
Monday	Porridge, milk, bread, dripping, tea.	Cold meat pie, bread, rice pudding.	Short cake, bread, dripping, tea.	Bread and cheese.
Tuesday	Bread and milk, bread, butter, tea.	Pea soup, semolina pudding.	Bread, dripping, tea.	Cold bacon and bread.
Wednesday	Porridge, milk, bread, butter, tea.	Fish, potatoes, rice pudding.	Bread, dripping, tea.	Cold bacon and bread.
Thursday	Bread and milk, bread, butter, tea.	Stewed giblets, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes.	Bread, dripping, tea.	Bread and cheese.

BUDGET No. 4

LABOURER. WAGES (AVERAGE FOR THIRTEEN WEEKS), 15s.

The family consists of a father, aged 25, mother 25, and three children all under 4. The father is a labourer and works irregularly, as he often complains of being ill. During the thirteen weeks this budget was being kept the mother earned, on the average, about 2s. 6d. per week All the children look ill and rickety, and are very small and poorly developed, the two youngest being unable to walk. They possess little vitality. Mr. and Mrs. S. live in a house with four rooms, which faces east, and gets little sun, as it is situated in a narrow passage with a high wall on the opposite side. The living room contains comfortable furniture; there are lace curtains in the window, and many ornaments adorn the walls. The rent of the house is 3s. 10½d. weekly, the rates being paid by the landlord. Mrs. S. is tidy in person, and the house and children are spotlessly clean. The food is bought in small quantities. Mrs. S. buys hot suppers sometimes of fried fish and potatoes, or sausages and potatoes. The children eat little at meal times, but have sweet biscuits given them between meals. The family is heavily in debt. The protein in this family's diet only amounts to one-half of the standard requirements, and the total energy value shows a deficiency of 27 per cent.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR THIRTEEN WEEKS

INCOME—			
Wages, thirteen weeks at 15s. .	£9	15	0
Mrs. S	1	13	5
	£11	8	5
EXPENDITURE—			
Food, including beverages . . .	£5	6	0½
Rent and rates . .	2	10	4½
Coal	0	11	8
Oil	0	1	10½
Soap, etc. . . .	0	4	1
Sundries . . .	0	5	0½
Back rent . . .	1	6	0
Sick Club . . .	0	4	7
Life Insurance . .	0	3	0
Clothing . . .	0	15	0
Papers	0	0	9
	£11	8	5

PURCHASES DURING WEEK ENDING APRIL 7, 1900

Friday.—1 lb. butter, 1s. 2d.; 6 lbs. sugar, 10d.; ¼ lb. tea, 7d.; 1 tin condensed milk, 3d.; 1 bag coals, 1s. 6d.; 1 qt. paraffin, 2½d.; a week's new milk, 1s.; 1½ st. flour, 2s.; yeast, 1½d.; 1 tablet soap, 1d.; 1 lb. soap, 2d.; ¼ st. soda, 3d.; 1 lb. fish, 3d.

Saturday.—Rabbit, 1s. 2d.; ½ st. potatoes, 3½d.; papers, 2d.; sticks, 1d.; 1 pt. new milk, 1½d.; 4 eggs, 3d.; 1 lb. bacon, 6d.; ¼ lb. coffee, 5d.; ½ lb. brawn, 3d.

Monday.—Life Insurance, 8d.; rent, 3s. 10½d.

Tuesday.—1½ lbs. beef, 9d.

Wednesday.—½ lb. pork chops, 4d.

Thursday.—½ lb. bacon, 3d.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING WEEK ENDING APRIL 7, 1900

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Fish, bread, coffee.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, tea.	
Saturday .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Brawn, bread, butter, coffee.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, tea.	
Sunday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Rabbit, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, currant cake, tea.	
Monday . .	Bread, bacon, tea.	Rabbit, potatoes, bread.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, tea.	
Tuesday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Meat pie, potatoes.	Bread, butter, tea.	
Wednesday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Pork chops, potatoes, bread.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, tea.	
Thursday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, bread, butter, coffee.	Bread, butter, tea.	

BUDGET No. 5

LABOURER. WAGES 20s.

This family consists of five persons, a father, age 49, mother, 47, and three daughters, age respectively 22, 13, and 8. The mother "has a bad leg," and the eldest daughter is not strong enough to go out to work, as she is "suffering from weakness," which takes the form of rheumatism. The two younger children are at school. The house is clean and comfortable, the wife being an excellent manager. This budget was kept for eight consecutive weeks during May and June 1900. The total income during this period was £8. (For further particulars of this family see p. 55.)

There is a deficiency of 40 per cent in the protein of this family's diet, and a deficiency of 28 per cent in its fuel value.

Note.—Since the above was written, trouble in the shape of illness has overtaken this family. Mr. S. has had a stroke which has incapacitated him for work. He has been a member of a Sick Club for over twenty years, and has regularly paid his weekly contribution of 6d. Mrs. S. says that although it has often been difficult to spare the money, she has felt that these payments must be made, and has consoled herself that they were making provision for sickness. Now, however, when they require the money, the financial position of the club is such that Mr. S. receives only 5s. per week instead of the 10s. he ought to be receiving. Out of this 5s. he pays back 6d. to the club as his weekly contribution, which leaves a balance of 4s. 6d., out of which to pay for rent, fuel, food, etc., for the family, to say nothing of the "extra support" in the way of mutton chops which the doctor orders Mr. S.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Eight Weeks

Income—			
Wages, eight weeks at £1	£8	0	0
Expenditure—			
Food	£1	7	0½
Rent and rates	1	5	4
Coal at 24s. ton	0	13	7
Gas (1d. in slot meter)	0	2	0
Soap	0	2	0
Sundries	0	1	7½
Sick Club	0	4	0
Life Insurance	0	1	8
Clothing Club	0	2	0
Kept by husband	0	16	0
Surplus	0	4	9
	£8	0	0

Purchases during Week ending June 23, 1900

Friday.—1½ st. flour, 2s.; 1 st. potatoes, 8d.; ½ lb. lard, 3d.; 1 bag of coal, 1s. 6d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 6d.; ¼ lb. tea, 6d.; 2 oz. coffee, 2d.; ¼ lb. brawn, 1½d.

Saturday.—Greens, 2d.; milk, 7d.; ½ lb. butter, 6d.; rhubarb, 2d.; sticks, 2d.; lettuce, 1d.; radishes, 1d.; 1 lb. soap, 3d.; 2 lbs. bacon, 1s. 2d.; rabbit, 1s.; ½ lb. cheese, 4d.; eggs, 3d.; 1 mackerel, 4d.

Monday.—Insurance, 4d.; Sick Club, 6d.; Clothing Club, 3d.; gas, 3d.

Tuesday.—2½ lbs. pork, 1s. 6d.; onions, 1½d.

Wednesday.—¼ lb. suet, 2d.

Thursday.—¼ lb. brawn, 1½d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending June 23, 1900

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bread, butter, and tea.	Bacon, potatoes, and rhubarb pie.	Bread, butter, lettuce, and tea.	Bread, brawn, and coffee.
Saturday	Fried bacon, bread, tea.	Fish and potatoes.	Bread, butter, and tea.	Bread and cheese.
Sunday	Fried bacon, bread, tea.	Stewed rabbit, potatoes, cabbage, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, sweet cake, lettuce, tea.	Bread and cheese.
Monday	Fried bacon, bread, tea.	Rabbit, potatoes, rhubarb pie.	Bread, butter, sweet cake, tea.	Rhubarb pie.
Tuesday	Fried bacon, bread, tea.	Roast pork, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, tea.	Rhubarb pie.
Wednesday	Fried bacon, bread, tea.	Cold pork, potatoes.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, cheese, and coffee.
Thursday	Bread, butter, tea.	Cold pork, potatoes, suet pudding.	Bread, butter, sweet cake, tea.	Brawn, bread, and coffee.

BUDGET No. 6

Office Cleaner. Wages irregular (average for Four Weeks), 11s. 9d. per Week

This family consists of a mother, aged 63, and a daughter aged 20. Mrs. K. cleans offices, and is at work by 5.30 a.m. except on Fridays, when she commences at about 4.30 a.m. She earns 6s. per week. Her daughter is pale and delicate. She is employed in a confectionery factory, but keeps irregular hours, and consequently does not earn more than 5s. or 6s. per week. The mother looks fairly

well nourished. She was a cook in a good family before she married, but has been a widow for eight years.

Mother and daughter live in one room, for which they pay 1s. 8d. per week rent. It is three storeys up, and is approached by a crooked, narrow, wooden staircase which is unventilated, and almost pitch dark. The room when reached is, however, both clean and comfortable. The large double bed covered with a worn though clean patchwork quilt occupies a good deal of the floor space. In addition to this there are a couple of chairs and a small round table. Some old-fashioned wooden travelling trunks are placed one upon the other, and covered with white cloths, and apparently take the place of chests of drawers. The walls are whitewashed and decorated with unframed prints and pictures. There is a small open grate with an oven, in which Mrs. K. bakes her bread. The grate is beautifully clean, and the hearth nicely whitened. By the side of the grate is a small cupboard ; the food is kept on the top shelves, and the coal at the bottom. The floor is covered with odd pieces of oilcloth and a hearthrug. Very little sunshine penetrates to this room, as it is situated in a narrow street with high buildings on the opposite side. All the water has to be carried from the basement of the building up the dark and crooked flight of stairs, and all the dirty water has to be carried down again to the drain in the basement.

The mother gets her breakfast before going out to her work in the early morning. It generally consists of bread, butter, and a cup of tea. The daughter gets up later and has her breakfast before going to work, taking her tea from the pot which her mother had left standing on the hob. The mother's cleaning is finished by 9 a.m. She then returns home and does her own house-work, washing, etc., and often does a bit of sewing for her grandchildren. She is a regular attender at a mother's meeting, and generally goes to a mission meeting on Wednesday evenings.

This budget was kept for four weeks during the months of February and March 1901. It will be noticed that rent absorbs 13 per cent of the weekly income, and food 43 per cent.

An examination of this family's diet shows that the supply of protein is 25 per cent and the energy value 16 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Four Weeks

Income—			
Wages, four weeks at 6s.	£1	4	0
Extra work	0	4	0
Daughter, 4 weeks at 4s. 9d.	0	19	0
	£2	7	0
Expenditure—			
Food, including beverages	£1	2	2
Rent and rates	0	6	8
Coal and firewood	0	9	9
Oil, candles, and matches	0	1	7
Soap, etc.	0	1	2½
Sundries	0	0	3½
Life Insurance	0	2	0
Clothing Club	0	1	0
Shoes, sheet, etc.	0	4	0½
Repayment of debt	0	2	0
	£2	10	8½
Deficit	0	3	8½
			£2 7 0

Purchases during Week ending March 8, 1901

Friday.—1 bag of coals, 1s. 6d.; ½ st. flour, 8d.; yeast, 1d.; ¼ lb. tea, 4½d.; 2 lbs. sugar, 3d.; 1 tin milk, 2½d.; ½ lb. butter, 6½d.; candles, 1d.; firewood, 1d.

Saturday.—1 qt. lamp oil, 3d.; ½ lb. coffee, 3½d.; ½ st. potatoes, 5d.; ½ lb. beef pieces, 2d.; 1 lb. soap, 2d.; 2½ lbs. beef, 1s. 3d.; 3 eggs, 3d.; soda, 1d.; salt, ½d.; 1 lb. onions, 1d.

Monday.—Rent, 1s. 8d.; insurance, 6d. clothing, 3d.; debt, 1s.

Wednesday.—½ bag coals, 9d.; ¼ st. flour, 4d.; yeast, ½d.; ½ lb. dripping, 4d.; ½ lb. liver, 2d.; firewood, 2d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending March 8, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, toast, tea.	Toast, butter, tea.	
Saturday	Bread, butter, boiled eggs, coffee.	Meat, potatoes, pie, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Roast potatoes, tea.
Sunday	Bread, butter, coffee.	Beef, potatoes, pudding, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Meat, bread, tea.
Monday	Bread, butter, coffee.	Meat, potatoes, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	
Tuesday	Bread, butter, tea.	Hash, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	
Wednesday	Bread, butter, coffee.	Liver, potatoes, onions, tea.	Bread, dripping, butter, tea.	
Thursday	Bread, butter, coffee.	Bread, dripping, tea.	Bread, dripping, tea.	

BUDGET No 7. See p. 231

BUDGET No. 8

Labourer. Wages 25s.

This household consists of a father, aged 37, mother, 35, and three girls aged 8, 6, and 2½ years. Mr. S. is a very steady worker.

This is a fairly typical home of the labouring class, though on the whole it is much neater than the average. The "missus" is manager,

and a very careful one, and well supported by the husband, who indulges in no unnecessary luxuries. They are members of the Co-operative Stores, and buy in their groceries at the end of each week, and take care that every penny is well spent. They have had their share of family troubles, and now contribute to the support of Mr. S.'s mother. The children are well looked after. Mrs. S. pays 3s. per week for rent.

An examination of this family's diet shows that the protein is 29 per cent and the fuel value 25 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Four Weeks

Income—						
Wages, four weeks at 25s.					£5	0 0
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages	£2	6	2½			
Rent and rates	0	12	0			
Coals and sticks	0	6	6			
Oil and matches	0	1	4½			
Soap	0	0	5			
Sundries	0	2	9½			
Sick Clubs	0	3	10			
Life Insurance	0	2	3			
Paid to widowed mother	0	4	0			
Children's money-box	0	1	3			
Clothing	0	4	9			
Boots	0	2	6			
Tobacco	0	2	0			
Papers	0	0	9			
Doctor's bill	0	2	0			
Kept by husband	0	4	6			
Balance	0	2	10½			
					£5	0 0

Purchases during Week ending February 22, 1901

Friday.—¾ st. flour, 1s. 1d.; 2 lbs. sugar, 3d.; ¼ lb. tea, 4½d.; 2 oz. tobacco, 6d.; yeast, 1d.; 1 lb. raisins, 5d.; 1 lb. sweets, 3d.; ¼ lb. baking powder, 5d.; 1 lb. soap, 2½d.; ½ lb. lard, 2½d.; ½ lb. butter, 7d.; 1 lb. 2 oz. bacon, 7d.; 2 lbs. bread, 2½d.; 1 bag of coals, 1s. 6d.; ½ lb. beef steak, 6d.

Saturday.—Paid to widowed mother, 1s.; 2 yds. harding, 1s.; Sick Clubs, 1s.; 5 lbs. beef, 3s.; milk (per week), 1s.; papers, 3d.; ½ lb. fish, 3d.

Monday.—Rent, 3s.; doctor's bill, 1s.; children's money-box, 3d.

Tuesday.—½ lb. liver, 2d.; 1 lb. onions, 1½d.; 1 lb. cheese, 8d.; 2 lbs. treacle, 5d.

Wednesday.—1 lb. brawn, 6d.

Thursday.—¼ lb. butter, 3½d.; 1 lb. bacon, 6d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending February 22, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Stew.	Steak, bread, tea.	
Saturday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Beef, potatoes.	Hotcake, butter, tea.	Fish, potatoes.
Sunday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Beef, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding.	Tea, bread, butter, sweet cake.	Cold meat, bread.
Monday	Bread, butter, treacle, tea.	Cold beef, potatoes, rice pudding.	Toast, butter, tea.	
Tuesday	Cocoa, bread, butter.	Liver, onions, potatoes, suet pudding.	Bread, butter, treacle, tea.	Bread, cheese.
Wednesday	Dripping, toast, tea.	Soup.	Meat, bread, tea.	
Thursday	Bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	

BUDGET No. 9

Labourer. Wages 18s.

The household consists of a father, aged 27, and mother, aged 22, and a baby 10 months old. The father is a labourer, and has been out of work. Neither Mr. nor Mrs. P. appear robust. The house contains two rooms. The rent is 3s. per week. The furniture consists of just what is necessary without any additional comfort. There are a few pictures and prints on the wall, and some ornaments on the mantelpiece. The floor, which is of red brick and in good condition, is covered with strips of old carpet. There are clean muslin curtains in the window. The bedroom contains a large wooden bed with very dirty bedding, and there are no sheets or pillow-cases. With the exception of the bed and bedding, the house cannot be described as dirty, and the living room window is generally open. Mrs. P., however, is always dirty and untidy in person.

The meals are served in an unattractive way. The table is untidy and has no cloth. Much of the food is placed on the bare table without plates or dishes. From the appearance of the room after a meal the inmates must be entirely lacking the most elementary knowledge of usual table manners, both the table and the floor being strewn with crumbs and other remnants from the meals.

The food is bought in as required, no store being kept in the house. Mr. and Mrs. P. are heavily in debt, and at times there is not a particle of food in the house. Mrs. P. is often faint and unfit for her ordinary duties for want of food.

The money is spent without method or knowledge as to the best way of getting its full value either in food or other necessaries. Thus in two successive weeks a baby's bonnet appeared in the budget. On being questioned as to this, the reply was that "the baby had played with the bonnet bought during the first week, and had spoilt it, so it had to be replaced." Mrs. P. does not make clothes either for herself or child, but buys them ready made.

There is a deficiency of 38 per cent of protein in this family's diet, and of 29 per cent in its fuel value.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Five Weeks

Income—						
Wages, five weeks at 17s.				£4	5	0
Wife's earnings				0	2	0
				£4	7	0
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages	£1	19	7			
Rent at 8s. 3d. per week	0	16	3			
Back rent, 3s. per week	0	15	0			
Eight bags of coal	0	12	0			
Oil and candles	0	0	9½			
Soap	0	0	11½			
Kettle, bowl, etc.	0	2	5			
Insurance	0	1	0			
Baby's hats and blouse	0	3	9½			
	£4	11	9½			
Deficit	0	4	9½			
				£4	7	0

Purchases during Week ending April 26, 1901

Friday.—½ st. flour, 7½d.; yeast, 1d.; ¼ lb. tea, 7½d.; 2 lbs. sugar, 4d.; ½ lb. butter, 6d.; ½ lb. cocoa, 2d.; 2 candles, 2½d.; 2 pts. milk, 3d.; ½ lb. currants, 2d.; tablet of soap, 1½d.; 1 lb. soap, 3d.

Saturday.—2½ lbs. bacon, 1s. 6d.; 1 lb. sausage, 6d.; 2 lbs. beef, 1s.; kettle, 6½d.; 2 pts. milk, 3d.; bowl, 6½d.; hat for baby, 11d.; 2 bags of coal, 3s.; 1 tin of Neave's food, 7½d.; ½ st. potatoes, 3½d.; two tea-cakes, 1½d.

Sunday.—2 pts. milk, 3d.

Monday.—Rent, 3s. 3d.; back rent, 3s.

Tuesday.—2 pts. milk, 3d.

Wednesday.—2 pts. milk, 3d.

Thursday.—Loaf of bread, 3d.; 2 pts. milk, 3d.; 1 pt. paraffin, 1½d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending April 26, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bread, cheese, tea.	Potatoes, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	
Saturday	"Dip," bread, butter, tea.	Sausages, bread.	Bread, cocoa, jam, tea.	
Sunday	Bacon, bread, toast, tea.	Meat, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, pie, tea-cakes, tea.	
Monday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Bacon, bread, tea.	Bacon, bread, tea.	
Tuesday	Bread, meat, tea.	Meat, bread, tea.	Meat, bread, tea.	
Wednesday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Meat, bread, tea.	Eggs, "dip," bread, tea.	
Thursday	Bread, butter, tea.	Meat, bread, "dip," tea.	Meat, bread, butter, tea.	

BUDGET No. 10. See p. 233

BUDGET No. 11

Labourer. Wages 24s.

This household consists of a father, aged 30, a mother, aged 30, and a girl aged 8. The mother and child are not strong; the former suffers from bad headaches, and looks worried and careworn.

The family live in a four-roomed house, which has a private yard and sanitary conveniences. In addition to the four living rooms there is a little scullery. The front door opens straight from the street into the comfortably furnished parlour. The floor of this room is covered with oilcloth, and there is a brightly coloured hearthrug before the fire. A large chest of drawers at one side of the room and a centre table seem to occupy most of the space, but in addition to these there are a few fancy chairs, more or less unsteady on their legs, ornaments on the mantelpiece, pictures on the wall, and a plant in a hanging basket in the window. From the parlour we pass into the living-room, which contains table, chairs, etc., and the usual open fireplace and baking oven. There are two bedrooms upstairs. The rent of the house is 5s. 3d. per week.

The meals are regular and comfortable. Mrs. L. buys most of her things at the Co-operative Stores, "excepting those that she can get cheaper elsewhere," and she buys her weekly store on Saturday. She puts by "a bit of money each week in a Thrift Society," and in this way tries to save enough to give the family one day's holiday at Scarborough during the summer. If her little girl has any money given to her it is added to this sum. Mrs. L. speaks of the difficulty of making ends meet. Sometimes her husband has "drinking bouts," and these, entailing as they do loss of time from work, in addition to the cost of the drink, hamper her very much. At one time he was out of work for a long spell, and they are only just recovering from this period. During the time Mrs. L. was keeping this budget her husband had one of these "drinking bouts." He stayed away from work for two days, and was then suspended from his work for the rest of the week. In consequence, poor Mrs. L. was obliged to make use of the money she had saved for a holiday to buy food, etc., and so, after all these many weeks of saving, will get no holiday this summer. In talking over the week's purchases with Mrs. L., and inquiring if she had bought any calico, etc., she replied, "No, when I buy anything of that sort it has to come out of the groceries." Mrs. L. is a member of a Coal Club, into which she pays a certain sum every week all the year round, and thus gets her coal cheaper. Mr. L. is in regular employment, and if he could only keep away from drink the family might be comfortable.

Mrs. L. does an odd day's charing now and again. She goes to a mothers' meeting in connection with her church, and much enjoys the rest and relaxation which this gives her. The whole family are insured.

An examination of this family's diet shows the protein to be 8 per cent and the fuel value 14 per cent below standard requirements.

The food expenditure may be taken as normal, in spite of the "drinking bout" referred to above, as Mrs. L. drew upon her savings to make up for the deficiency in the income which this produced.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Three Weeks

Income—			
Wages, two weeks at 24s.	£2	8	0
Mrs. L. charing	0	2	0
Mrs. L. (taken from savings)	1	0	0
	£3	10	0
Expenditure—			
Food, including beverages[1]	£1	14	1½
Rent, 5s. 3d. per week	0	15	9
Coal	0	3	5
Boots	0	2	6½
Insurance	0	1	9
Clothing	0	1	3
Soap, etc.	0	1	5
Kept by husband	0	9	0
Sundries	0	0	9
	£3	10	0

[1] This does not include money spent on alcoholic drink by Mr. L.

Purchases during Week ending June 14, 1901

Friday.—Rent, 5s. 3d.; 1 st. flour, 1s. 4d.; yeast, ½d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 8d.; ½ lb. tea, 9d.; 1 lb. butter, 1s. 1d.; 1 lb. peas, 2d.; 2 lb. Sunlight soap, 5d.; 2 oz. pepper, 2½d.; ¼ st. soda, 2d.; ½ lb. starch, 2d.; 1 tin health salts, 4d.; ¼ st. potatoes, 6d.; 4 lbs. beef, 2s. 3d.; onions, 1d.; radishes, 1d.; 1½ bags coals, 2s.; ½ lb. sausages, 3d.

Saturday.—Boots repaired, 7d.; eggs, 6d.; 4 lbs. bacon, 2s. 4d.; cabbage, 1d.

Monday.—Life insurance, 7d.; fish, 2d.; ½ st. potatoes, 4d.

Wednesday.—4 lbs. mutton, 1s. 4d.; cabbage, 1d.

Thursday.—10 oz. steak, 6d.; ½ lb. brawn, 3d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending June 14, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bread, butter, tea.	Hash, potatoes.	Bread, butter, tea, onions.	Sausages, potatoes.
Saturday	Bread, butter, tea.	Steak, potatoes.	Eggs, bread, butter, tea.	
Sunday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Beef, potatoes, cabbage.	Bread, butter, onions, cake.	Cold beef, bread, butter.
Monday	Bacon, bread, butter, tea.	Cold beef, potatoes.	Bread, butter, pastry, tea.	Fish, potatoes.
Tuesday	Bacon, bread, butter, tea.	Chops, potatoes.	Bread, butter, pastry, tea.	
Wednesday	Bread, butter, tea.	Mutton, potatoes, cabbage, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.	Cold mutton, bread, butter.
Thursday	Bread, butter, tea.	Steak, potatoes, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, brawn, tea.	

BUDGET No. 12

Labourer. Wages 21s.

This household consists of a father, aged 23, mother, aged 23, and four children, ranging in age from a boy of 6 to a baby 11 months old. This budget was kept for three weeks. The father is a small, lightly built man, and does not appear to be very strong. The mother is a bright woman, but is at present much handicapped by her young family, and is suffering from neuralgia and bad headaches. The children look puny and undeveloped, and have not much appetite.

The house contains three rooms. The front door opens into a tiny hall about 4 feet square. The stairs to the bedrooms and the

door to the living-room lead out of it. The living-room contains an open fireplace with an oven for baking bread, and is well provided with cupboards in the walls. The furniture is fairly comfortable. The father had been out of work for several months before he obtained his present situation, and the family are still suffering from the privations they then endured. They are also labouring under a debt contracted during this period, and are paying off "back rent." In addition to this, Mrs. T. is paying for a wringing-machine in weekly instalments, thus the margin of income available for ordinary current expenditure is seriously reduced. Mrs. T.'s mother is very kind to her, and helps her, and a brother living away from York sends her things now and again.

The meals are fairly regular, but sometimes Mr. T. has to take his breakfast with him to work. As is usual with poor families, the husband comes off better as regards food than the rest of the family, for although Mrs. T. and the children have no meat for breakfast, her husband, she explained, "must have a bit of bacon to take with him for his breakfast, or else all the others would talk so."

Mrs. T. buys in the principal stock of food on Saturday, but has to get odd things during the week. She always buys her meat late on Saturday night, when she gets it cheaper, and she gets vegetables and fish in the same way. She makes her own bread and cakes, but complains of being "dead sick of bread and butter—nothing but bread and butter, until I hate the sight of it."

An examination of the diet of this family shows that the protein is 25 per cent and the fuel value 9 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Three Weeks

Income—						
Wages, three weeks at 21s. less "broken time"				£2	17	5½
Borrowed				0	2	0
Mrs. T.				0	4	0
				£3	3	5½
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages	£2	1	4			
Rent and rates	0	10	6			
Back rent	0	1	6			
Coals and firewood	0	2	11			
Candles, oil, matches	0	1	1			
Soap, etc.	0	1	11			
Sundries	0	0	8			
Life Insurance	0	2	3			
Mangle (being paid for in instalments)	0	3	9			
Clothing	0	7	7½			
Wall paper	0	3	0			
	£3	16	6½			
Deficit	0	13	1			
				£3	3	5½

Purchases during Week ending June 21, 1901

Friday.—½ lb. bacon, 3½d.; 2 eggs, 2d.; 1 bottle Tit-bit sauce, 1d.; 1 oz. tea, 1d.; ½ lb. sugar, 1d.; ¼ lb. butter, 3½d.; 7 eggs, 6d.; castor oil, 1d.; ¼ lb. cocoa, 3½d.; 1 reel black thread, 1d.; 3 lbs. beef, 1s. 6d.; ½ beef pie, 6d.; ¼ lb. polony, 2d.; ½ lb. currant square, 2d.

Saturday.—Candles, 2d.; 1½ st. flour, 2s.; 1 lb. butter, 11d.; 1 lb. lard, 6d.; 1 lb. bacon, 7d.; peas, 2½d.; ½ lb. tea, 8d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 10d.; 2 lbs. soap, 5d.; oil, 11d.; black lead, 1d.; wall-paper, 1s.; soda, ½d.; matches, 1d.; 3½ lbs. new potatoes, 5d.; ½ st. old potatoes, 3d.; curd, 2d.; 3½ lbs. onions, 3d.; mug, 2d.; week's milk, 11d.; 1 lb. cod-fish, 3d.

Monday.—Husband's clothes, 1s.; mangle, 1s. 3d.; Life Insurance, 9d.; rent, 3s. 6d.; "back" rent, 1s.

Tuesday.—½ lb. bacon, 3½d.; ½ lb. sheep's fry, 2½d.; ½ lb. sausages, 4d.; 3½ lbs. potatoes, 4½d.

Wednesday.—½ lb. bacon, 3½d.; 2 eggs, 2d.; ½ lb. treacle, 1½d.

Thursday.—Spring onions, 2d.; ½ lb. cheese, 3d.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING WEEK ENDING JUNE 21, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, eggs, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, currantsquare.	Bread, butter, tea.
Saturday .	Bacon, bread, tea.	Meat pie, potatoes, tea.	Bread, butter, onions, lettuce.	Fish, bread, cocoa.
Sunday . .	Bread, butter, eggs, tea.	Roast beef, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding, peas.	Bread, butter, jam.	Potatoes, peas, cold meat.
Monday . .	Bread, butter, tea.	Cold meat, potatoes.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, onions.
Tuesday . .	Bread, butter, bacon, tea.	Mashed potatoes.	Hot cakes, butter, tea.	Bread, cheese, tea.
Wednesday .	..	..	..	..
Thursday .	Bread, butter, tea.	Bacon, sausages, bread, tea.	Cakes, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.

BUDGET No. 13

LABOURER. WAGES 22s.

This household consists of a father, aged 23, a mother, aged 23, and two children, a little girl of 3 and a baby a few weeks old. The father is a small, lightly built man. The mother is not strong, and has swollen glands. She is tidy and capable, and the children look clean and well cared for. The house is clean and comfortable. It consists of two rooms. The front door opens into a tiny hall, about four feet square, and the stairs to the bedroom rise out of this. In the living-room is a sideboard with glass handles to the drawers and a shelf for ornaments at the back, a table, an easy-chair, and one or two other chairs; a wringing-machine and perambulator stand in one corner; by the fireside is the baby's wooden cradle. The cooking is done in this room, and the bread baked here, but nevertheless all is kept wonderfully clean, and looks homely and attractive. The pantry is an unventilated cupboard under the stairs. From the living-room a small passage leads to the back yard, which contains the sanitary conveniences and water-tap. These are shared with one other house. The "copper" for washing clothes is in this yard, and stands in the open air. In wet or rough weather this must add considerably to the usual discomforts of washing days. The rent paid for this house is 3s. 9d. per week.

The meals of this family are regular and well cooked. Mrs. P. buys in a store of things at the end of each week.

An examination of this family's diet shows that the protein is 36 per cent below standard, and the fuel value 27 per cent below.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Three Weeks

Income—			
Wages, three weeks at 22s.	£3	6	0
Mrs. P.	0	4	0
	£3	10	0
Expenditure—			
Food, including beverages	£1	11	3½
Rent and rates	0	10	6
Coals	0	3	9
Oil, etc.	0	0	4½
Soap	0	0	9½
Sundries	0	0	6
Sick Club	0	1	9
Insurance	0	1	0
Medical Association	0	2	0
Mangle, etc.	0	6	1½
Clothing	0	2	9½
Boots	0	0	8½
Kept by husband	0	6	0
Balance	0	2	5
	£3	10	0

Purchases during Week ending June 29, 1901

Saturday.—1¾ lbs. beef, 1s.; 2½ lbs. mutton, 1s. 9d.; ½ lb. lard, 3d.; ½ lb. butter, 6½d.; ¼ st. flour, 9d.; 1 oz. yeast, 1d.; ½ lb. biscuits, 2½d.; ¼ lb. boiled ham, 3½d.; 3½ lbs. potatoes, 3d.; ¼ lb. tea, 4½d.; 2 lbs. sugar, 4d.; 1 lb. soap, 2d.; ½ lb. soap powder, 1½d.; ½ lb. rice cake, 3d.; ½ lb. bacon, 3½d.; ¼ lb. sausages, 2d.; ¼ lb. pork chop, 2d.; 10 st. coals, 3d.; ½ lb. steak, 6d.

Monday.—Paid for clothes, 1s.; turpentine, 2d.; milk, 1s. 3½d.; baby's linen, 6d.; eggs, 6d.; teething powders, 1d.; vinegar, 1d.; club money, 7d.; 1 tin cocoa, 5d.

Tuesday.—2 lbs. potatoes, 2½d.; 1 bot. relish, 2d.

Wednesday.—¼ lb. pork, 3½d.; 1 box starch, 1d.

Thursday.—½ lb. beef, 4d.; 2 lbs. potatoes, 2d.

Friday.—¼ lb. boiled ham, 3½d.; rent, 3s. 6d.; insurance, 4d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending June 29, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Saturday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Steak, potatoes, tea, bread.	Boiled ham, bread, tea.	Steak, pork, tea, bread.
Sunday	Bacon, sausages, bread, tea.	Mutton, beef, potatoes, pudding.	Bread, butter, rice cake, tea.	Beef, tea, bread.
Monday	Bread, butter, tea.	Mutton, beef, potatoes, tea.	Fried bacon, bread, tea.	Bread, butter, cocoa.
Tuesday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Mutton, beef, potatoes, tea.	Eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Cold meat, bread tea.
Wednesday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Cooked pork, beef, potatoes.	Toast, bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter, tea.
Thursday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Meat, potatoes, pie.	Eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Toast, bread, butter, tea.
Friday	Bacon, bread, tea.	Meat, pie, potatoes.	Boiled ham.	Bread, butter, tea.

BUDGET No. 14

Labourer. Wages 19s.

This household consists of a father, aged 45, mother, 45, and three children, all boys, the eldest being 6 years old and the youngest a baby of 8 weeks. The whole family seem in good health, but the children are small for their age, and do not appear to possess much vitality. They are, however, bright and intelligent. The house consists of three rooms and a scullery; the rent is 4s. 6d. per week. The furniture is barely sufficient to meet necessary requirements.

The food is nicely cooked, and Mrs. D. is a good manager. She takes in washing to help to make ends meet, and occasionally has a lodger.

An examination of this family's diet shows that the protein is 16 per cent and the fuel value 9 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Three Weeks

Income—						
Wages, three weeks at 19s.				£2	17	0
Mrs. D, for washing, etc.				0	5	0
				£3	2	0
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages			£1	13	8	
Rent			0	13	6	
Coal			0	3	3	
Candles			0	0	2	
Soap			0	1	3	
Sundries			0	0	11½	
Sick Club			0	2	0	
Life Insurance			0	1	2	
Boots			0	2	1	
Papers			0	0	6	
			£2	18	6½	
Balance			0	3	5½	
					£3	2	0

Purchases during Week ending June 21, 1901

Friday.—1½ st. flour, 2s.; yeast, 1d.; butter, 10d.; meat pieces, 4d.; tea, 1d.

Saturday.—3½ lbs. meat, 1s. 10d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 10d.; 2 lbs. fish, 7d.; ¾ lb. lard, 4½d.; ½ lb. currants, 2½d.; ¼ lb. baking powder, 2d.; candles, 1d.; onions, 1d.; 4 eggs, 3d.

Sunday.—Milk, 1½d.

Monday.—2 lbs. soap, 5d.; salt, 1½d.; starch, 1d.; rent, 4s. 6d.; Sick Club and Life Insurance, 1s.

Tuesday.—Stamp, 1½d.; writing-paper, 1d.; ¼ lb. cheese, 2d.; 1 bag of coals, 1s. 1d.

Wednesday.—1 lb. bacon, 7d.; lettuce, 1½d.; cabbage, 1d.

Thursday.—½ lb. liver, 2d.; ½ st. potatoes, 4d.; yeast, 1½d.; milk (for week), 9d.; beer, 4½d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending June 21, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, bacon.	Bread, butter, lettuce, tea.	
Saturday	Bread, butter, tea.	Meat, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding.	Bread, butter, tea, onions.	Fish, bread.
Sunday	Fish, bread, tea.	Beef, cabbage, potatoes, rhubarb pie.[1]	Bread, butter, tea-cake, tea.	Bread, butter, tea-cake.
Monday	Bread, butter, tea-cake.	Cold meat, potatoes, pie.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, custard.	Bread, butter, pie.
Tuesday	Bread, bacon-fat, tea.	Cold meat, potatoes, pie.	Bread, meat, dripping.	Bread, cheese.
Wednesday	Bread, butter, tea, bacon.	Hashed cabbage, meat, bread.	Bread, butter, tea, lettuce.	
Thursday	Bread, butter, tea.	Liver, bread, bread pudding.	Bread, butter, tea.	Bread, butter.

[1] Rhubarb and cabbage given.

CLASS 2

[*Families whose total weekly earnings are over* 26s.]

BUDGET No. 15

FOREMAN. WAGES 38s.

This family consists of a father, 35, mother, 34, and six children, varying in age from 4 to 13 years. They all appear to be in good health.

The house contains four rooms, the front door opening straight into the parlour. The yard and sanitary convenience at the back are shared with one other house, but there is a water-tap and sink in the kitchen. The rent is 4s. per week.

The family have plenty of good food, which, it will be noticed, is much varied in character, and the meals are regular. The goods are bought in at the end of the week, and Mrs. P. makes her own bread. Mr. P. is a teetotaler, but his wife is not.

An examination of the family's diet shows that it is considerably in excess of standard requirements; this excess amounting to 18 per cent in the case of the protein and to no less than 40 per cent in the energy value.

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE FOR TWO WEEKS

INCOME—		
To wages, two weeks at 38s.		£3 16 0
EXPENDITURE—		
Food, including beverages	£2 11 0	
Rent	0 8 0	
Balance	0 17 0	
		£3 16 0

PURCHASES DURING WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 30, 1898

Friday.—Tin sardines, 4½d.; ½ lb. cheese, 3d.; 1 qt. milk, 3d.

Saturday.—Sundries, 6d.; 4 stone flour, 5s. 8d.; yeast, 2d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 7d.; ½ lb. tea, 1s. 2d.; 6½ lbs. beef, 3s. 9d.; 1 lb. pork, 7d.; 1 tin condensed milk, 3d.; 3 lbs. ham and bacon, 1s. 7d.; ½ lb. butter, 8d.; 1 lb. mushrooms, 5d.; ½ lb. grapes, 3d.; 2 lbs. Quaker oats, 5½d.; 3½ st. potatoes, 1s. 5½d.; vegetables, 8d.; 1 qt. milk, 3d.; 3 bottles ginger ale, 3d.; 2 lbs. dripping, 6d.

Sunday.—1 qt. milk, 3d.; 1 gill beer, 1½d.

Monday.—Tin condensed milk, 5d.; 1 qt. milk, 3d.; 1 bottle ginger ale, 1d.

Tuesday.—1 qt. milk, 3d.; ½ lb. grapes, 3d.

Wednesday.—Fried fish and potatoes, 2d.; 1 qt. milk, 3d.; 1 sheep's head, 6d.; ¼ lb. cheese, 2d.; 1 gill beer, 1½d.; fish, 1d.; vegetables, 2d.

Thursday.—1 pt. milk, 1½d.; sage, 1d.; ¼ lb. cheese, 2d.; onions, 1d.; ½ lb. mushrooms, 2½d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 7d.; 3 sheep's "reeds," 4d.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 30. 1898

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Toast, tea.	Soup, dumplings, meat, bread, tea.	Sardines, bread, milk, tea.	Bread, cheese, cocoa.
Saturday .	Bacon, bread, toast, tea.	Meat and potato pie, 2 bottles ginger ale.	Bread, butter, pastry, tea.	Bread and milk, meat, ginger ale.
Sunday . .	Ham, bacon, mushrooms, porridge, bread, coffee.	Roast beef, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes, beer.	Bread, butter, pastry, tea.	Bread and milk, meat, fried potatoes.
Monday . .	Fried bacon, bread, porridge, tea.	Cold meat, potatoes, rice pudding, tea, ginger ale.	Bread, butter, pastry.	Bread, butter, pastry, cocoa.
Tuesday . .	Bacon, bread, porridge, tea.	Hashed beef, potatoes, rice pudding.	Bread, butter, pastry, tea.	Bread and milk, fried fish, potatoes.
Wednesday .	Bacon, bread, tea, porridge.	Meat, soup, bread, dumplings, tea.	Bread, butter, cheese, pastry, tea.	Bread and milk, fish, bread, beer.
Thursday .	Bacon, bread, butter, mushrooms, tea.	Meat, potatoes, soup, cheese, bread, rice pudding.	Bread, butter, pastry, tea.	Sheep's "reed" with sage and onions, potatoes.

BUDGET No. 16

FOREMAN. WAGES 27s.

This household consists of a father, age 29, mother, age 27, and two children. The house is situated in a pleasant street, on the outskirts of the city. It consists of four rooms and a scullery, and is comfortably furnished and very clean. The rent is 4s. per week. The husband "occupies an allotment, and helps himself with vegetable growing." The wife is a very good manager, and will turn her hand to anything. Mr. P. is not a teetotaler, but "is a man of principle," and never keeps beer in his house, and often does not touch it for weeks together.

There is a deficiency of 11 per cent of protein and 5 per cent of fuel value in this family's diet.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Two Weeks

Income—

Wages, two weeks at 27s.		£2 14 0

Expenditure—

Food, including beverages	£1 12 0	
Rent	0 8 0	
Balance	0 14 0	
		£2 14 0

Purchases during Week ending October 8, 1899

Friday.—1 st. flour, 1s. 6d.; ½ lb. tea, 1s.; 4 lbs. sugar, 8d.; 1 lb. currants, 3½d.; ½ lb. raisins, 2½d.; yeast, 1d.; tin of salmon, 6d.; ½ lb. oatmeal, 1d.; 4 lbs. bacon, 2s.; 1 lb. sausage, 7d.; 1 pt. milk, 1½d.

Saturday.—6 lbs. pork, 3s. 6d.; 1 lb. onions, 1d.; 6 eggs, 6d.; 1 lb. tomatoes, 6d.; 1 st. potatoes, 6d.; ½ lb. butter, 7d.; 1 lb. mutton, 7d.; 1 pt. milk, 1½d.; fried fish, 2d.; fried potatoes, 1d.

Sunday.—1 pt. milk, 1½d.; 1 pt. beer, 2½d.

Monday.—1 pt. milk, 1½d.

Tuesday.—1 pt. milk, 1½d.; ½ lb. butter, 6d.

Wednesday.—1 pt. milk, 1½d.; yeast, 1d.; 2 lbs. black currant jam, 9d.; 1½ lbs. beef, 9d.

Thursday.—1 lb. oatmeal, 2d.; 1 pt. milk, 1½d.; 1 lb. sheep's liver, 6d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending October 8, 1899

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Fried bacon, bread, milk, tea.	Sausages, potatoes, bread.	Salmon, bread, milk, tea.	Gruel.
Saturday	Fried bacon, bread, milk, tea.	Mutton, potatoes, bread.	Boiled eggs, cakes, milk, bread, tea.	Fried fish and potatoes, bread.
Sunday	Boiled bacon, tomatoes, bread, milk, tea.	Roast pork, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes, cauliflower, beer.	Bread, butter, celery, pastry, milk, tea.	Cold pork and bread.
Monday	Boiled bacon, bread, milk, tea.	Cold pork, potatoes.	Bread, butter, pastry, milk, tea.	Cold pork and bread.
Tuesday	Boiled bacon, bread, milk, tea.	Cold pork, potatoes.	Bread, butter, pastry, milk, tea.	Boiled bacon and bread.
Wednesday	Boiled bacon, bread, milk, tea.	Stewed beef, potatoes, bread, jam pudding.	Bread, butter, pastry, milk, tea.	Hash and potatoes.
Thursday	Boiled bacon, bread, milk, tea.	Sheep's liver, potatoes, cauliflower, bread.	Bread, butter, pastry, milk, tea.	Gruel.

BUDGET No. 17. See p. 247

BUDGET No. 18

Railway Employee

This family consists of a father, aged 38, mother, 37, two boys aged 12 and 10, and a lodger (for three weeks). They all appear in good health. They live in a five-roomed house, which also has a scullery and good backyard. Mr. and Mrs. L. have bought their house and are paying for it by instalments. The situation of the house is good, and it is well planned and convenient. Mrs. L. has been busy papering and painting it inside, and Mr. L. has painted the outside. The whole house is beautifully clean, and the furniture is comfortable and good. The front parlour contains a piano and a bureau, and with a wall-paper of artistic design and colour makes a very cheerful room. Mr. L. employs much of his leisure time in secretarial work connected with various Societies. The remuneration which he receives for these duties (in which Mrs. L. gives him much assistance) appreciably augments his income.

Mr. and Mrs. L. usually take a holiday of a week or ten days each summer out of York, the two boys going with them. Mrs. L. is a capital manager. The boys, who are still at school, are bright and intelligent.

An examination of this family's diet shows that the energy value is 4 per cent and the protein 20 per cent below standard requirements.

Statement of Income and Expenditure for Five Weeks

Income				£10	19	2
Payment by lodger				2	2	0
				£13	1	2
Expenditure—						
Food, including beverages	£5	16	2½			
Payment towards purchase of house	2	12	8½			
Gas and candles	0	5	8			
Soap, etc.	0	3	10			
Sundries	0	4	8½			
Sick Clubs and Insurance	1	3	9			
Boots	0	13	0½			
Clothing	0	13	3½			
Varnish, paint, pots, etc.	0	14	6½			
Door mat and scrubbing brush	0	4	3			
Collections, train fare, etc.	0	4	8			
Tobacco and matches	0	1	9½			
Papers	0	2	8½			
				£13	1	2

Purchases during Week ending June 28, 1901

Friday.—1½ st. flour, 2s. 1½d.; starch, 5d.; yeast, 1d.; 1 lb. candles, 5d.; gas, 2d.; ½ lb. sausages, 4d.; 14 eggs, 1s.

Saturday.—7 qts. milk (for one week), 1s. 10½d.; 4½ lbs. beef, 3s. 6d.; 1½ lbs. sausages, 1s.; 2½ lbs. bacon, 1s. 3d.; 1 lb. butter, 1s. 1d.; 2 lbs. lump sugar, 5d.; 13 eggs, 1s.; rhubarb and cabbage, 3d.; ¼ lb. ginger, 3d; ½ st. new potatoes, 9d.; vanilla and lemon essence, 5d.; curd, 3d.; repairing boots, 4s. 2d.; papers, 6½d.; clubs, insurance, etc., 4s. 9d.; gas, 3d. flowers, 2d.; ¼ pt. rum, 6 l.

Sunday.—Gas, 4d.; collections, 2d.

Monday.—1¾ lbs. salmon, 2s. 6d.; ¼ lb. biscuits, 4d.; jar of cream, 6d.; 6 bananas, 6d.; 1 lb. butter, 1s. 1d.; 2 lbs. sugar, 4½d.; lettuce, mint, and onions, 3d.; malt loaf, 3d.

Tuesday.—Gas, 3d.; tin of Nestle's milk, 6d.

Wednesday.—½ lb. ham (in slices), 5½d.; ½ lb. steak, 7d.; 3½ lbs. new potatoes, 6d.; gas, 2d.; 14 eggs, 1s.

Thursday.—¼ lb. tomatoes, 3d.; 6 tea-cakes, 6d.

Note.—No coal was purchased during the time the budget was being kept.

MENU OF MEALS PROVIDED DURING WEEK ENDING JUNE 28, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bacon, eggs, bread, cake, cocoa, tea.	Stewed steak, potatoes, stewed fruit, custard.	Bread, butter, cake, cheese, tea.	Bread, butter, cake, milk.
Saturday .	Bacon, eggs, bread, butter, cocoa, tea.	Steak, sausages, bread, cake, cheese, butter, coffee.	Bread, butter, cake, sausage, tea.	Bread, butter, milk.
Sunday . .	Sausage, bread, butter, tea.	Roast beef, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes, cabage.	Bread, butter, cakes, stewed rhubarb, custard, tea.	Bread, butter, cake, milk.
Monday . .	Bacon, eggs, bread, butter, tea.	Cold beef, potatoes, stewed fruit.	Salmon, salad, bread, butter, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, bacon, cake, cocoa.
Tuesday . .	Bacon, bread, butter, cake, tea.	Cold beef, potatoes, salad, stewed fruit, and custard.	Bread, butter, cake, cheesecake, tea.	Bread, butter, eggs, cake, cocoa.
Wednesday .	Bacon, bread, butter, cake, tea.	Cold beef, steak, potatoes, rice, pudding, cake.	Bread, butter, cheesecake, eggs, tea.	Ham, bread, butter, cake, cocoa.
Thursday .	Ham, eggs, bread, butter, cake, tea.	Hashed beef, potatoes, rhubarb custard.	Bread, butter, cake, tea.	Eggs, bread, butter, cake, cocoa.

CLASS 3

[*Servant-keeping*]

BUDGET No. 19

(Five Adults and Two Children)

LIST OF FOOD STUFFS USED DURING WEEK ENDING JANUARY 18, 1901

4 lbs. neck of mutton, 2s. ; 2 lbs. blackcock, 3s. ; 2 lbs. bottled cherries, 1s. ; 1 lb. bottled gooseberries. 6d. ; 7½ lbs. beef, 5s. ; 5 cabbages, 5d. ; 5 lbs. sprouts, 1s. 0½d. ; 2½ oz. yeast, 2½d. ; 1¼ lb. lard, 11¼d. ; 1½ lb. dates, 1s. ; ¾ lb. prepared barley flour, 6d. ; 1½ jelly squares, 6½d. ; 5½ lbs. bacon, 3s. 11d. ; ¼ lb. cocoa, 8½d. ; ½ lb. best tea, 1s. 10d. ; ¾ lb. tea, 1s. 1½d. ; 2 lbs. beef for soup, 1s. ; ½ lb. suet, 3d. ; carrots, 1d. ; turnips, 2d. ; 1 lb. jam, 8d. ; 1¾ st. potatoes, 1s. 2d. ; 1 lb. onions, 2d. ; 2 lbs. biscuits, 1s. ; 3 lbs. leg of mutton, 1s. 9d. ; 1 lb. prunes, 3d. ; 13 oz. cheese, 8d. ; 12 oz. lump sugar, 2d. ; 8 fresh eggs, 1s. : 12 cooking eggs, 1s. ; 1½ oz. anchovies, 1d. ; 1 lb. rice, 4d. ; 1 tin tomatoes, 5d. ; 1 lb. 6 oz. castor sugar, 4d. ; ½ lb. currants, 3½d. ; ¼ lb. cornflour, 1½d. ; 1 lb. peas, 1d. ; ¾ pt. thick cream, 1s. 3d. ; 1 lb. fish, 6d. ; ½ lb. coffee, 10d. ; 4 lbs. butter, 5s. 4d. ; 4½ lbs. sugar, 9d. ; 27 lbs. flour, 3s. 2d. ; 6 gals. 3 qts. milk, 6s. 9d. ; 12 oranges, 8d. ; 7 bananas, 7d. ; 8 lbs. grapes, 2s. ; ¼ lb. figs, 1½d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending January 18, 1901

	Breakfast.	Lunch.	Tea.	Dinner.
Friday .	Bacon, hot cake, bread, toast, butter, marmalade, hot milk, tea, cream.	Soup, baked potatoes, blanc-mange, fruit tarts, cheese, butter, toast, bread, biscuits, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, tea.	Soup, cold meat, greens, stewed apples, jelly, toast, bread, dessert, tea, cream.
Saturday .	Fried bacon, bread, butter, marmalade, toast, cream, tea.	Pea soup, mutton, potatoes, greens, fruit tart, rice pudding, cheese, butter, biscuits, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, hot toast, cake, tea.	Soup, blackcock, bread sauce, greens, toast, anchovycream, dessert, tea, cream.
Sunday . .	Buttered eggs, hot cake, toast, bread, marmalade, hot milk, tea, cream.	Roast beef, greens, potatoes, Yorkshire pudding, lemon pudding, cheese, butter, biscuits, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, cakes, tea.	Cold beef, fruit tarts, pastry, jelly, cheese, bread, butter, biscuits.
Monday . .	Fish-cakes, toast, bread, butter, marmalade, hot milk, tea, cream.	Out to lunch.	Bread, butter, cakes, tea.	Soup, blackcock, bread sauce, greens, toast, stewed fruit, dessert, tea, cream.
Tuesday . .	Fried bacon, bread, butter, toast, marmalade, hot milk, figs, cream, tea.	Greens, suet pudding, stewed apples, cheese, butter, biscuits, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, cakes, tea.	Soup, cold meat, greens, stewed prunes, dessert, tea, cream.
Wednesday .	Fried bacon, eggs, bread, toast, butter, marmalade, hot milk, cream, tea.	Greens, rice pudding, stewed apples, cheese, bread, butter, biscuits, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, cakes, tea.	Soup, blackcock, bread sauce, potatoes, greens, blanc-mange, stewed prunes, dessert, tea, cream.
Thursday	Fish, bread, toast, butter, marmalade, hot milk, cream, tea.	Soup, hot-pot, suet pudding, stewed prunes, cheese, bread, butter, biscuits, coffee, cream.	Bread, butter, cakes, tea.	Out to dinner.

BUDGET No. 20

(Six Adults)

List of Food Stuffs used during Week ending March 4, 1901

17½ lbs. flour, 1s. 11d.; 1½ lbs. oatmeal, 3d.; 2 oz. rice, ½d.; 14 lbs. potatoes, 9d.; 2 lbs. turnips, 1d.; 4 lbs. carrots, 2d.; 2½ lbs. onions, 2½d.; 12½ lbs. apples, 2s. 8d.; 12 oz. lard, 4½d.; ½ lb. raisins, 3d.; ½ lb. currants, 3d.; 3½ lbs. celery, 9d.; 27 pts. milk, 3s. 4½d.; 14 lbs. sugar, 2s. 6d.; 3 lbs. butter, 3s. 9d.; 3 lbs. 13 oz. Hovis bread, 9d.; yeast, 4d.; 2 lbs. bacon, 1s. 8d.; 1 lb. 12 oz. cabbage, 1½d.; 6 lbs. 12 oz. pork, 4s. 6d.; ¼ lb. suet, 2d.; ¼ lb. cocoa, 8½d.; 8 oz. cake, 6d.; ½ lb. sultanas, 3½d.; 4 lbs. oranges, 8d.; 8 oz. tea, 1s. 4d.; 1 lb. coffee, 1s. 8d.; 1 lb. syrup, 2d.; 6 lbs. beef, 4s.; 8 oz. gingerbread, 4d.; 3 lbs. marmalade, 1s. 1d.; 2 lbs. bramble jelly, 1s.; 3 lbs. gooseberry jam, 8d.; 10 oz. cheese, 7d.; 3 lbs. 10 oz. ham, 2s. 0½d.; 2 lbs. sprouts, 4d.; ½ lb. tomatoes, 4d.; 1½ lb. rhubarb, 3d.; 3 lbs. haddock, 1s. 4d.; 1 lb. 3 oz. pork pie, 4d.; 6 lbs. 3 oz. mutton, 4s. 8d.; 16 eggs, 1s. 4d.; 4 oz. tea-cake, 1d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending March 4, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Porridge, fried bacon, toast, bread, butter, marmalade, coffee.	Soup, fish, meat pie, potatoes, cabbage, apple pie, coffee.	Bread, butter, toast, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, cheese, butter, pastry, stewed rhubarb, cocoa.
Saturday	Porridge, fried bacon, toast, butter, bread, marmalade, coffee.	Pork, potatoes, sprouts, apple pie, rice pudding.	Pork pies, toast, bread, butter, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, milk, cheese, cocoa.
Sunday	Cold ham, toast, bread, butter, marmalade, coffee.	Ham and eggs, potatoes, boiled celery, apple pie, custard.	Bread, butter, toast, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, bread and milk, cocoa.
Monday	Porridge, cold ham, pork pie, toast, bread, butter, marmalade, coffee.	Roast mutton, potatoes, sprouts, pie, batter pudding, coffee.	Toast, bread, butter, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, bread and milk, cheese, cocoa.
Tuesday	Porridge, fried bacon, potted beef, bread, toast, marmalade, tea.	Cold beef, sprouts, potatoes, pie, coffee.	Toast, bread, butter, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, bread and milk, cocoa.
Wednesday	Porridge, fried bacon, eggs, toast, bread, marmalade, coffee.	Roast pork, apple sauce, roast potatoes, boiled celery, jam roll, coffee.	Bread, butter, toast, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, bread and milk, cheese, cocoa.
Thursday	Porridge, fried bacon, bread, toast, butter, marmalade, coffee.	"Hot-pot," jam roll and sauce, apple pie, custard pudding, coffee.	Bread, butter, toast, scrambled eggs, jam, cake, tea.	Bread, butter, bread and milk, cocoa.

BUDGET No. 21

(Three Adults)

List of Food Stuffs used during Week ending March 1, 1901

2½ lbs. cake, 8d.; 10 oz. tea, 11½d.; 1¾ lb. sugar, 5d.; ½ lb. raisins, 3d.; 1 lb. Quaker oats, 2½d.; 1⅓ lb. butter, 1s. 6d.; ¾ lb. butter, 9d.; 1 lb. lard, 3d.; 11 cooking eggs, 10d.; 2¼ lbs. tea-cakes, 9d.: 9 lbs. bread, 1s. 1½d.; 1 lb. potted meat, 9d.; 1 lb. suet, 6d.; carrots, etc., 1d.; 1 lb. mutton, 6d.; pickles, 1d.; 2 lbs. golden syrup, 3d.; 1 st. potatoes, 9d.; pine apple, 1½d.; 4 lbs. flour, 4d.; 1 lb. loaf sugar, 2½d.; 1 lb. steak, 10d.; 5¼ lbs. beef, 4s.; vegetables, 3d.; celery, 2d.; rhubarb, 4d.; 2 lbs. apples, 4d.; 1 lb. apples, 3d.; 1 lb. biscuits, 3d.; 2 lbs. brown bread, 3d.; 2½ lbs. ham, 1s. 6d.; 2¼ lbs. fish, 9d.; ¼ pt. cream, 4d.; 2 oz. yeast, 1½d.; 2¾ lbs. mutton, 1s. 4d.; 1 lb. marmalade, 4d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending March 1, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday . .	Bacon, potted meat, bread, butter, marmalade, tea.	Hashed mutton, potatoes, ground rice pudding, stewed pine-apple.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, marmalade, biscuits, tea.	Porridge, tea-cake, milk.
Saturday .	Potted meat, bread, butter, marmalade, tea.	Stewed steak, potatoes, treacle, suet pudding.	Brown and white bread, butter, tea-cake, biscuits, tea.	Fish, bath pudding, stewed rhubarb, cream cheese, celery, soda water, milk, biscuits, bread, butter.
Sunday . .	Ham, meat pies, brown and white bread, marmalade.	Roast beef, Yorkshire pudding, potatoes, artichokes, apple pudding.	Brown and white bread, butter, tea-cake, crumpets, cheesecakes, cake, marmalade.	Cold beef, pickles, brown and white bread, butter, rhubarb pie, stewed rhubarb, cream cheese, celery, biscuits.
Monday . .	Bacon, meat pies, brown and white bread, butter, marmalade, tea.	Cold beef, potatoes, artichokes, apple pudding.	Out.	Out.
Tuesday . .	Bacon, meat pie, brown and white bread, butter, marmalade, tea.	Minced beef, potatoes, stewed celery, treacle tart.	Brown and white bread, butter, tea-cake, cheesecake, marmalade, tea.	Porridge, tea-cake, milk.
Wednesday .	Ham, white bread, butter, marmalade, tea.	Mutton, potatoes, rhubarb tart.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, cheesecake, marmalade, tea	Porridge, tea-cake, milk.
Thursday .	Ham, bread, butter, marmalade, tea.	Cold mutton, potatoes, turnips, treacle tart.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, cheesecake, marmalade, tea.	Out.

BUDGET No. 22. See p. 251.

BUDGET No. 23

(Six Adults and Three Children)

List of Food Stuffs used during Week ending June 10, 1901

2 lbs. currants, 1s.; 6 oz. raisins, 4d.; 1¾ st. flour, 2s. 6d.; yeast, 3d.; 7 lbs. moist sugar, 1s. 5½d.; 11 lbs. loaf sugar, 2s. 3d.; 1 tin Neave's food, 8½d.; 4 lbs. butter, 4s.; 1 lb. cheese, 8d.; 1 lb. tea, 2s.; 5 lbs. fresh haddock, 2s. 6d.; ½ lb. cocoa, 1s. 5d.; 1 lb. coffee, 1s. 4d.; 2 lbs. biscuits, 1s. 4d.; 1 tin sardines, 1s. 3d.; 2 rabbits, 2s. 6d.; 2 st. potatoes, 1s. 6d.; 8 lbs. green gooseberries, 2s. 6d.; 30 eggs, 2s.; ½ lb. rice, 1½d.; 15 lbs. marmalade, 3s. 9d.; 16 lbs. sirloin beef, 13s.; 3½ lbs. beef-steak, 3s. 6d.; cauliflower, 3d.; tea-cakes, 8d.; 9 lbs. bacon, 5s. 8d.; 1½ lb. salmon, 2s. 6d.; 2 lbs. jam, 8d.; 2 lbs. tomatoes, 1s. 4d.; lettuce, 10d.; ½ lb. sponge-cakes, 4d.; 8½ lbs. mutton, 7s.; 1 tin sardines, 1s. 4d.; 2 lbs. chicken and tongue, 2s. 6d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending June 10, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Fish-cakes, sardines, fried bacon, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Rabbits, potatoes, gooseberry tart, rice pudding. cream, sugar.	Bread, butter, jam, cakes, tea.	Cheese, biscuits, bread, butter, cakes, cocoa.
Saturday	Fish, sardines, fried bacon, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Beef-steak, potatoes, cauliflower, queen of puddings, rice pudding, cream.	Bread, butter, marmalade, cakes, tea.	Cheese, biscuits, bread, butter, cakes, cocoa, milk, coffee.
Sunday	Bacon, poached eggs, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Roast beef, Yorkshire pudding, roast potatoes, rice pudding, gooseberry tart, cream, sugar.	Bread, butter, jam, cakes, tea.	Cheese, biscuits, bread, butter, cake, cocoa, milk.
Monday	Bacon, sardines, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Cold beef, salad, potatoes, sponge-cake, custard pudding, rice.	Bread, butter, cakes, marmalade, tea.	Eggs, biscuits, bread, butter, cakes, cocoa, milk.
Tuesday	Fried bacon, poached eggs, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Cold beef, salad, hashed beef, potatoes, stewed fruit, rice pudding.	Bread, butter, cakes, marmalade, tea.	Cheese, biscuits, bread, butter, cakes, cocoa, coffee, milk.
Wednesday	Fried bacon, sardines, bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Roast mutton, jelly, potatoes, cabbage, gooseberry tart, pancakes.	Bread, butter, cakes, jam, marmalade, tea.	Cheese, biscuits, bread, butter, cakes, cocoa, milk.
Thursday	Chicken and tongue, mould bread, butter, marmalade, tea, coffee.	Cold mutton, potatoes, salad, curry, rice pudding, stewed fruit.	Bread, butter, cakes, jam, marmalade, tea.	Cheese, biscuits, bread, butter, cakes, cocoa, milk.

BUDGET No. 24

(Three Adults and Three Children)

List of Food Stuffs used during Week ending May 24, 1901

1 st. flour, 1s. 5d.; 1½ lbs. self-raising flour, 3d.; 1 oz. yeast, 1d.; 1 lb. lard, 6d.; 2 lbs. jam, 9d.; 3 lbs. oatmeal, 7½d.; 2½ lbs. butter, 2s. 11d.; ½ pt. cream, 10d.; cream cheese, 5d.; ½ lb. tea, 1s.; 3 lbs. treacle, 9d.; 2 lbs. beef-steak, 2s.; 1 st. potatoes, 8d.; cauliflower, 4d.; rhubarb, 6d.; 3½ galls. milk, 3s. 6d.; ½ lb. marmalade, 2½d.; asparagus, 6d.; 1 lb. 2 oz. beef-steak, 1s. 1½d.; ½ lb. currants, 3d.; ½ pt. vinegar, 1d.; lettuce, 2d.; 4 lbs. sugar, 3d.; ½ lb. bacon, 3½d.; 3 lbs. apples, 1s. 6d.; 6 oranges, 6d.; 1 lb. nuts, 5d.; 4½ lbs. beef, 3s. 4½d.; 17 eggs, 1s.; ¼ lb. potted shrimps, 6d.; ½ lb. mutton, 4d.; 6 bananas, 6d.; 2 lbs. halibut, 1s. 1d.; 12 oz. rice, 2d.; 2 oz. cornflour, 1½d.; 4½ oz. Benger's food, 7½d.; ½ lb. cocoa, 6d.

Menu of Meals provided during Week ending May 24, 1901

	Breakfast.	Dinner.	Tea.	Supper.
Friday	Porridge, eggs, bread, butter, toast, boiled milk, tea.	Beef-steak, potatoes, cauliflower, sponge pudding, stewed rhubarb, cream, dates.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, pastry, tea.	Bread, butter, tea-cake, Benger's food, cocoa.
Saturday	Porridge, beef-steak, toast, bread, butter, hot milk, tea.	Minced beef, potatoes, cauliflower, rhubarb pie, cream, oranges.	Bread, butter, buns, tarts, pastry, tea.	Bread, butter, sweet-cake, cocoa.
Sunday	Bacon and fried steak, bread, butter, toast, tea.	Roast beef, potatoes, asparagus, cornflour, stewed rhubarb, cream.	Bread, butter, tea-cakes, fruit-cake, queen-cakes, cream cheese, lettuce, tea.	Bread, butter, Benger's food, hot milk.
Monday	Porridge, eggs, bread, butter, toast, tea.	Beef, Scotch potatoes, salad, boiled bread pudding, oranges.	Steak, bread, butter, tea-cake, buns, tea.	Bread, butter, Benger's food, cocoa.
Tuesday	Porridge, cream cheese, bread, butter, toast, marmalade, tea.	Cold beef, salad, potatoes, rice pudding, stewed rhubarb, apples, oranges.	Potted shrimps, eggs, bread, butter, fruit-cake, tea-cake, jam, tea.	Bread, butter, Benger's food, cocoa.
Wednesday	Bread and milk, potted shrimps, eggs, bread, butter, toast, tea.	Minced beef, potatoes, cauliflower, rhubarb pie, apples, bananas.	Bread, butter, toast, cream cheese, jam, fruit-cake, tea.	Tea-cake, buns, Benger's food, cocoa.
Thursday	Porridge, stewed mutton, toast, bread, butter, tea.	Halibut, potatoes, bread and butter, pudding, stewed rhubarb, bananas, apples.	Eggs, bread, butter, toast, jam, tea.	Rice-cake and buns, Benger's food, cocoa.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter it is proposed to briefly summarise the facts set forth in the preceding pages, and to consider what conclusions regarding the problem of poverty may be drawn from them.

Method and Scope of Inquiry.—As stated in the second chapter, the information regarding the numbers, occupation, and housing of the working classes was gained by direct inquiry, which practically covered every working-class family in York. In some cases direct information was also obtained regarding earnings, but in the majority of cases these were estimated, the information at the disposal of the writer enabling him to do this with considerable accuracy.

The Poverty Line.—Having thus made an estimate, based upon carefully ascertained facts, of the earnings of practically every working-class family in York, the next step was to show the proportion of the total population living in poverty. Families regarded as living in poverty were grouped under two heads :—

(*a*) Families whose total earnings were insufficient to obtain the minimum necessaries for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency. Poverty falling under this head was described as "primary" poverty.

(*b*) Families whose total earnings would have been sufficient for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency were it not that some portion of it was absorbed by other expenditure, either useful or wasteful. Poverty falling under this head was described as "secondary" poverty.

To ascertain the total number living in "primary" poverty it was necessary to ascertain the minimum cost upon which families of various sizes could be maintained in a state of physical efficiency. This question was discussed under three heads, viz. the necessary expenditure for (1) food; (2) rent; and (3) all else.

In Chapter IV. it was shown that for a family of father, mother, and three children, the minimum weekly expenditure upon which physical efficiency can be maintained in York is 21s. 8d., made up as follows:

	s.	d.
Food	12	9
Rent (say)	4	0
Clothing, light, fuel, etc. . .	4	11
	21	8

The necessary expenditure for families larger or smaller than the above will be correspondingly greater

or less. This estimate was based upon the assumptions that the diet is selected with a careful regard to the nutritive values of various food stuffs, and that these are all purchased at the lowest current prices. It only allows for a diet less generous as regards variety than that supplied to able-bodied paupers in workhouses. It further assumes that no clothing is purchased which is not absolutely necessary for health, and assumes too that it is of the plainest and most economical description.

No expenditure of any kind is allowed for beyond that which is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of *merely physical efficiency.*

The number of persons whose earnings are so low that they cannot meet the expenditure necessary for the above standard of living, stringent to severity though it is, and bare of all creature comforts, was shown to be no less than 7230, or almost exactly 10 per cent of the total population of the city. These persons, then, represent those who are in "primary" poverty.

The number of those in "secondary" poverty was arrived at by ascertaining the *total* number living in poverty, and subtracting those living in "primary" poverty. The investigators, in the course of their house-to-house visitation, noted those families who were obviously living in a state of poverty, *i.e.* in obvious want and squalor. Sometimes they obtained definite information that the bulk of the earnings was spent in drink or otherwise squandered, some-

times the external evidence of poverty in the home was so clear as to make verbal evidence superfluous.

In this way 20,302 persons, or 27·84 per cent of the total population, were returned as living in poverty. Subtracting those whose poverty is "primary," we arrive at the number living in "secondary" poverty, viz. 13,072, or 17·93 per cent of the total population. The figures will be clearer if shown in tabular form :—

		Proportion of total Population of York.
Persons in "primary" poverty . . .	7,230	9·91 per cent
Persons in "secondary" poverty . .	13,072	17·93 ,,
Total number of persons living in poverty .	20,302	27·84 ,,

One naturally asks, on reading these figures, how far they represent the proportion of poverty in other towns. The only statistics which enable us to form an opinion upon this point are those collected in London by Mr. Charles Booth, and set forth in his *Life and Labour of the People in London.* The objects of Mr. Booth's inquiry, as explained by himself, were "to show the numerical relation which poverty, misery, and depravity bear to regular earnings, and to describe the general conditions under which each class lives."[1]

In East London Mr. Booth obtained information from the School Board visitors regarding every family scheduled by the Board in which there were children of school age. These families represented about one-

[1] *Life and Labour of the People in London*, by Charles Booth, vol. i. p. 6.

half of the working-class population, and Mr. Booth assumed that the condition of the whole population was similar to that of the part tested.

In the other districts of London Mr. Booth, in order to complete his inquiry in a reasonable time, was obliged to adopt a rougher classification.

From the information thus obtained, which he checked and supplemented in various ways, Mr. Booth estimated that 30·7 per cent of the total population of London were living in poverty.[1] *Supposing, then, that the same standard of poverty had been adopted in the two inquiries*, a comparison between the poverty in York and that of London would be possible. From the commencement of my inquiry I have had opportunities of consulting with Mr. Booth, and comparing the methods of investigation and the standards of poverty adopted. As a result I feel no hesitation in regarding my estimate of the total poverty in York as comparable with Mr. Booth's estimate of the total poverty in London, and in this Mr. Booth agrees.

The proportions arrived at for the total population living in poverty in London and York respectively were as under :—

London . . .	30·7	per cent
York . . .	27·84	„

the proportion of the population living in poverty in York may be regarded as practically the same as in London, especially when we remember that

[1] In estimating the poverty in London Mr. Booth made no attempt to differentiate between "primary" and "secondary" poverty.

Mr. Booth's information was gathered in 1887-1892, a period of only *average* trade prosperity, whilst the York figures were collected in 1899, when trade was unusually prosperous.

This agreement in result is so striking that it is perhaps best to say that I did not set out upon my inquiry with the object of proving any preconceived theory, but to ascertain actual facts, and that I was myself much surprised to obtain the above result.[1]

We have been accustomed to look upon the poverty in London as exceptional, but when the result of

[1] On this subject the present writer has received the subjoined letter from Mr. Booth :—

"9 ADELPHI TERRACE, STRAND, W.C.,
"*July* 25, 1901.

"DEAR MR. ROWNTREE—You know with what interest I have watched your investigation into the conditions of life at York, and in response to your question I certainly think that the slight difference in our methods ought in no way to prevent the possibility of a comparison being made between your results and mine.

"The methods adopted by you are more complete than those I found available for the large area of London. I made an estimate of the total proportion of the people visibly living in poverty, and from amongst these separated the cases in which the poverty appeared to be extreme and amounted to destitution, but I did not enter into the questions of economical or wasteful expenditure. You too have enumerated the cases of visible poverty, applying similar tests, and so far our estimates are fairly comparable ; but you enumerate separately those whose income is such that they cannot by any means afford the expenditure which your argument sets forth as an absolutely necessary minimum. It is very possible that few of those classed by you or me as poor would pass muster as sufficiently nourished, clothed, and housed, according to this standard; but your classification separates those who conceivably might be so, from those who certainly could not.

"It is in this respect that my classification falls short of yours ; but our totals may be correctly compared, and the comparison, as you have shown, is very close. At this I am not surprised. I have, indeed, long thought that other cities, if similarly tested, would show a percentage of poverty not differing greatly from that existing in London. Your most valuable inquiry confirms me in this opinion.—Yours faithfully, CHARLES BOOTH."

careful investigation shows that the proportion of poverty in London is practically equalled in what may be regarded as a typical provincial town, we are faced by the startling probability that from 25 to 30 per cent of the town populations of the United Kingdom are living in poverty. If this be the fact, its grave significance may be realised when it is remembered that, in 1901, 77 per cent of the population of the United Kingdom is returned as "urban" and only 23 per cent as "rural."[1]

The Results of Poverty.—The facts regarding the *proportion* of poverty are perhaps the most important which have been dealt with in this volume, but the conditions under which the poor live, and the effects of those conditions, especially upon their physical stamina, will have also claimed the serious attention of the reader.

Housing.—It has been shown that in York 4705 persons, or 6·4 per cent of the total population, are living more than two persons to a room, whilst the actual number who are living, and especially sleeping,

[1] According to the official distinction of "urban" and "rural" adopted by the Registrar-General, the population of England and Wales in 1901, as given in the Preliminary Report of the Census, is as follows:—

Urban	25,054,268	77 per cent
Rural	7,471,242	23 ,,

If, however, the distinction between urban and rural be drawn at towns of 10,000 population, the figures are as follows:—

Urban	21,946,346	67 per cent
Rural	10,579,164	33 ,,

And if drawn at towns of 20,000 population they are:—

Urban	18,940,056	58 per cent
Rural	13,585,444	42 ,,

in rooms which provide inadequate air-space for the maintenance of health is undoubtedly very much greater. Moreover, the impossibility of maintaining the decencies of life in these overcrowded houses is a factor which cannot fail to affect the morals of their inhabitants.

The close relation which exists between overcrowding and poverty is indicated by the fact that 94 per cent of the overcrowded families are in poverty either "primary" or "secondary."

Rent.—Although rents in York are much lower than in many towns, still the proportion of total earnings spent in rent by the working classes in York is high, varying from 9 per cent in the few favoured cases where the total earnings reach or exceed 60s., to 29 per cent for those whose total family earnings fall below 18s. weekly. The average proportion of total family earnings spent in rent by all sections of the working classes in York is over 14 per cent. Although York is not a large city, and freehold land within three miles of the centre of the city may be bought for £60 to £80 an acre, it nevertheless contains slums as degradingly filthy as any to be found in London.

Relation of Poverty to Health.—Turning now to the relation of poverty to health, it has been shown in the preceding pages how low is the standard of health amongst the very poor. This was tested not only by the general and infant mortality of the city, but by an examination of the physique of a large

number of school children. The inferences drawn from this latter examination are corroborated by the general statistics which refer to the health standard of those who seek enlistment in the army. These indicate that a low standard of health prevails among the working classes. It therefore becomes obvious that the widespread existence of poverty in an industrial country like our own must seriously retard its development.

Workmen's Household Budgets.—In the last chapter concrete evidence is advanced as to the inadequate nutrition of the poorer sections of the labouring classes. An inquiry into the diet of various sections of the community revealed the facts (1) that the diet of the middle classes is generally more than adequate; (2) that of the well-to-do artisan is on the whole *adequate;* but (3) that of the labouring class is seriously *inadequate.* Indeed, the labouring class receive upon the average about 25 per cent less food than has been proved by scientific experts to be necessary for the maintenance of physical efficiency. This statement is not intended to imply that labourers and their families are chronically hungry, but that the food which they eat (although on account of its bulk it satisfies the cravings of hunger) does not contain the nutrients necessary for normal physical efficiency. A homely illustration will make the point clear. A horse fed upon hay does not feel hungry, and may indeed grow fat, but it cannot perform hard and continuous work without a proper supply of corn.

Just so the labourer, though perhaps not hungry, is unable to do the work which he could easily accomplish upon a more nutritious diet.

As the investigation into the conditions of life in this typical provincial town has proceeded, the writer has been increasingly impressed with the gravity of the facts which have unfolded themselves.

That in this land of abounding wealth, during a time of perhaps unexampled prosperity, probably more than one-fourth of the population are living in poverty, is a fact which may well cause great searchings of heart. There is surely need for a greater concentration of thought by the nation upon the well-being of its own people, for no civilisation can be sound or stable which has at its base this mass of stunted human life. The suffering may be all but voiceless, and we may long remain ignorant of its extent and severity, but when once we realise it we see that social questions of profound importance await solution. What, for instance, are the primary causes of this poverty? How far is it the result of false social and economic conditions? If it be due in part to faults in the national character, what influences can be exerted to impart to that character greater strength and thoughtfulness?

The object of the writer, however, has been to state facts rather than to suggest remedies. He desires, nevertheless, to express his belief that however difficult the path of social progress may be, a

way of advance will open out before patient and penetrating thought if inspired by a true human sympathy.

The dark shadow of the Malthusian philosophy has passed away, and no view of the ultimate scheme of things would now be accepted under which multitudes of men and women are doomed by inevitable law to a struggle for existence so severe as necessarily to cripple or destroy the higher parts of their nature.

The only serious attempt that has been made to discredit the data upon which the conclusions arrived at in this book are based, is embodied in an article by Mrs. Bosanquet contributed to the *Charity Organisation Review* for January 1903. Her article rests largely upon misconception of the methods by which the information was collected and checked. In a pamphlet by the present writer entitled "The 'Poverty Line': A Reply,"[1] her criticisms are dealt with and full details given regarding the methods adopted to ensure accuracy in connection with the investigations recorded in this volume.

[1] Henry Good and Son, 12 Moorgate Street, London.

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER

In this supplementary chapter certain facts are set forth which, although not directly connected with the main subject dealt with in this volume, nevertheless throw some light upon the conditions which govern the lives of the working classes in York.

A consideration of them may also assist the reader to form an independent judgment as to how far the conditions are typical of those obtaining in other provincial towns.

The following subjects will be considered in the order named :—

(*a*) Public-houses and Clubs.
(*b*) Education.
(*c*) The Direct Influence of the Christian Churches, as judged by a "Church Census."
(*d*) Trade Unionism.
(*e*) Co-operation.
(*f*) Friendly Societies and Life Insurance.
(*g*) Poor Relief.
(*h*) The probable effect of universal Old Age Pensions upon Poverty in York.
(*i*) Abstract of the York City Accounts.

(*a*) Public-houses

The facts here set forth have been collected by the writer with the view of forming some estimate of the place which public-houses occupy in the social life of the working classes.

There are 338 premises licensed for the sale of intoxicating liquors in the city, viz.—

"*On*" *licenses*—Fully licensed . .	199		
Beer-houses . .	37		
		—	236
"*Off*" *licenses*—Wines, spirits, and sweets	27		
Beer-houses . .	75		
		—	102
			338

The population of York being 77,793, there is therefore one "on" license for every 330 persons. If we take all licenses ("on" and "off") into account, that is one licensed house for every 230 persons.

Many of the public-houses are situated at street corners, and have entrances from two streets. In other cases a public-house may have one or more entrances from the main street, and another entrance from a passage. Of the 236 "on" licensed houses in York, 113 have one entrance, 111 have two, 11 have three, and 1 has four.

The following table shows the proportion of licensed houses to the total population[1] in some other cities, York being included for comparative purposes:—

[1] Taken from the Preliminary Report on the Census of 1901.

Town.	Population.	Number of "On" Licenses.	Number of "Off" Licenses.	Total "On" and "Off" Licenses.	Ratio of Licenses to Population.		
					"On" Licenses.	"Off" Licenses.	Total "On" and "Off" Licenses.
					1 License to	1 License to	1 License to
York . .	77,793	236	102	338	330	762	230
Northampton	87,021	295	224	519	295	388	167
Southampton	104,911	468	100	568	222	1049	184
Manchester .	543,969	2222	746	2968	244	729	183
Sheffield .	380,717	1159	639	1798	328	594	217
Salford .	220,956	529	468	997	417	472	221
Nottingham .	239,753	595	488	1083	403	491	221
Bristol .	328,842	1038	329	1367	316	999	240
Birmingham	522,182	1600	567	2167	326	921	241
Bradford .	279,809	618	513	1131	453	545	247
Leicester .	211,574	456	389	845	463	540	250
Sunderland .	146,565	404	168	572	362	872	256
Blackburn .	127,527	420	68	488	303	1875	261
Bolton .	168,205	431	178	609	390	945	276
Newcastle .	214,803	561	141	702	382	1523	306
Plymouth .	107,509	298	51	349	360	2108	308
Liverpool .	684,947	2042	144	2186	335	4749	313
Leeds . .	428,953	745	437	1182	575	981	362
Cardiff .	164,420	274	85	359	600	1934	458

Of course the public-houses are very unevenly distributed throughout each of the above towns. In York the number of licensed houses in the newer and outlying parts of the city is few, compared with the large number to be found in some of the old streets within the city walls inhabited by the poorest section of the population. The comparative fewness of public-houses in the outlying districts is not, however, confined to the wealthier residential streets, but extends to all new working-class districts. This fact is significant, as showing the unwillingness now manifested by the magistrates to grant licenses in new districts beyond the number actually required to supply the legitimate needs of

the population. Their action in refusing further demands for new licenses has been usually supported by widely-signed petitions from the local inhabitants. The excessive number of licensed houses in the old parts of the city is not accounted for by any large number of *bona-fide* hotels, in which the drink license is a subsidiary factor. These are chiefly found near the Station and Minster. It is possible that the large number of public-houses in the old part of York may in part be accounted for by the fact that York was, in past days, a coaching centre. Be that as it may, it is certain that at the present time the number is enormously in excess of those required to meet any reasonable demands of the neighbourhood.

It has not been possible to ascertain exactly what proportion of the "on" licensed houses are "tied" houses, but the police state that "practically all are tied."

The Use of Public-houses for Social Purposes.—Almost every public-house has one or more parlours behind the bar, which are reserved for the use of privileged and regular customers, who spend the evenings there, smoking, chatting, and drinking. In a few of the small public-houses dominoes and dart-boards are provided in these rooms, and some of the largest provide billiard tables, which prove a great attraction. The casual customer who drops in for a glass, and the less respectable customers, are served in the tap-room or bar, and it is here that the bulk of the heavy drinking is done. People who drink stand-

ing at the bar are termed "perpendicular drinkers." In many of the new public-houses no seats are provided in the bar.

Formerly, public-houses in York were largely used as meeting-places at which the business of Football Clubs, Trade Unions, Friendly Societies, etc., was transacted. The use of public-houses for these purposes is, however, less general than it was, as some suitable and inexpensive rooms for such meetings can now be obtained in coffee-houses and elsewhere, and many of the members of the clubs and societies concerned prefer to hold their meetings in these rooms rather than in public-house parlours. The demand for such rooms is, however, still in excess of the supply.

Only about a dozen public-houses have music licenses, but there is music and singing in a great many others. No doubt many of the musicians who perform in the latter are paid for their services; though when questioned by the police they state they are not paid for singing, but are engaged as waiters or waitresses and "only sing a little to oblige the company," an assertion which is very difficult to disprove, especially as all the company present are "up to the trick" and support it.[1]

The number of persons present in the singing-rooms attached to six public-houses in the central

[1] It is illegal to engage professional musicians in a public-house without a music license, and this is only granted in the case of public-houses containing a room of a certain size.

parts of York were counted at about 9 P.M. on two nights, viz. Monday, September 30, 1901, and Saturday, October 5, 1901. The former was a warm and fine night. Saturday was also fine, but not quite so warm. Thus on neither night would people be driven into public-houses by weather.

The numbers present in each singing-room at the time the enumeration was made were as follows (these numbers do not take account of persons who were in the bar or other parts of the public-house) :—

	Monday.	Saturday.
	Number of Persons in Singing-room.	Number of Persons in Singing-room.
Public-house No. 1 . . .	27	32
,, ,, 2 . . .	64	62
,, ,, 3 . . .	75	90
,, ,, 4 . . .	28	72
,, ,, 5 . . .	22	45
,, ,, 6 . . .	17	41
	233	342

The form of entertainment furnished in those public-houses where music (either professional or otherwise) is provided, is one well suited to the tastes of those for whom the publicans cater. The rooms are, as a rule, brilliantly lit, and often gaudily, if cheaply, decorated. In winter they are always kept temptingly warm. The company is almost entirely composed of young persons, youths and girls, sitting round the room and at small tables. Often there are a considerable number of soldiers present. Every one is drinking, but not heavily, and most of the men are

smoking. At intervals one of the company is called on for a song, and if there is a chorus, every one who can will join in it. Many of the songs are characterised by maudlin sentimentality; others again are unreservedly vulgar. Throughout the whole assembly there is an air of jollity and an absence of irksome restraint which must prove very attractive after a day's confinement in factory or shop.

In a round of the public-houses which the writer made one Saturday evening in May 1901, the fact of their social attractiveness struck him very forcibly. It points to the need for the establishment on temperance lines of something equally attractive in this respect.

Formerly many of the public-houses organised Christmas or "Goose" clubs. These partook largely of the nature of a raffle, the value of the prize obtained at Christmas time depending upon the drawing of particular numbers. Owing, however, to the action of the police, this sort of thing has practically ceased to exist in connection with public-houses. Such clubs are, however, occasionally organised now by tobacconists. On the other hand, in some public-houses the landlord organises a day's summer outing for his regular customers. The latter subscribe a certain sum weekly for some time prior to the agreed-upon day, and to the fund thus collected the brewery owning the house adds a substantial donation. On the appointed day the company set off, usually in char-a-bancs, the landlord taking care that all liquor

to be consumed goes with them. Every one eats and drinks to his heart's content during the day, as everything is paid for out of the central fund, and if, after all expenses have been paid, there remains any surplus, this is divided equally amongst the subscribers.

But though Christmas raffles have been suppressed, there is no doubt that many other betting transactions are carried on in public-houses, though they are chiefly of a private nature. Organised bookmaking is usually carried on elsewhere, often, like the "Goose" clubs, in tobacconists' shops.

In York there is much public-house drinking by girls. This does not often lead to actual drunkenness, but unfortunately there can be no doubt that many girls spend their evenings in public-houses with a view to meeting men for immoral purposes. The police inform me that there are not more than about a score or so of women in York who depend upon prostitution as a sole means of livelihood, but there is, nevertheless, much immorality in the city.

York is essentially a beer-drinking town. A police official of long experience tells me that more than 80 per cent of the drunkenness is due to beer.

Amount and Character of Trade done in Public-houses.—In connection with the present investigation it seemed important to try to obtain some detailed information which might throw light upon the three following questions:—

(1) What is the extent of the trade done, *i.e.* the number of persons entering the public-houses daily?

(2) What proportion of these persons are men, what proportion are women, and to what extent are children employed to fetch liquor?

(3) At what hours of the day are public-houses chiefly visited?

As the best way of obtaining this information, a careful and detailed study was made of a few houses situated in different parts of the city. Three public-houses were selected for observation,[1] viz.—"A" in a slum district, "B" in a busy thoroughfare, and "C" in a broad street on the border-line between a working-class and a wealthier residential district.

We will consider the results of the study of these three houses in the order named.

Public-house "A"

This is a small, dingy-looking house situated in a narrow street in the heart of a slum district. It has two entrances. Behind the bar is a small and somewhat dirty parlour which accommodates about ten persons. No music is provided. In close proximity

[1] At the time the above investigation was made (July to August 1900), the writer was under the impression that the three houses selected were typical of the public-houses in the city generally. More recent inquiry has, however, shown him that the three houses selected represent not the *average* trade done, but the trade done in the *smaller* public-houses. There are many public-houses in York doing much more trade than the three referred to here.

to it is a working-men's club, where much drinking is indulged in, and within five minutes' walk of it are thirteen other public-houses; three of them within 100 yards. The house was watched on Saturday, July 7, 1900, for seventeen consecutive hours. During the busiest part of the day the work was undertaken by two investigators. 550 persons entered the house during the day, viz. 258 men, 179 women, and 113 children.[1] The numbers entering each hour were as under :—

NUMBERS ENTERING PUBLIC-HOUSE "A"

Hour.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
6 A.M. to 7.40 A.M.	..	..	..	..
7.40 ,, ,, 8 ,,	2	4	3	9
8 ,, ,, 9 ,,	9	5	2	16
9 ,, ,, 10 ,,	6	1	2	9
10 ,, ,, 11 ,,	5	1	5	11
11 ,, ,, 12 noon	8	4	6	18
12 noon ,, 1 P.M.	22	11	11	44
1 P.M. ,, 2 ,,	15	13	8	36
2 ,, ,, 3 ,,	15	13	8	36
3 ,, ,, 4 ,,	19	12	4	35
4 ,, ,, 5 ,,	10	10	8	28
5 ,, ,, 6 ,,	15	13	6	34
6 ,, ,, 7 ,,	25	12	5	42
7 ,, ,, 8 ,,	23	2	7	32
8 ,, ,, 9 ,,	19	14	10	43
9 ,, ,, 10 ,,	42	32	9	83
10 ,, ,, 11 ,,	23	32	19	74
Total	258	179	113	550
Percentage	47	32·5	20·5	100

It is thus seen that more than a third of the whole business was done between eight and eleven

[1] There were 40 return visits, viz. 17 men and 23 women, but these are not included in the above totals.

o'clock at night. There was also a little rush at dinner-time, and a fairly steady flow of customers during the afternoon. It will be noted that 38 children entered the house between eight and eleven at night.

Some rough idea of the extent to which "treating" is carried on may be perhaps gathered from the fact that 278 adults entered the house singly, 90 entered in couples, and 69 in parties of three or more; thus more than one-third of those who entered the house entered it in company. This house is evidently one where "social" drinking is carried on, for of the 258 men who entered, 158 remained in the house for more than a quarter of an hour. The proportion of women who stayed as long as this was, however, much smaller, only 44 of the 179 who entered staying in the house for so long a period.

It is, however, difficult to give any picture of the character of the trade done by means of figures. I therefore give a few extracts from the note-books of the investigators.[1]

"*July* 7, 5.55 A.M.—Lot of people about, going to work. Several men and women hanging about corner of public-house, but they disappear about 6.10 A.M. Public-house not opened till 7.40 A.M. Between 6 and 7 the door was tried by several men, but to no purpose. Publican evidently lax in principle of cleanliness; no attempt to remove evidence of previous day's traffic until 9 A.M. Children simply

[1] There were two investigators during the evening, one watching, the other taking down the numbers entering and making notes in shorthand to the other's dictation.

abound here. I count no less than thirteen sitting on public-house steps and on pavement opposite door.

"Between 10 and 11 A.M. several of the women residents are returning by way of —— Passage with bundles of all sizes and shapes, presumably from the pawnshop.

"Between 5 and 6 P.M. a woman was ejected. A row immediately ensued, the woman using language unfit for human ears. As usual a crowd of children were keenly enjoying the scene, which lasted for about three-quarters of an hour.

"About 6.45, detective, police sergeant, and policeman visited the house. This was the first and only time during the whole day that the house was under police supervision.

"Between 8.30 and 11 o'clock the house was simply packed with men and women shouting and singing, and although there were a few forcible ejections, there were no serious quarrels or rows."

On Sunday, July 15, 1900, this house was watched again, with the following results :—

NUMBERS ENTERING PUBLIC-HOUSE "A"

Hour.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
12.30 P.M. to 1.30 P.M. . .	31	10	12	53
1.30 ,, ,, 2.30 ,, . .	29	22	16	67
6 ,, ,, 7 ,, . .	19	4	4	27
7 ,, ,, 8 ,, . .	22	4	4	30
8 ,, ,, 9 ,, . .	18	9	15	42
9 ,, ,, 10 ,, . .	26	17	12	55
Total . .	145	66	63	274
Percentage .	53	24	23	100

These numbers show that while there is a considerable rush of customers during the hours 12.30

to 2.30 P.M., the attendance during the evening is considerably smaller than on Saturday night.

Of the 211 adults who went into the house, 46 entered in couples, and 10 in parties of three or more. Of the 145 men, 85 stayed in the house for a quarter of an hour or more, but only 2 out of the 66 women stayed so long.

The investigator's notes upon the day's watching were as follows :—

"*Sunday, July* 15, 1900, 12.15 P.M.—All the small shops are open as upon week-days, and appear to be doing a brisk business, especially fried-fish shops. Majority of women standing gossiping in the streets are in 'deshabille.' Children simply swarm—dirty and ill-clothed. During the dinner-time nothing happened out of the ordinary.

"In the evening there were several wordy battles between women neighbours, the language being very bad. Weather being very warm, men, women, and children are sitting on pavement most of the evening. Between 7 and 8 three men endeavoured to hold a gospel meeting, but retired after singing a hymn and giving a short address; the people apparently took no notice, but continued their conversations. Several men entered the public-house during the short time the meeting was on."

The same house was again watched on Wednesday, July 18, 1900, from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M. It was not thought necessary to watch it before 11 A.M., as the numbers entering were not likely to be materially different from the number who entered on the Saturday morning. The result of the watching is shown in the following table :—

NUMBERS ENTERING PUBLIC-HOUSE "A"

Hour.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
11 A.M. to noon	5	5	9	19
noon ,, 1 P.M.	15	4	6	25
1 P.M. ,, 2 ,,	12	2	8	22
2 ,, ,, 3 ,,	12	4	5	21
3 ,, ,, 4 ,,	8	3	5	16
4 ,, ,, 5 ,,	13	5	7	25
5 ,, ,, 6 ,,	10	5	12	27
6 ,, ,, 7 ,,	11	4	8	23
7 ,, ,, 8 ,,	20	8	7	35
8 ,, ,, 9 ,,	16	6	6	28
9 ,, ,, 10 ,,	22	18	14	54
10 ,, ,, 11 ,,	28	17	14	59
Total	172	81	101	354
Percentage	49	23	28	100

Of the 253 adults, 50 entered in couples, and 28 in parties of three or more. It is to be noticed that almost exactly half of the trade was done between 7 P.M. and 11 P.M. As was to be expected, the attendance on Wednesday was considerably less than on Saturday, the number entering between 11 A.M. and 11 P.M. on the latter day being 510 as compared with 354 on Wednesday. 79 of the men stayed in the house for fifteen minutes or more, but only two of the women.

It was clearly shown that when beer is required for consumption at home, it is practically always fetched by children. During the three days on which this house was watched, only one adult entered with a jug or can.

The following extract from the investigator's note-book must conclude the report of the study of this house :—

"*Wednesday, July* 18.—Very little to note, the conditions under which the people are living having been referred to in previous notes. Very few of the children who are utilised for the purpose of fetching drink exceed twelve years of age. The majority are wretchedly clothed and dirty. Between 9 and 11 P.M. the singing and shouting inside the 'pub,' was almost deafening."

Public-house "B"

This house has two entrances, both from main street. Behind the bar there is a smoke-room and a parlour, but no games or music are provided. The house is situated in a busy thoroughfare lined with small shops. This thoroughfare is close to a poor-class neighbourhood, and the trade done by the house is chiefly amongst the poor. There are fifteen public-houses within five minutes' walk of this one, and of these four are within 100 yards of it.

The house was watched on Thursday, August 9, 1900, from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M.; on Saturday, August 11, from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M.; and again on Sunday, August 12, during the hours when it was open. The total number of persons entering on each day was as follows:—

NUMBERS ENTERING PUBLIC-HOUSE "B"

	Thursday, August 9, 1900.				Saturday, August 11, 1900.				Sunday, August 12, 1900.			
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
A.M.												
6-7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7-8	...	...	...	...	11	3	...	14	...	...	...	...
8-9	...	...	...	...	12	5	...	17	...	...	...	...
9-10	...	...	...	...	21	6	...	27	...	...	...	...
10-11	...	...	...	...	13	11	...	24	...	...	...	...
11-12	12	5	1	18	15	13	2	30	...	...	...	...
P.M.												
12-1	12	7	...	19	26	15	2	43	47	8	12	67[1]
1-2	11	8	1	20	28	13	5	46	25	11	7	43[1]
2-3	14	9	...	23	34	19	3	56	...	...	...	...
3-4	15	6	...	21	37	13	2	52	...	...	...	...
4-5	19	7	...	26	36	15	1	52	...	...	...	...
5-6	29	12	...	41	36	14	2	52	...	...	...	...
6-7	12	7	2	21	31	9	3	43	26	7	2	35
7-8	32	29	1	62	39	16	3	58	36	13	2	51
8-9	35	19	3	57	48	13	3	64	57	26	6	89
9-10	40	17	4	61	57	18	2	77	41	16	2	59
10-11	33	19	2	54	48	16	4	68	...	...	...	...
Total	264	145	14	423	492	199	32	723	232	81	31	344
Percentage.	63	34	3	100	68	28	4	100	67	24	9	100

It will be noted that on each day two-thirds of the persons who entered were men. The comparatively small number of children entering the house is a satisfactory feature. Twice as many persons entered the house between noon and 7 P.M. on Saturday as on Thursday, but the average number of persons entering the house per hour *after* 7 P.M. is very much the same on each of the days.

The following table shows the number of adults who entered singly, or in couples, or larger parties,

[1] House open 12.30 to 2.30 P.M.

on each day, and thus gives some rough idea of the extent to which treating is practised :—

	Number of Adults entering			
	Singly.	In Couples.	In Parties of Three or more.	Total.
Thursday . . .	224	122	63	409
Saturday . . .	328	196	167	691
Sunday . . .	118	102	93	313
Total . .	670	420	323	1413

We thus see that more than half of those who entered the house were in parties of two, three, or more.

The large proportion of persons who stayed in the house for more than a quarter of an hour shows to how large an extent the house is used for "social" drinking.

NUMBER WHO STAYED IN HOUSE FOR MORE THAN FIFTEEN MINUTES[1]

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Thursday . .	82	60	142
Saturday . .	149	74	223
Sunday . .	77	22	99

Thus it is seen that more than half of the adults who entered the house stayed longer than a quarter of an hour.

The whole of the drink sold for "off" consumption was fetched by the children; no adults went in with jugs during the three days.

[1] These figures do not relate to those who entered after 8 P.M., as the failing light prevented the investigators from identifying the individuals.

The investigators state that this house is conducted in a more orderly way than the one previously considered, but, nevertheless, there was a good deal of noisy quarrelling in the evenings. On Thursday night one drunken woman was ejected.

The weather during the three days was fine, except for a sudden shower which occurred about 10 P.M. on Saturday, when no less than 30 persons crowded into the house within five minutes, 12 of them women.

Public-house "C"

This house is situated at the corner of two streets; one of these is a narrow street of small workmen's cottages, the other a broad street, the thoroughfare to a wealthier residential district. There are three entrances, two into the broad thoroughfare and one into the narrow street. There is a smoke-room behind the bar. No musical or other entertainments are provided in this house. There are ten other public-houses within five minutes' walk of this one—four of them are within 100 yards of it.

This house was watched from 11 A.M. to 11 P.M. on Thursday, July 26, 1900; from 7 A.M. to 11 P.M. on Saturday, July 28; and during all the time that it was open on Sunday, July 29.

The following table shows the number of persons entering the house during each hour on these days:—

NUMBERS ENTERING PUBLIC-HOUSE "C"

	Thursday, July 26, 1900.				Saturday, July 28, 1900.				Sunday, July 29, 1900.			
	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
A.M.												
6-7	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
7-8 (opened 7.45)	...	...	...	...	4	...	...	4	...	...	...	...
8-9	...	...	...	...	23	...	...	23	...	...	...	...
9-10	...	...	...	...	18	2	1	21	...	...	...	...
10-11	...	...	...	...	28	5	2	35	...	...	...	...
11-12	25	9	3	37	32	5	4	41	...	...	...	...
P.M.												
12-1	31	4	5	40	28	11	6	45	42[1]	8	13	63
1-2	20	3	3	26	26	8	2	36	18[1]	5	6	29
2-3	16	3	3	22	23	4	3	30	...	...	...	...
3-4	23	1	...	24	27	9	4	40	...	...	...	...
4-5	23	1	2	26	29	7	3	39	...	...	...	...
5-6	35	1	1	37	33	5	3	41	...	...	...	...
6-7	16	3	1	20	45	9	6	60	34	1	2	37
7-8	31	7	4	42	34	11	6	51	56	8	3	67
8-9	57	2	6	65	59	15	8	82	76	7	5	88
9-10	53	10	5	68	52	10	7	69	30	6	4	40
10-11	35	7	3	45	47	13	6	66	...	...	...	...
Total	365	51	36	452	508	114	61	683	256	35	33	324
Percentage	81	11	8	100	74	17	9	100	79	11	10	100

It will be noticed that in this house more than three-fourths of the persons who entered were men; and probably even this does not adequately represent the proportion of the drinking which is done by the men, for, unlike the other houses watched, there is a considerable jug trade done here; of the 200 women who entered on the three days, no less than 94 carried away beer in jugs. Altogether, of the persons who entered the house *for the purpose of drinking*, 91 per cent were men and only 9 per cent were women. Moreover, only 5 of the women who entered the house

[1] 12.30 to 1.30 and 1.30 to 2.30.

during the three days stayed as long as a quarter of an hour, and 4 of these were accompanied by men. On the other hand, out of 822 men who entered, 303 stayed for more than fifteen minutes.[1] The figures which concern the drinking of women are in striking contrast to those obtained in connection with public-house "A," situated, it will be remembered, in the slums, and where 36 per cent of the adults entering were women. They point to the comparatively small amount of public-house drinking done by women in the more respectable working-class districts.

The following table gives some idea of the extent to which "treating" is practised, by showing the number of adults who entered singly or in company:—

	Entered Singly.	Entered in Couples.	Entered in Parties of Three or more.	Total.
Thursday . . .	220	158	48	426
Saturday . . .	317	200	101	618
Sunday . . .	150	82	59	291
Total . .	687	440	208	1335

It is noticeable that the numbers entering alone are almost the same as those entering in company.

The following general notes were made by the investigator:—

"*Thursday, July* 26.—Blazing hot day. The customers throughout the whole day were chiefly composed of respectable artisans and clerks. The house seems to be managed

[1] Returns under this head were not obtained after 8 P.M. on Thursday and Saturday on account of failing light.

in an exemplary manner. The women and children were all respectably dressed and of cleanly appearance.

"*Saturday, July* 28.—Cold, cheerless day. Heavy rain during afternoon. Customers throughout day were same type as on Thursday. No disturbance or advanced stage of intoxication.

"*Sunday, July* 29.—The first hour was exceedingly busy, but all conducted themselves quietly and with decorum.

"Between 7 P.M. and 9 P.M. there was a constant stream of men going in and out, majority stopping; in fact, so great was the pressure that many brought their drink outside and stood upon the pavement and roadway. No cases of extreme drunkenness occurred."

Clubs

There are eighteen clubs in York at which drink is procurable; in addition to these there are a few clubs conducted on teetotal principles, of which the largest is the Central Liberal Club with over 400 members.

The following remarks will be confined to the eighteen clubs where drink is procurable. Of these, three are not frequented by the working classes, one is an agricultural club used chiefly as a meeting-place for business purposes, five are political (four Conservative and one Liberal), and nine are drinking clubs, *i.e.* they exist largely for the purpose of providing drinking facilities. The political clubs are all respectably conducted, and heavy drinking does not take place in them. Two of the nine drinking clubs are in a very poor part of the city, and are

largely frequented by Irish labourers. Entrance to them is jealously guarded, and exact information regarding the number of members or conditions of membership cannot be given. The police, however, state that beer is taken into the clubs in quantities of several barrels at a time, and that much drunkenness occurs in them. Drunken men have been seen through the windows of one of these clubs lying on the wooden forms, but the members are careful not to allow any one to leave the club until he is sober enough to escape the risk of a summons for being drunk in the streets. Often members will remain in the club through the night, and even from Saturday until Monday.

The other seven drinking clubs are all situated in the newer working-class districts of the city; four of them were opened in 1900. They are frequented by working men, both skilled workers and general labourers, and some of them to a small extent by clerks. All except one are fairly respectably conducted. There is heavy drinking, but very little actual drunkenness or disorder. The bars are as a rule closed at 11 P.M. on week-days and 10 P.M. on Sundays, though sometimes members stay in the clubs until 12 or 1 o'clock playing cards. The police are of opinion that, with the exception of one club, not much systematic betting is carried on. No women are admitted into any of the clubs.

It is notoriously difficult to obtain accurate information regarding the membership of working-

WORKING MEN'S CLUB BALANCE SHEET for Year 1899

INCOME.

To Balance from last Account	£200	7	0½
„ Steward's Takings	2273	16	4
„ Contributions	84	3	0
„ Proposition Fees	7	5	0
„ Cards and Rules	1	17	3
„ Associate and Pass Cards, etc.	0	18	11½
„ Insurance Cases	0	12	0
„ Billiards	27	5	10
„ Repairs to Billiard Cue	0	1	0
, Hospital and Dispensary Box	3	5	6½
„ Subscription to Annual Tea	18	6	6
„ Library Fines and Catalogues	1	19	7
„ Costs incurred on resignation of Steward	0	19	6
„ Bank Interest	1	19	0
„ Bank Cheques	0	2	4
„ Miscellaneous	0	12	6½
„ Collection for Wives and Families of Army Reservists (Members)	4	11	3
„ Bar Committee Christmas Orders	116	2	7½

EXPENDITURE.

By Brewers	£1071	17	2
„ Wine and Spirit Merchants	407	16	8
„ „ „	109	14	10
„ Mineral Waters	87	1	6
„ Cider	7	7	3
„ Christmas Goods	15	13	6
„ Tobacco, Cigars, Cigarettes, Matches, Pipes, etc.	85	16	6
„ Meat Pies	14	11	4
„ Biscuits	0	2	0
„ Coal, Coke, Gas, and Firewood	36	12	0
„ Sugar and Soap	3	11	10
„ "Yorkshire Relish"	1	5	6
„ Household, Cellar, and Bar Requisites	20	8	0½
„ Towels, Dusters, etc.	1	14	4
„ Furniture, Fixings, Fittings, and Games	81	17	1
„ Alterations and Repairs to Premises, Furniture, etc.	76	11	5
„ Rates and Taxes	22	10	2
„ Reductions on Mortgages	34	0	0
„ Interest on Mortgages	17	18	0
„ Insurance on £1500	1	5	0
„ Concert Expenses	28	13	8
„ Newspapers and Periodicals	14	2	5½
„ Library Books	27	14	5
„ Printing, Cards, etc.	22	18	7
„ Stationery, etc.	4	10	10½
„ Club Union, London	8	5	4
„ Stewards' Wages	106	0	0
„ Billiard Marker's Wages	17	11	0
„ Committee's Allowances	28	15	0
„ Auditors	2	8	0
„ Grants—			
Bar Committee Services during last Half-Year	3	0	0
Special Secretarial Duties rendered	20	0	0
Services in respect to Christmas Orders	3	7	6
Sub-Committee to recover Club Books	0	10	0
Hospital and Dispensary	7	4	0

	Towards expenses of endeavour to obtain a Board School for this District	3	3	0
	Prizes for Games	7	10	0
	Angling Association for Prizes	5	0	0
	Exhibition Game at Billiards	0	7	6
	Library Committee	1	10	0
	Games ,,	1	10	0
	Special Services rendered to Club	5	0	0
	Billiard Handicap	1	10	0
	Prize for Christmas Pigeon Sweep	1	0	0
,	Salaries—			
	Secretary	20	0	0
	Treasurer	15	0	0
	Assistant Secretary	10	0	0
	President	5	0	0
	Bar Committee	6	0	0
	Librarian	2	15	0
„	Postage, Carriage on Goods, etc., per Secretary	1	7	6
„	Postage as per Treasurer	0	6	0
„	Sundries	5	2	2½
„	Wives of Army Reservists	8	3	0
„	Christmas Cake and Cheese	4	9	7
„	Club Excursions	93	15	0
„	Refreshment Checks in connection with Club Excursion	13	10	0
„	Glass Flasks	0	11	0
„	Balance in Bank	124	15	3
„	,, hands of Secretary	13	4	3½
		£2744	5	3½

ASSETS.

By	Stock of Refreshments	£86	6	6
„	Furniture and Fixtures	590	0	0
„	Cash in Bank	124	15	3
„	,, hands of Treasurer	13	4	3½
„	Club Premises	962	10	0
		£1776	16	0½
„	Depreciation of Furniture	30	0	0
		£1746	16	0½

		£2744	5	3½

LIABILITIES.

To	Mortgages	£425	15	0
„	Alterations, Repairs, and Sundry Work (about)	12	10	0
,	Gas Co.	9	14	2
„	Assets over Liabilities	1298	16	10½
		£1746	16	0½

Total Number of Financial Members, 434 ; decrease on year, 1.

men's clubs, or the amount of drink consumed in them. The writer has, however, obtained the statement of Income and Expenditure and Balance Sheet of one of the seven clubs referred to above, for the year 1899, which may prove of interest (see previous page).

On the debit side of these accounts we notice items for intoxicating drink amounting to £1612, mineral waters £87, and other refreshments £24. £86 was spent on cigars, tobacco, etc., and £42 on newspapers and books on loan. Amongst the items of expenditure for objects outside the club we notice £1 paid as a prize for a Christmas pigeon sweep, £7 : 4s. subscribed to the hospital and dispensary, and £8 : 3s. paid to the wives of members who were serving as reservists in South Africa. This expenditure is largely met by special collections.

On the credit side of the account we notice that stewards' takings amounted in the year to £2274 or £5 : 8 : 10 per member for the 417 members.

In the second half of the year the gross profit on refreshments sold was £374, or 38 per cent upon their purchase price.

The expenditure per head would have been greatly increased, and the gross profits have shown an enormously higher percentage, were it not for the fact that the prices paid for drink by the members are lower by about 33 per cent than those ordinarily charged in public-houses.

Particulars were obtained regarding the number

of persons entering this club during the hours when it was open on Sunday, August 12, 1900.

From 9 to 10 A.M.	133 men entered,	44	of them bringing out jugs or bottles.
,, 12.30 to 2.30 P.M.	202	,,	103	
,, 6 P.M. to 10 P.M.	266	,,	101	

The total number who entered the club during the seven hours it was open was therefore 601, and it is important to notice that of these no less than 248 brought out drink in jugs or bottles.

There is no reliable evidence to show how far this particular club is representative of the other drinking clubs in the city. The total membership of these is 1334,[1] and from this fact some idea of the total amount of drink consumed in drinking clubs in York can be arrived at; and it must be remembered that in addition to the drinking clubs a considerable amount of drink is also consumed in the five political clubs. These have an aggregate membership of over 1200.

Grocers' Licenses

As previously stated, there are 101 "off" licenses in the city. Fifty-one of these are grocers' licenses.

With a view to studying the class of trade done, a grocer's shop with an "off" beer, wine, and spirit license was watched for twelve hours, viz. for seven hours on Tuesday, September 4, 1900, and for five hours on Wednesday, September 5. The house is

[1] In the case of *one* of the clubs, the exact membership was not ascertained, but from information obtained, has been estimated at 100.

at the corner of two streets, in the centre of a very respectable working-class district, on the outskirts of the city. The investigator was able to take up a position from which he could see right into the shop, and could see the people being served; there was therefore no difficulty in distinguishing between those customers who went in for groceries and those who purchased beer or spirits. Altogether, 223 persons purchased beer or spirits during the twelve hours, viz. 61 men, 79 women, and 83 children. The numbers entering each hour were as under:—

Time.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
11 A.M. to 12 noon . . .	3	10	7	20
Noon to 1 P.M. . . .	6	8	9	23
1 P.M. to 2 P.M. . . .	3	6	7	16
2 ,, 3 ,, . . .	4	5	2	11
3 ,, 4 ,, . . .	2	1	7	10
4 ,, 5 ,, . . .	2	5	7	14
5 ,, 6 ,, . . .	3	6	9	18
6 ,, 7 ,, . . .	5	4	8	17
7 ,, 8 ,, . . .	6	8	10	24
8 ,, 9 ,, . . .	9	8	5	22
9 ,, 10 ,, . . .	11	9	7	27
10 ,, 11 ,, . . .	7	9	5	21
Total .	61	79	83	223
Percentage .	27·35	35·42	37·22	...

Regarding the 83 children, the investigator remarks in his notes, "the majority were very young, in several cases their age could not be more than five years." Practically all the adult people who entered were respectable working-class people.

(*b*) Education

The following brief review of education in York will enable the reader to estimate how its educational facilities compare with those provided in other towns.

No School Board was established in York until 1889, that is, nineteen years after the passing of Mr. Forster's Education Act. A few schools did excellent work, but the general state of education in the city was low. Since 1889, however, the standard of education in York has greatly improved, and is now probably equal to the average of other towns.

The Act providing for free elementary education was passed in 1891. There are now twenty-one *free* elementary schools in York, viz.—

	Number of Places provided.	Number of Children on Registers, October 1900.
5 Board Schools (1 of them in temporary premises) . . .	5,306	4,958
14 Voluntary Schools (Church of England)	5,288	5,186
2 Voluntary Schools (Roman Catholic)	1,815	1,252
Total .	12,409	11,396

In addition to the above, there are eight elementary schools which are not free (seven Church of England and one Wesleyan), providing accommodation for 3213 children, and having 2039 on their registers

in October 1900. In one of these schools there are no fees, but a charge is made for copy and exercise books; in the others the fees vary from 1d. a week to 7s. 6d. a quarter.

The percentage of attendance in the schools during the last three years has been as under :—

Year.	Voluntary Schools.	Board Schools.	Average.
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
1898	84	91	86½
1899	85	91	87
1900	84	88	86

During the twelve years 1889-1900, the percentage of attendance at the Voluntary Schools averaged 83·66 and in the Board Schools 89·15. Both figures compare favourably with the percentage of attendance in London, where in 1899 the average attendance was 79·2 per cent in Voluntary and 82·1 per cent in Board Schools.

The system of having "half-timers," so prevalent in the West Riding and in Lancashire, is fortunately quite unknown in York.

In connection with the present investigation every elementary school in York has been visited.

The Board Schools are conspicuous, well-planned buildings of red brick, standing in ample playgrounds. They constitute one of the architectural features of the city. In his Annual Report to the Government, H.M. late Inspector of Schools for the York district referred to them as follows: "The city of York now contains, in addition to the old, and in most

cases poor, voluntary premises, four large groups of schools provided by the Board. The buildings are all good, but in the case of three groups the adjective 'good' hardly affords a fair description. These three, constructed on the class-room system with large central halls, provided with admirable apparatus, ventilated by the most modern and scientific method, and though costly, yet planned, built, and equipped without any undue or thoughtless extravagance, reflect the highest credit upon the Board and its officials."[1]

The Voluntary School buildings are, as stated by H.M. late Inspector, "old, and in most cases poor." Some of them are in narrow streets and have hardly any playground. In many of them two or more classes have to be held in one room, and the schools lack modern equipments; indeed the Inspector in his Report speaks of one of these schools as "an ill-ventilated and ill-equipped shed." Of course there are exceptions; one class-room recently added to a Voluntary School is both excellent and artistic; the floor is blocked wood, the walls are wainscoted in green, the two fireplaces are surrounded by glazed bricks. The windows are large and receive all the sunlight, and naturally the scholars reflect the brightness of their surroundings. A bright, clean school always tends to induce personal cleanliness in the children, and it is to be regretted that so many children are still being trained amidst dingy, and in

[1] Quoted in the Third Triennial Report of the York School Board, p. 11.

a few cases dirty, surroundings. Too often the home life of the child is spent amidst dirt and slovenliness, and its only chance of seeing and learning to appreciate clean, airy, orderly rooms is at school.

No child is allowed to come to the Board Schools with dirty hands or face, and though its clothes may be much darned and patched, they must be clean and must not be ragged, a regulation which has a salutary effect both on the children and their parents. Unfortunately in some of the Voluntary Schools no such regulations are enforced.

In spite of poor buildings and equipment many Voluntary Schools obtain the "excellent" grant, but as a rule specific subjects are not taught in them as they are in the Board Schools.

For the past three years all the Board Schools have earned the highest possible grants.

Board Schools: Curriculum.—Under the new Code the obligatory subjects are reading, writing, and arithmetic, with drawing for boys and needlework for girls. Also one of the "class subjects" mentioned under the head of "optional subjects" must be taught to Standards 1, 2, and 3, by means of object lessons.

The optional subjects, all of which are taught in the Board Schools, are: singing by note, recitation, English, geography, elementary science, history, and, in the case of girls, domestic economy. In the upper classes of the schools the following subjects are taken by individual children: elementary science, domestic

science, French, and drill; also cookery by girls, and manual instruction by boys.

Advanced kindergarten work is taught in the lower standards, and science and art classes are held for the advanced scholars in three schools. Instruction in swimming and life-saving is given to both girls and boys at the Corporation Baths, to which scholars in the Board Schools can obtain admission out of school hours at the reduced charge of 1d.[1]

The religious instruction in the Board Schools is of course unsectarian; the whole school assembles in the morning in the central hall, the children marching in to a band of their own (the instruments are not provided out of the rates). After saluting the head-master and teachers a hymn is sung, some simple prayers are said, and then the children disperse to their class-rooms for half an hour's religious instruction based on selected parts of the Bible. The following extract is taken from the "general principles" laid down by the Board regarding the religious instruction to be given in their schools:—

"The greatest importance will be attached by the Board to the moral and religious teaching and training. In all departments the teachers are expected to bring up the children in habits of punctuality, of good manners and language, of cleanliness and neatness, and also to impress upon the children the importance of cheerful obedience to

[1] This privilege, being the outcome of an arrangement between the Board and the Corporation, is not enjoyed by children attending Voluntary Schools.

duty, of consideration and respect for others, and of honour and truthfulness in word and act.

"A syllabus is given for the general guidance and assistance of teachers, and they are expected to use the Bible for illustrations whereby to teach these duties, for sanctions by which what is taught may be practised, and for instruction concerning the help given by God to lead a sober, righteous, and godly life."

Almost all the classes were marked "excellent" in religious instruction in 1900 by the Diocesan Inspector, who undertakes the examination.

Particulars of the Curriculum in Voluntary Schools cannot be given, but, as stated above, optional or "specific" subjects are only taught in a few schools. None of the Voluntary Schools havs cookery or manual instruction centres, but the cookery centres belonging to the Board are made use of by ten of the Voluntary Schools, and the manual instruction centres by two of them.

The Board Schools are well staffed according to English ideas. There are seventy-three certificated teachers, sixteen ex-pupil teachers, thirty-five pupil teachers, and one each of "Article 68," "Article 52," and "Article 51" teachers.[1] Special classes for the instruction of pupil teachers are held on three days

[1] "*Article* 68" implies that the teacher possesses no teaching certificate, but that he or she is over eighteen years of age, and that he or she is approved of by the Inspector.

"*Article* 52" implies that the teacher has passed the Queen's Scholarship Examination and taken the first year's certificate.

"*Article* 51" implies that the teacher has passed the Oxford and Cambridge Local Examination and has a provisional certificate.

in each week. Details regarding the qualifications of the Voluntary School teachers are not available. It is said that properly qualified teachers are difficult to obtain in these schools, but this is merely a question of making the salary and position sufficiently attractive. It is known that the proportion of qualified teachers is smaller than in the Board Schools.

Although children in York probably remain at school as long as in other English towns, the age at which they leave is in most cases lamentably low—only a minority staying after they are fourteen years of age. Consequently, as pointed out on p. 75, but few of them acquire any thirst for knowledge or the power of sustained reading or study.

Of the 1283 children who left three of the Board Schools during the years 1898-1900, 595 or 46 per cent had reached or passed Standard VII. The curriculum in Standard VII. varies slightly. The following is a list of the subjects taught in one of the Board Schools:—(1) Reading (general). (2) Writing and composition—original essays on common objects. (3) Arithmetic—vulgar and decimal fractions, percentages, and stocks. (4) Grammar—parsing and analysis of a complex sentence, suffixes and affixes. (5) Geography—the continent of Asia. (6) English History—Reign of Queen Victoria. (7) Recitation—150 lines from standard poet. (8) Singing from note in either notation. (9) Drawing (boys)—freehand, model, and geometry. (10) Needlework

(girls)—all the work done in the lower standards, and in addition how to make and fix a gusset, cut out a garment, darn on coarse linen a "diagonal cut," and on a woollen material a "hedge tear." (11) French—names of familiar objects, common phrases, conversation, easy grammar, translation. (12) Drill as in Board of Education scheme. (13) Domestic Economy, a variety of subjects as in Code 1900, Stage III., viz. — nursing, bandaging, ambulance, food stuffs, etc. (14) Elementary Science—the elements of physiography, chemistry, botany, and laws of health. Some of the Voluntary Schools have no standard higher than Standard VI.

Regarding the age at which children leave school, no child is exempt from school under 14 years of age, unless it has previously passed the Labour Examination and obtained the Labour Certificate. These certificates are not given to children under 12 years of age. The Labour Examinations are held annually, and are based upon the work usually done in Standard VI.

About 10 per cent of the total number of children leaving school each year in York obtain Labour Certificates, and so leave school before they are 14.

Cost of Education

Board Schools.—The total expenditure incurred by the School Board in 1900 was as follows:—

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Salaries of teachers	10,386	6	10			
Books, apparatus, stationery, and furniture	752	3	11			
Fuel, light, cleaning, and repairs to buildings	1,796	6	6			
Rates, taxes, and insurance	415	16	2			
Expenses of administration	1,214	17	8			
Other expenses of maintenance of schools	302	7	7			
Other payments	51	19	0			
				14,919	17	8
Contributions to institutions for the blind and deaf	199	7	8			
Contributions to industrial schools	664	19	4			
				864	7	0
Annual repayment of loans and interest	3,059	9	1			
				3,059	9	1
Total				18,843	13	9

The average number of children on the register was 4921; thus the total cost of education per child on the register was £3 : 16 : 7.

The School Board rate in York for the year ending March 1900 was 8d. in the pound.[1]

Voluntary Schools.—The following particulars taken from the *York Churchman's Almanac for* 1901 refer to Church of England Schools only. The total cost of the Church Schools for 1900, including the

[1] It is interesting to compare the School Board rate in York with the rates in some other towns. The following figures refer to the year 1900-1901.

School Board Rate

	s.	d.		s.	d.
Birkenhead	0	6	Leeds	1	3½
Bradford	1	3⅝	Liverpool	0	9
Bristol	1	2¼	Manchester	0	10 1/10
Darlington	1	0¾	Middlesboro'	1	1½
Derby	0	10¾	Sheffield	1	1
Dewsbury	1	0¼	Sunderland	0	10
Gateshead	1	2	Wakefield	0	5½
Halifax	1	6¼	West Ham	2	2¾
Huddersfield	1	1	York	0	8

Elementary Church Schools which are not free, was as follows :—

Principal teachers	£4,155
Assistant and pupil teachers	5,255
Monitors and other teachers	281
Books and apparatus	748
Fuel, light, and cleaning	784
Repairs	545
Rates, taxes, and insurance	67
Other expenses	394
Total	£12,229 [1]

The average number of children on the register of the schools was 6889; the average cost of education per child was therefore £1 : 15 : 6.

The income of the Church Schools in 1900 was £12,208, received from the following sources :—

	Amount.	Per Cent.
Government grants	£5,742	47·0
Fee grant and Aid grant	4,526	37·1
Subscriptions	494	4·1
Grants from societies	484	4·0
Church collections	62	·5
School pence	490	4·0
Grants from Science and Art Department	16	·1
From other sources	394	3·2
Total	£12,208	100·0

Defective Children.—There is no provision in York for the teaching of "defective" children, but

[1] The amount of balance overdrawn on October 1, 1899, was £4378.

under the requirements of the Blind and Deaf Children Act, 1893, twelve such children are sent by the Board to be educated in existing institutions. The cost to the city of their education amounts to between £300 and £400 a year. There are, however, in some of the York schools special classes for teaching backward children. In one school in 1899 there was a class of thirty children, between eight and nine years old, who had hitherto succeeded in evading the vigilance of the School Board officers, and who could neither read nor write.

Continuation Schools.—As stated on page 74, Evening Continuation Classes have been held in York during the last few years under the auspices of the School Board. The number of students on the books during the last four sessions was as under :—

1897-98	496
1898-99	400
1899-00	595
1900-01	668

The following subjects are taught in these Classes :—Writing, Shorthand, Arithmetic, Book-keeping, Music, Drawing, Physical Drill, French, Dressmaking and Needlework, Cookery, Woodwork, Ambulance, and Mensuration.

(*c*) Church Census

Many church-workers have long been impressed by the smallness of the number of men, and, to a lesser extent, women, who come under the direct influence of the Christian churches. The writer is aware that this influence is a subtle factor, and that it is not possible to measure even the direct influence of organised Christianity as a social and moral force, but it is of obvious interest in connection with the present social investigation that some rough idea of the extent of that influence should be formed.

The writer accordingly organised a Church Census in York on two Sundays, viz. March 17 and 24, 1901, and ascertained the number of persons attending public worship on those two days. The census was confined to adults, *i.e.* to persons who were apparently above sixteen years of age, and included all sections of the population. The weather on both Sundays was dull but not wet, and therefore favourable to church attendance. All the churches and chapels in York were included in the census,[1] viz.—

[1] The figures regarding two churches and two chapels refer to a later date, the enumerators who had undertaken to visit these places of worship on the census Sundays having been prevented from doing so. The mission meetings referred to are permanent institutions, with a number of regular worshippers. During the winter 1900-1 a mission was conducted in the York theatre, the services being held in the evening after church hours. But as this mission was of an exceptional character, and was commenced only towards the end of 1900, and, so far as the theatre is concerned, discontinued in April 1901 (although a much smaller mission was commenced in one of the public halls on its discontinuance), it was felt that a false impression would be given if the number of persons attending it were included in the census.

3 Roman Catholic churches.
23 Anglican churches.
16 Nonconformist chapels.
2 Salvation Army "barracks," and
7 Mission halls.

The result of the census will be best considered under two heads, viz.—

(*a*) The attendance at church, chapel, or mission services.
(*b*) „ „ Bible classes.

(*a*) *The Attendance at Church, Chapel, or Mission Services.*—The total number of adults who attended church, chapel, or mission on the morning of March 17 was 6964, and on the morning of March 24, 7666. The numbers in the evening were 9485 and 10,006 respectively. The average morning attendance for the two Sundays was therefore 7315, and for the evening 9745.[1] The following tables give an analysis of these figures.

MORNING

	March 17.		March 24.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Roman Catholic . . .	495	724	648	879
Church of England . . .	1186	1996	1164	2128
Nonconformist . . .	1314	1116	1442	1303
Salvation Army and Missions .	91	42	68	34
Total . .	3086	3878	3322	4344

[1] The numbers refer to the principal morning and evening services only. In some of the churches early Communion services were held in addition to the regular morning and evening services, but the persons who attended were not counted, as it was considered that they would be for the most part regular churchgoers, and would be present at one or both of the other services.

EVENING

	March 17.		March 24.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Roman Catholic . . .	405	462	395	712
Church of England . . .	1486	2733	1431	2782
Nonconformist . . .	1653	2026	1824	2216
Salvation Army and Missions .	298	422	290	356
Total . .	3842	5643	3940	6066

AVERAGE ATTENDANCE

	Men.	Per Cent.	Women.	Per Cent.
Morning	3204	44	4111	56
Evening	3891	40	5854	60
Total . .	7095	42	9965	58

This table shows that, taking the figures as a whole, 58 per cent of the total number of attendances at places of worship were made by women and 42 per cent by men. It is interesting to note that the preponderance of women is practically confined to the Roman Catholics, the Church of England, and the Salvation Army (taking morning and evening services together).

	Total Attendances for both Sundays.		Percentage.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Roman Catholic . . .	1,943	2,777	41	59
Church of England . .	5,267	9,639	35	65
Nonconformist . . .	6,233	6,661	49	51
Salvation Army and Missions .	747	854	46	54
	14,190	19,931		

Of these total attendances—

14	per cent	were made	by	those	attending Roman Catholic services.
43	"	"	"	"	Church of England services.
38	"	"	"	"	Nonconformist services.
5	"	"	"	"	Salvation Army and Mission services.

Of course, the above figures do not represent the number of *persons* attending places of worship, for some would attend both morning and evening services. The exact number who attended twice on each Sunday is not known, but inquiry among those connected with various churches, chapels, etc., has elicited the opinion that upon the average about half the morning congregation attend again in the evening. This figure is a mere estimate; but assuming it to be accurate, we obtain 13,402 as the average attendance of adults at places of worship on each Sunday, that is, 28 per cent of the adult population of York.[1]

In carrying out this census an attempt was made to ascertain the *working-class attendance*, and the enumerator at each place of worship was asked to discriminate as far as possible in his returns between the "working" and "upper" classes. The results show that 66 per cent of the total attendance were made by the working class and 34 per cent by the "upper" class. Obviously any such differentiation —based as it was merely upon appearances—must be a rough one, and too much importance must not

[1] The Preliminary Report of the 1901 census gives the population of York as 77,793. Details of this figure are not to hand at the time of writing, but assuming that the age distribution of the population is the same as it was in 1891, the number of persons over sixteen years of age, excluding those in public institutions, will be about 48,000.

be attached to it. Nevertheless the figures are interesting, and tend to show that the proportion of the population who attend public worship is very much the same in both the "working" and "upper" classes.[1]

(*b*) *Bible Classes.*—As so many of those who attend Bible classes also attend a place of worship, it was considered unnecessary to obtain complete returns. Particulars have therefore only been obtained regarding the attendance at the principal Bible classes in the city. The average attendance at these, according to the class registers for the first three months of 1901, was as follows:—

Men . . .	739
Women . . .	225

These figures are not far short of the total number regularly attending such classes in York.

(*d*) Trade Unions

It was felt by the writer that an account of the economic and social conditions of the working classes in York would be incomplete without a statement regarding Trade Unionism in the city. A large amount of information under this head has therefore been collected, but from considerations of space, only such facts will be here set forth as have a bearing

[1] It will be remembered (see p. 26) that 67 per cent of the total population of York belong to the working classes.

upon the main problem dealt with in this volume, viz. the problem of poverty.

It was found by the writer to be a difficult task to gather accurate information regarding the numerical strength and the conditions of membership of the various Trade Unions. Some were exceedingly averse to imparting information. In the case of one or two others, the affairs of which were chiefly managed by the general secretary in London, the local secretary appeared to have but little knowledge regarding the points inquired about.

But in spite of difficulties it is believed that the following information is accurate and practically complete.

The number of Trade Unionists in York in March 1899 was as follows :—

Skilled workers . . .	2093
Unskilled workers . . .	446
Total .	2539 [1]

There are no women members of Trade Unions in York, although in some of them (*e.g.* the Tailors' and the Gas Workers' and General Labourers' Union) women are eligible for membership.

The proportion of Trade Unionists in York to the total population is somewhat below that which obtains for the United Kingdom generally, as is seen from the following figures :—

[1] Further detailed particulars regarding the Trade Unions in York will be found in Appendix H.

	Population in 1899.	Ascertained Trade Unionists in 1899.	Number of Trade Unionists per 100 of Population.
York . . .	75,812	2,539	3·3
United Kingdom .	40,630,247	1,804,768	4·4

This would appear to be due in part to the fact that a considerable proportion of the working classes in York are engaged in the manufacture of confectionery, a trade in which there is no combination amongst the workers either in York or elsewhere.

The following Unions have enrolled practically all the possible members in the city, viz.—

	Members.	Remarks.
Plasterers	57	Enrolled all but 1.
Blue Tile Slaters . . .	24	,, ,, 3.
Boiler Makers . . .	76	,, all competent.
Flint Glass Makers . .	86	...
Typographical Association .	141	,, all but 20.
Bricklayers	233	,, all but about 6.
Bricklayers' Labourers . .	346	...

There have been no serious strikes in recent years. A serious one threatened amongst the North-Eastern Railway servants in 1897, but was averted, the matters in dispute between the Company and the men being settled by arbitration.

A Trades Council was established in the city in 1890. It consisted in 1899 of 18 affiliated societies, representing nearly 2000 Trade Unionists. Its influence is mainly educative and stimulative. Since its inauguration it has been busy arranging labour demonstrations, running labour candidates at

Municipal, School Board, and Board of Guardians elections, communicating with the city members on questions of labour legislation, and giving its consideration and advice to all York Societies that engaged in disputes. In some instances it has acted as mediator; in others its offer to do so has been refused by the Masters' Association, notably by the Master Plumbers in 1894. At the outset it succeeded in getting a fair wage clause passed both by the Streets and Buildings Committee of the York Corporation and by the York School Board, and it ventilated the subject of sweated clothing for the police. From time to time it has assisted in the attempt to form new Trade Unions in York.

The funds of the Trades Council are raised by a levy on all the financial members of the affiliated Societies.

In trade matters its powers are very limited, and are simply advisory.

(*e*) Co-operation

There is no co-operative production in York, but co-operative distribution has made great progress in the city during the last twelve years, with the result that now (1901) the membership of the Society stands at 7450, representing more than 7400 families.

The Society was founded in 1858, with a membership of nine. Business was commenced at 14 Market Street in March of the following year, the members then numbering 130, with a share capital of £26 : 4 : 3.

For over a quarter of a century the Society's history was one of continual struggle and difficulty. In 1883 the Society became a member of the Co-operative Wholesale Society, and a change of management was made which somewhat improved matters.

The year 1888 appears to have been the turning point in the Society's career, as during that year the membership more than doubled, and considerable improvement was manifested in the sales and profits, and a reserve fund was also inaugurated. From this time the growth of the Society has been rapid and continuous, as the following figures testify :—

	No. of Stores.	No. of Members.	Share Capital.	Reserve Fund.	Sales.
			£	£	£
1888	1	438	635	4	3,420
1893	6	2669	8,069	386	44,558
1898	16	5800	37,895	3082	124,513
1899	18	6666	48,122	3566	140,211
1900	21	7250	59,887	2213[1]	167,337

Since 1894 the profits of each quarter have allowed a bonus of 2s. 4d. in the pound (except once when the bonus was 2s. 3d.), and during the last seven years £86,417 has been divided amongst the members, in addition to 5 per cent interest on their shares.

[1] Transfer of £2000 made to depreciation account.

There is a Penny Bank in connection with the Society. The deposits amounted, on June 30, 1901, to £2727, the number of depositors, principally children, being 1700.

In 1899 the Society opened new central buildings, erected at a cost of over £20,000, the whole of which was paid for out of share capital.

Although there is no doubt that the majority of the members belong to the Society because of the dividends, there is nevertheless a number who hold to the higher ideals of mutual helpfulness so strongly held by the Rochdale Pioneers, and who, on account of their earnestness, exercise an influence over the general policy of the Society out of proportion to their numbers. Largely in consequence of this, a beginning has been made in educational work, to which £249 was allocated out of the profits in 1900.

The Education Committee arrange for lectures, which are given in the Society's hall; they pay the fees of any member or member's child who attends the Continuation Classes held under the auspices of the School Board, and they have provided a library of books for the use of members. A recent vote of the members has indicated their desire to have the educational work further developed. The Women's Guild is also doing useful educational work. It arranged no less than 16 lectures during the first three months of 1901.

The Society has begun to take an active part in election contests in connection with the various local

bodies, and in 1900 secured a seat on the Town Council for one of its candidates.

From time to time the Directors make grants to various charities, £150 having been thus expended in 1900.

They also give their employees a bonus on their wages, the amount of which depends on the dividend received by shareholders. Thus if the dividend to shareholders is 2s. 4d. in the pound, the employees receive a bonus of 1s. 2d. in the pound upon their wages, which, even apart from the bonus, are slightly higher than the average obtaining in the town. This bonus amounted in 1900 to £526.

The hours worked by the employees in the various shops of the Society are as follows :—

Monday	8 to 6	Less $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours for meals.
Tuesday	8 to 6	
Wednesday	8 to 12 noon	
Thursday	8 to 7	
Friday	8 to 8.30	
Saturday	8 to 9	

The weekly half-holiday has been given since the foundation of the Society in 1858.

Although the Society has by competition affected the small tradesmen rather seriously, its general effect upon the life of the city has been good. In local affairs it has thrown its influence on the side of progressive causes, whilst its absolute insistence on cash payment for all goods purchased, and its general

encouragement of thrift, have undoubtedly had a good effect upon the habits of the working classes.

(*f*) Friendly Societies and Life Insurance

Note.—The whole of the figures in this section refer to the year during which the main inquiry dealt with in this volume was made (1899).

(*a*) *Friendly Societies*

These may be divided into two classes :—

1. *Registered Societies, i.e.* societies registered pursuant to the Friendly Societies Act.
2. *Non-Registered Societies.*—Under this head are classed the host of small Sick and Benefit Clubs which centre round various Workshops, Religious and Social Institutes, etc.

The absence of any official list of the latter makes it difficult to obtain full and correct information regarding them; but great care has been given to the collection of the figures set forth in this chapter, and it is believed that the statement presented of the membership in the various Friendly Societies and Sick Clubs in York is practically complete.

The total number of members on the books of the Friendly Societies in York, taking both registered and non-registered societies into account, is as follows:—

Males	9,475
Females	624
Juveniles (under 18) . . .	563
Total	10,662

In addition to the above, about 1700 men pay for sick and funeral benefits through their Trade Unions (see Appendix I.). If these are included, the total membership of Friendly Societies in York is 12,362.

Women and children do not, as a rule, belong to more than *one* Friendly Society, but many men are members of more than one, and hence the number of *different persons* represented by the total adult male membership of 11,175 is considerably less than that figure.

It has not been possible to ascertain exactly how many *different persons* this adult male membership of 11,175 represents, but an inquiry limited to 400 men gave the following results. (It should be noted that the inquiry was not confined to any one section of the working classes, but embraced men belonging to all sections, from low-paid labourers to highly-paid mechanics.[1])

[1] It may be remarked here that the *very poor* are but seldom members of Friendly Societies. Even if they can be induced to join, they soon allow their membership to lapse.

It was found that—

9	belong to a Trade Union which gives sick benefit.				and to 1	other Sick Club.
13	„	„	„	„	„ 2	„ Clubs.
9	„	„	„	„	„ 3	„ „
2	„	„	„	„	„ 5	„ „
1	belongs „	„	„	„		
206	belong to 1 Sick Club only.					
131	„ 2 „	Clubs „				
24	„ 3 „	„ „				
5	„ 4 „	„ „				
400						

Thus these 400 different persons represent a membership of 636.

If this ratio holds good for the whole of York, the number of different men in Friendly Societies in York, including those who pay for sick and funeral benefits through their Trade Unions, will be about 7000, and probably this is not far from the actual figure.[1]

The following statement of the membership of the chief Societies in York may be of interest :—

[1] The books of the York Friendly Societies contain the names of some members who are at present not resident in the city. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that the number of these is about equal to those Friendly Society members now resident in York, but who retain their membership in Societies in other towns, and who do not appear in the York figures.

REGISTERED FRIENDLY SOCIETIES

	Number of "Lodges" in York.	Members.
Grand United Order of Oddfellows	12	1986
Ancient Order of Foresters	8	1290
National Independent Order of Oddfellows	7	1057
Manchester Unity of Oddfellows	7	914
United Ancient Order of Druids	3	561
British United Order of Oddfellows	3	480
United Free Gardeners	5	375
Hearts of Oak	1	300
Sheffield Equitable Druids	1	250
Victoria Hope F.F.S.	1	218
Rechabites	3	113
Sons of Temperance	1	99
York Economical	1	90
York Amicable	1	59
Total	54	7792

JUVENILE SOCIETIES (UNDER 18)

	Members.
United Ancient Order of Druids	120
Sons of Temperance	73
Grand United Order of Oddfellows	170
Ancient Order of Foresters	155
Rechabites	45
Total	563

The aims of these Societies and the conditions of membership are very similar, though varying in details. Payment during sickness, free medical attendance for members, and at a low rate for their families, and the insurance of a certain sum at the death of a member or his wife, are the main objects. Some of the Societies add other benefits, such as payment whilst travelling in search of work, insurance of tools, etc.

It will be noticed that, with a few small exceptions,

all the Friendly Societies in the above list are branches of national Societies.[1] These branches, in their turn, are divided into smaller branches, usually called "lodges," or "courts." Thus the 914 members belonging to the York Branch of the Manchester Unity of Oddfellows belong to seven different "lodges."

Subject to certain general rules, which apply to all the lodges belonging to an Order, each lodge is allowed complete control of its own business, and is responsible for its financial condition. A lodge which is in financial difficulties may, however, apply for assistance to headquarters. Before this is granted, the lodge applying must clearly prove that its financial embarrassment is due to unavoidable circumstances, *e.g.* an epidemic, long-continued strike, etc., and not to any want of care or adequate supervision on the part of the lodge officers.

In all registered Friendly Societies the scales

[1] The following statement of the total membership of Registered Friendly Societies in Great Britain and Ireland shows how important a place they occupy in the lives of the industrial classes.

SUMMARY OF REGISTERED PROVIDENT SOCIETIES IN GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, 31ST DECEMBER 1898

Friendly Societies.	Number of Members.	Funds.
Ordinary Friendly Societies . .	2,725,533	£13,170,214
Branches of Registered Orders . .	2,555,736	18,506,183
Collecting Friendly Societies . .	5,555,827	4,833,573
Medical Societies	293,477	68,278
Benevolent Societies	21,583	291,383
Total . . .	11,152,156	£36,868,631

[1] See Report of the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies for year ending December 31, 1899, Part A, p. 36.

of payment necessary to obtain certain benefits are based on actuarial tables published in the general rules of the Order. Each branch is at liberty to decide which scale of payment and corresponding benefit it will adopt. The actuarial tables are a safe guide to follow if certain conditions are adhered to, but unfortunately some of the lodges, whilst basing their scales of payment and benefits upon the tables, do not adhere to the conditions. For instance, they may become careless in admitting unhealthy members, or may neglect to keep adding a sufficient number of *young* members, and thus the average age of the members of the lodge, and consequently the average amount of illness, rises above that allowed for in the tables.

In consequence, a lodge may find itself in financial embarrassment, and be obliged to decrease its benefits.[1] Such a course may inflict considerable hardship, especially upon old members who have paid into the Society for many years, in the expectation of receiving a greater benefit, when old age and its infirmities should come upon them, than unfortunately proves to be the case.

As stated above, the subscriptions, and consequently the benefits received, vary in the different lodges, but those of the Albion Court of the Ancient

[1] A balance-sheet showing the financial position of each "lodge" or "court" must be made once at least in every five years, in accordance with the Friendly Societies Act, 1875. In case the valuation falls below a certain figure in the pound, special levies must be made, or the relation of contribution to benefit must be increased.

Order of Foresters may be taken as fairly typical. Here the entrance fee is 2s. 6d., and the contribution 1s. 10d.[1] per four weeks. The sick benefit is 10s. weekly for 26 weeks, 7s. for a further period of 26 weeks, 5s. for further 26 weeks, and 1s. 6d. per week during remainder of illness. The total amount of sick benefit receivable by one member during his lifetime is limited to £50. In addition to the sick benefit there is a funeral benefit of £10 on the death of a member, and of £7 on the death of a member's wife.

Although the number of Friendly Societies in York which have their headquarters in public-houses is said to be decreasing, the proportion is still high. Of the 54 lodges in York, as many as 34, with a membership of 5150, transact their business at public-houses; whilst 20 lodges, having a membership of 2642, meet in premises where no intoxicants are obtainable. The difficulty of obtaining suitable accommodation at a reasonable price, except in public-houses, is in part answerable for the above.

Unregistered Societies

The total membership of the unregistered Societies is as follows :—

[1] This contribution is for members joining at 18 years of age. For members who join after they are 18 the figure is higher.

Societies connected with the Railway Workshops	936
Other Societies—	
Men	747
Women	261
	1944

The aims and methods of these Societies are very similar to those of the registered ones; they are not, however, subject to any Government supervision.

It is interesting to note the enthusiasm and interest with which the business of the York Friendly Societies is often conducted. Of this the large number of members is ample evidence. Many a working man's chief interests centre round his Friendly Society, and often he will throw himself with whole-hearted energy into the work of his "lodge," when church, chapel, politics, or any similar interests have failed to appeal to him. As a rule, the business of Friendly Societies is carried on with much formality and mystery. Many lodges have their secret pass-words and signs. Often, too, the regalia of the officers is a characteristic feature, and is donned with great solemnity at every lodge meeting, each officer wearing the regalia of his particular office. Sometimes this may consist of a broad coloured sash; in others it is more elaborate. For instance, in some of the Foresters' Societies, officers dress in the full costume of Robin Hood and his men, each carrying his bow and arrow, but this custom is now chiefly confined to the villages.

No doubt the formality and mystery appeal to the imagination of the members, and help to make Friendly Societies the absorbing interest which they are to hundreds of working men in York.

In conclusion, reference should be made to the advantageous discipline which the Friendly Societies bring to many of their members. A man who has passed through the various "offices" of a Friendly Society, who as chairman has been responsible for the orderly conduct of business at the lodge meetings, and as secretary or treasurer has become responsible for the organisation of the work of the lodge, or the management of considerable sums of money, will have received lessons of high value in the equipment of a useful citizen.

(*b*) *Life Insurance*

Some idea of the extent to which the practice of Life Insurance prevails among the industrial classes in York may be gathered from the fact that, in addition to ten agents who give only part of their time to the work, there are not less than seventy-five agents who give the whole of their time to the collection of weekly life insurance premiums from the wage-earning classes in the city. Forty of these agents are employed by the Prudential Assurance Company, the others by nine smaller Companies.

It has not been possible to ascertain exactly what total sum is collected weekly, but judging from information received regarding the weekly takings of

about half the agents, it is clear that the total sum paid for life insurance by the wage-earning classes of York is *not less* than £400 per week, or about 8¼d. per family.

The average weekly payment as premium in the Prudential Company is about 2d., and the average sum insured about £10. Probably the amounts in the other Companies are very similar.

The total sum for which young children may be insured is strictly limited by the Friendly Societies Act of 1896, which states that no child under 5 years of age may be insured for more than £6, and no child under 10 years of age for more than £10. Most Companies' tables are on a graduated scale, commencing at 30s. for a child 3 months old, and increasing to 50s. for a child of 6 months, and to £3 for a child of 12 months.

The Prudential Assurance Company refuse to insure any illegitimate child under 3 years of age.

(*g*) Poor Relief

The total number of persons receiving poor relief in York on the first day of January 1901, and the first day of July 1901, exclusive of those belonging to the districts which lie outside the city boundaries, was as follows :—

	Jan. 1, 1901.	July 1, 1901.
In Workhouse . .	492	443
Outdoor Relief . .	1049	1060
Total .	1541	1503
Average 1522		

If we include 98 pauper lunatics who were in asylums in York on January 1, 1901, we obtain 1639 as the total number of York paupers at that date. This is equal to 2·1 per cent of the total population.

This figure may be compared with the proportion which obtained on the same date in some other places :—

PROPORTION OF PAUPERS TO TOTAL POPULATION

Town.	Population, 1901.	Total Number of Persons in receipt of Relief on Jan. 1, 1901.	Per cent.
York	**77,558**	**1,639**	**2·1**
Kingston-upon-Hull .	82,670	2,907	3·5
Bradford . . .	228,667	2,858	1·3
Holbeck . . .	33,576	750	2·2
Leeds	254,530	5,088	2·0
Sheffield . . .	229,441	4,220	1·8
England and Wales .	32,526,075	801,347	2·5

The total number of different persons who received relief in York Workhouse during 1900, not including those who came from districts outside the city, was 1203, or 1·6 per cent of the total population of the city. In addition to these there were about 120 pauper lunatics in York Asylums at various times in 1900. If the latter are included, the pro-

portion of paupers receiving *indoor relief* in York during 1900 is raised to 1323, or 1·7 per cent of the total population. The total number of different persons who received *out-relief* during 1900 was 2248, viz. 413 men, 946 women, and 889 children. This is equal to 2·9 per cent of the total population of York. Thus *the total number of different persons* who received relief (indoor or outdoor) during 1900 was 3571, or 4·64 per cent of the total population of the city. (The population of York in the middle of 1900 was 76,916, estimated according to annual rate of increase between 1891 and 1901 as revealed by Census of 1901.)

Classifying the paupers in York Workhouse on January 1, 1901, it is found that there were—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
Able-bodied . . .	31	31	62
Old and infirm . .	144	112	256
Imbecile . . .	23	45	68
Epileptics . . .	8	12	20
Lying-in ward . .	...	2	2
Children . . .	33	37	70
Infants under 2 . .	...	14	14
Total .	239	253	492

The men and women classed as "able-bodied" were persons who, although not imbecile or infirm, nevertheless belong to the class of the "unfit." Some are feeble-minded and dull-witted, others have some physical defect which puts them at a disadvantage in the industrial struggle.

The York Workhouse is an old building, and has consequently many structural deficiencies. In January 1901 there were only twelve nurses, including the superintendent nurse and the night nurses, and of these twelve, only a few were fully qualified. The number on duty never exceeded nine, for close upon 300 patients. The inadequacy of this staff is rendered still more apparent when it is stated that among the patients on January 1 there were 88 imbeciles and epileptics. In consequence of the small staff of nurses, pauper attendants are still employed at night, notwithstanding the Nursing Order of 1897.

Improvements are, however, now being effected in the nursing arrangements, and in the management of the Workhouse generally. A laundry and a fine new dining-hall have been recently erected, but, in spite of these improvements, the Local Government Board Inspector, speaking in May 1901, said "he felt that the Workhouse was not up to the standard of those in other places of the same population as York."

Whilst fully realising the supreme importance of the view so strongly held by the Poor Law Commissioners of 1834, that the condition of the pauper should never be made more eligible than that of the independent labouring poor, it is nevertheless to be regretted that, owing to want of space, no attempt is made, as in Sheffield and elsewhere, to sub-classify the inmates according to their character. Those who have lived steady and respectable lives, but who nevertheless have to seek a refuge in the Workhouse

in their old age, are obliged to associate with others whose poverty is due to drunkenness and vice.

The work done by the able-bodied paupers is chiefly confined to chopping and bundling wood for sale in the city; in addition to this they give a certain amount of assistance in the house.

The Brabazon Scheme,[1] by which useful occupations are provided for the infirm inmates, and which has been instituted with such good results in many Workhouses, has not been introduced in York. A proposal was recently made to adopt it, but was not persisted in.

The tables on pages 370-372 give the diet provided in the Workhouse.

The following table shows the net cost of in-maintenance in York and in five other Workhouses for the year ending Lady Day 1900:—

Town.	Average No. of Inmates for Year ending Lady Day 1900.	Net Cost of In-Maintenance per Head per Week.								
		Provisions including Wines and Spirits.	Necessaries.	Clothing.	Furniture and Property.	Buildings and Repairs.	Salaries.	Surgery and Dispensary.	General less Credits.	Total.
		s. d.	s. d.	d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	d.	d.	s. d.
York	498	2 9¼	11¼	5¾	3½	1¾	9¼	½	½	5 5½
Kingston-upon-Hull	687	3 1	1 4	5¼	6	10½	2 5	1	¼	8 9½
Bradford	787	4 1	1 3¾	3½	1 2½	10½	2 10¾	4½	1¼	11 1½
Holbeck	137	..	3 10	..	..	1 10¾	..	..	..	5 8¾
Leeds	1240	2 8	1 1¼	4¾	6½	8	1 10½	2	..	7 5
Sheffield	1411	3 4½	11	5½	5	10½	2 0½	3¾	9	9 1¾

Children.—The number of children in York Workhouse on January 1, 1901 was 70. Although theoretically they are forbidden to mix with the adult paupers, it is very difficult in a Workhouse

[1] Organising Secretary, Miss Bellson, 33 Lancaster Park, Richmond, Surrey.

DIETARY FOR ABLE-BODIED MEN (PLAIN DIET)

	Breakfast.						Additional, for men who are working.		Dinner.										Supper.					
	Bread.	Tea.	Butter.	Gruel.	Porridge.	Milk.	Bread.	Cheese.	Roast Beef.	Bread.	Potatoes or other Vegetables.	Suet Pudding.	Bacon.	Boiled Beef.	Barley Soup.	Wet Fish.	Meat Stew.	Rhubarb or Stewed Fruit.	Sauce.	Bread.	Tea.	Butter.	Broth.	Cheese.	Gruel.
	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	pt.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	pt.	gill.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.
Sunday	8	1	½	...	...	...	...	...	4½	4	12	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	1	½	...	...	...
Monday	6	...	...	1½	...	...	4	1½	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	½	...	8	...	...	1	2	...
Tuesday	4	...	...	...	1½	...	4	1½	...	4	12	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	1½
Wednesday	6	...	...	1½	...	...	4	1½	...	4	12	...	...	4½	...	...	...	½	...	8	...	...	1	2	...
Thursday	8	...	...	...	...	1	4	1½	...	6	...	...	...	...	1½	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	1½
Friday	4	...	...	...	1½	...	4	1½	...	4	12	...	...	...	...	10	...	...	¼	6	...	...	...	...	1½
Saturday	8	...	...	...	...	1	4	1½	...	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	1½

DIETARY FOR ABLE-BODIED WOMEN (PLAIN DIET)

	Breakfast.						Additional, for women who are working.		Dinner.										Supper.					
	Bread.	Tea.	Butter.	Gruel.	Porridge.	Milk.	Bread.	Cheese.	Roast Beef.	Bread.	Potatoes or other Vegetables.	Suet Pudding.	Bacon.	Boiled Beef.	Barley Soup.	Wet Fish.	Meat Stew.	Rhubarb or Stewed Fruit.	Sauce.	Bread.	Tea.	Butter.	Broth.	Cheese.	Gruel.
	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	pt.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	pt.	gill.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.
Sunday	6	1	½	...	...	...	...	...	4	4	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	1	½	...	...	...
Monday	6	...	...	1	...	...	4	1½	...	...	...	16	...	...	...	...	...	½	...	6	1	½	...	...	...
Tuesday	4	...	...	...	1	...	4	1½	...	4	8	...	3	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	1	½	...	...	...
Wednesday	6	...	...	1	...	...	4	1½	...	4	8	...	...	4	...	...	...	½	...	6	1	½	...	...	...
Thursday	6	...	...	...	...	1	4	1½	...	4	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	...	..	6	1	½	...	...	...
Friday	4	...	...	...	1	...	4	1½	...	4	8	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	¼	6	1	½	...	...	...
Saturday	6	...	...	...	...	1	4	1½	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	...	...	6	1	½	...	...	...

Dietary for Children (8 to 16)

	Breakfast.						Additional.			Dinner.												Supper.					
	Bread.	Tea or Milk.	Butter.	Porridge.	Sugar.	Bacon.	Bread.	Butter and Dripping.	Seed Cake or Biscuits.	Roast Beef.	Bread.	Potatoes or other Vegetables.	Sago Pudding.	Rice Milk.	Rhubarb or Stewed Fruit.	Boiled Mutton.	Boiled Beef.	Rice Pudding.	Wet Fish.	Sauce.	Stewed Meat.	Bread.	Tea, Cocoa, or Milk.	Butter.	Jam.	Seed or Plain Cake.	Onion or Lettuce.
	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pt.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	gill.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.
Sunday .	6	½	½	...	...	...	...	...	...	2½	2	6	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	½	...	...	...
Monday .	3	...	...	½	½	...	2	½	...	...	3	8	...	...	½	4	...	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	1½	...	...
Tuesday .	6	...	...	...	...	...	2	½	...	...	2	6	...	½	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Wednesday	6	...	...	...	...	2	...	...	2	...	3	8	...	...	½	...	4	...	...	...	...	6	...	...	...	...	2
Thursday .	6	...	...	...	...	...	2	¼	...	2½	2	6	...	...	...	...	...	8	...	...	...	6	...	...	1½	...	...
Friday .	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2	...	3	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	8	¼	...	...	...	...	...	6	...
Saturday .	3	½	...	¾	½	...	...	...	2	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	½	6	½	...	...	...	...

Dietary for Children (3 to 8)

	Breakfast.					Additional.			Dinner.													Supper.							
	Bread.	Tea.	Butter.	Milk.	Bacon.	Bread.	Butter or Dripping.	Seed Cake or Biscuits.	Roast Beef.	Bread.	Potatoes or other Vegetables.	Sago Pudding.	Boiled Mutton.	Rhubarb or Stewed Fruit.	Minced Meat.	Rice Milk.	Boiled Meat.	Cold Meat.	Rice Pudding.	Wet Fish.	Sauce.	Stewed Meat.	Bread.	Tea or Cocoa.	Butter or Dripping.	Jam.	Milk.	Seed Cake.	Onions.	Lettuce.
	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	oz.	gill.	pt.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.
Sunday .	5	½	½	...	...	...	...	...	1½	...	4	8	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	...	...	...	...
Monday .	5	...	...	½	...	2	¼	...	...	3	6	...	2	½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	½	...	1	...	...	...	...
Tuesday .	5	...	...	½	...	2	¼	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	2	½	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	...	...
Wednesday	5	½	...	...	½	...	...	2	...	3	6	...	...	½	...	...	2	...	...	...	...	...	5	...	...	...	½	...	1	2
Thursday .	5	...	...	½	...	2	¼	...	...	...	4	...	...	...	...	...	...	1½	8	...	...	...	5	...	...	1	½	...	...	...
Friday .	5	...	...	½	...	...	...	2	...	3	6	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	4	¼	...	...	½	...	...	...	4	...	...

Dietary for Children under 3 Years of Age

From 6 to 12 Months

	Bread.	Milk.	Loaf Sugar.
	oz.	pt.	oz.
Daily	4	1	½
(If Weaned, extra Milk and Barley Water.)			

From 12 to 18 Months

	Bread.	Milk.	Broth.	Loaf Sugar.
	oz.	pt.	pt.	oz.
Daily . .	8	2	½	½

18 Months to 3 Years

	Breakfast.						Dinner.										Supper.						
	Bread.	Milk Porridge.	Milk.	Butter.	Treacle.		Bread.	Beef.	Boiled Mutton.	Stew.	Potatoes.	Pudding.	Meat Pie.	Broth.	Treacle.	Sugar.			Bread.	Milk.	Butter.	Seed Cake.	Plain Cake.		
	oz.	pt.	pt.	oz.	oz.		oz.	oz.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.			oz.	pt.	oz.	oz.	oz.		
Sunday . . .	4	…	½	¼	…		…	2	…	…	6	…	…	…	…	…			…	½	…	3	…		
Monday . . .	4	…	½	¼	…		4	…	…	…	…	…	…	¾	…	…			4	½	¼	…	…		
Tuesday . . .	4	…	½	…	½		…	…	…	…	…	…	6	…	…	…			4	½	¼	…	…		
Wednesday . . .	4	…	½	¼	…		…	2	…	…	6	…	…	…	…	…			…	½	…	…	3		
Thursday . . .	4	…	½	¼	…		…	…	2	…	4	6	…	…	½	…			4	½	¼	…	…		
Friday . . .	4	…	½	…	½		…	2	…	…	6	…	…	…	…	…			…	½	…	3	…		
Saturday . . .	4	…	½	¼	…		…	…	2	…	4	6	…	…	…	½			4	½	¼	…	…		

strictly to enforce this regulation. When old enough they are sent to the ordinary elementary schools in York, where they hold their own fairly well with other children.

It is to be regretted that so many children are brought up in the Workhouse, as they can hardly fail to become affected by the pauper taint. A certain number of children under the care of the Guardians are, however, boarded out, or placed in certified homes, and at the time of writing an effort is being made to send more of those now in the Workhouse to orphanages and other certified homes for children. Although this course presents some advantages over bringing them up in the Workhouse, it would be undoubtedly much better if they could be dealt with on the scattered homes system so successfully followed at Sheffield, Leeds, and Bradford.

As soon as the children leave school, the Guardians obtain positions for them. Most of the girls go to service, and the boys to farms or to other situations where they can "live in."

Vagrant Ward.—The following table shows the number of vagrants received in York Union from 1896:—

Year ending.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Total.
Michaelmas 1896 .	8371	937	438	9746
" 1897 .	7981	864	321	9166
" 1898 .	7692	871	392	8955
" 1899 .	4789	501	166	5456
" 1900 .	5419	591	153	6163

Except in July the number of vagrants admitted does not vary much from month to month. During 1899 (January to December) the numbers were :—

January	531
February	514
March	690
April	546
May	552
June	650
July	316
August	588
September	645
October	548
November	701
December	556
Total	6837

The comparatively small number admitted during July is probably explained by the fact that many persons of the vagrant class find employment during that month in fruit-picking, and these often "sleep out." The vagrants frequenting the Workhouse are almost all professional tramps. They are admitted to the ward after 8 P.M. The vagrant wards are one of the worst features of the Workhouse, and the method of dealing with the vagrants has no deterrent effect. Isolated wards have not been introduced in York. The vagrants sleep several together in one ward, which is the system most favoured by this class. A tramp who had had experience of the York

Vagrant Ward informed the writer that he considered York "a pretty soft doss. There's better and there's worse."

The food given to the vagrants consists of bread and gruel at night and the same in the morning; but, as the tramp above quoted remarked, "We don't much mind wot they give us, becos we usually brings in meat and things wot we've got on the road." Except those who come in on Saturday night, tramps are not detained for two days, but are liberated the morning after arrival, after breaking a small amount of stone. To the uninitiated this is a considerable task, but "once you know 'ow, it ain't nothink."

Out-Relief.—The total sum spent in out-door relief in the York Union for the year ending Lady Day 1901 was £5950.

The following table shows how the proportion of out-relief to total relief in the York Union for the year ending Lady Day 1901 compares with that in some other Unions in Yorkshire for the same period:—

Union.	In-Maintenance.	Out-Relief.	Percentage of Cost of Out-Relief to Total Relief.
York . . .	£5,513	£5,950	51·9
Kingston-upon-Hull .	9,176	11,090	54·7
Bradford . . .	16,376	9,184	35·9
Holbeck . . .	1,502	2,536	62·8
Leeds . . .	17,121	14,927	46·6
Sheffield . . .	25,597	11,735	31·4

The corresponding figures for the whole of England

and Wales for the year 1898-99 (the latest period available) are :—

In-Maintenance . . .	£2,384,135
Out-Relief	£2,732,909
Percentage of Out-Relief . .	53·4

There is no doubt a considerable amount of abuse in connection with the giving of out-relief—persons receiving it who are not really destitute, or who have relations who could and should maintain them, whilst others receive it only to spend it upon drink. Not a few such cases have come under the notice of the writer during the course of the present investigation. This does not, however, necessarily, nor in fact does it at all, reflect upon the honesty or ability of the relieving officers. But the number of these is inadequate, there being only two for the whole city. The abuse points, however, to the necessity of appointing a Superintendent Relieving Officer, for it must be borne in mind that ill-administered outdoor relief not only entails financial waste, but has a serious demoralising effect upon the community.

(*h*) The Probable Effect of Universal Old Age Pensions upon Poverty in York

The information obtained in connection with the investigation dealt with in this volume, enables us

to estimate with a close approach to accuracy the number of persons living in York below the Poverty Line whose poverty would be relieved by a Scheme of Universal Old Age Pensions payable at 65 years of age.

In the course of the house-to-house inquiry, the ages of the various members of the household were ascertained whenever possible. Information under this head was obtained for 80 per cent of the persons living "in poverty," and in the following pages it is assumed that the age distribution of the remaining 20 per cent of those "in poverty" is the same as that of the 80 per cent whose ages were ascertained.

It will be remembered that the population of York in 1899 was estimated at 75,812, composed as follows (see p. 117):—

In Poverty—"Primary"[1]	7,230	
"Secondary"	13,072	
		20,302
Working Classes above Poverty Line		26,452
Persons in Public Institutions		2,932
Domestic Servants		4,296
Servant-Keeping Class		21,830
Total Population		75,812

In this classification, persons in the workhouse and in almshouses were included amongst those in public institutions, but for our present consideration

[1] For definitions of "Primary" and "Secondary" Poverty, see p. 86.

the number of these persons should be added to those living "in poverty."

On July 1, 1899, there were 145 persons in almshouses[1] and 467 persons in the York Workhouse (not including 25 from outlying districts). Their age distribution was as follows :—

	Number.	Per Cent.
Under 1 year	8	1·3
1 year and under 5 years . . .	18	2·9
5 years „ 15 „ . . .	69	11·3
15 „ „ 65 „ . . .	218	35·7
65 years and over	299	48·8
	612	100·0

If these 612 persons be added to the 20,302 living "in poverty," we obtain 20,914 as the total number of persons in York living below the Poverty Line. The age distribution of these 20,914 persons was as follows, assuming, as already stated, that the ascertained ages of the 80 per cent apply to the remainder :—

	Males.	Females.	Totals.	Totals per cent.
Under 1 year . . .	275	350	625	2·99
1 year and under 5 years .	1,055	1,238	2,293	10·96
5 years „ 15 „ .	3,052	3,176	6,228	29·80
15 „ „ 65 „ .	5,498	5,511	11,009	52·63
65 years and over . . .	323	436	759	3·62
	10,203	10,711	20,914	100·00

[1] It should be remembered that many of those in almshouses are comfortably off, but it is probable that they would have been living below the Poverty Line had they not been in receipt of this charity. In the figures which follow, pauper lunatics in asylums have not been included among those living below the Poverty Line, but retained among those in public institutions.

With these facts before us we can ascertain what proportion of the poverty in York would be relieved if pensions were paid to all those reaching the age of 65. The *amount* of pension need not here concern us. We are only concerned with the number of persons living below the Poverty Line who have reached the age of 65, and who would, therefore, be affected by a Scheme of Universal Old Age Pensions, payable at that age.

The following table supplies this information, distinguishing between those in "Primary" and "Secondary" Poverty :—

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF PERSONS "IN POVERTY" WHO WOULD RECEIVE PENSIONS UNDER A SCHEME OF UNIVERSAL OLD AGE PENSIONS PAYABLE AT 65.

"Primary" Poverty.		"Secondary" Poverty.		Total Poverty.	
No. of persons who would receive pensions.	Percentage of the total number of persons in "Primary" Poverty who would receive pensions.	No. of persons who would receive pensions.	Percentage of the total number of persons in "Secondary" Poverty who would receive pensions.	No. of persons who would receive pensions.	Percentage of total number of persons in Poverty who would receive pensions.
569	7·25	190	1·45	759	3·62

It is shown by the above table that 759 of the 20,914 persons "in poverty" would receive pensions, while 20,155 would not; or, to state the same fact in percentages, 3·62 would receive pensions while 96·38 would not.

If we could assume that all persons receiving pensions *would be raised ipso facto above the Poverty*

Line, then the proportion which the persons remaining below the Poverty Line would bear to the total population of York would be as follows :—

	In "Primary" Poverty.	In "Secondary" Poverty.	Total in Poverty.
	Percentage of Total Population of York.	Percentage of Total Population of York.	Percentage of Total Population of York.
Present percentage of total population of York living "in poverty" . . .	10·34	17·93	27·59[1]
Percentage, assuming pension payable at 65 . . .	9·63	16·99	26·59

From this table it will be seen that the payment of Universal Old Age Pensions at 65 years of age would, upon the above assumption, only reduce the proportion which those "in poverty" bear to the total population of the city from 27·59 per cent to 26·59 per cent, or by exactly 1 per cent.[2]

The writer is aware that these figures constitute no valid argument against Old Age Pensions. They indicate, however, how large is the problem of poverty

[1] It will be observed that although 612 persons have, in the present calculations, been added to those living "in poverty," the *percentage* of the population "in poverty" is given as 27·59, whereas on p. 117 it is given as 27·84. The explanation of this apparent discrepancy is, that in arriving at the latter figure, the 2932 persons "in public institutions" were left out of account, whereas in the present consideration it is necessary to include these 2932 persons in the calculations.

[2] In the tables given above it is assumed that the pensions affect only their *direct* recipients, but it must be remembered that, in addition to these, a certain number of younger persons would be *indirectly* affected by Old Age Pensions. For instance, an aged parent may be living with a married son or daughter, and be dependent upon them. In such a case a pension to the parent would relieve the poverty of the whole family, possibly to a sufficient extent to bring it above the Poverty Line. The number of persons who

that will be left after the poverty of old age has been relieved.[1]

Comparison of the Age Distribution of those in Poverty with that of the whole City and of England and Wales.

It may be asked how far does the age distribution of those living "in poverty" in York compare with the age distribution of the total population of the city, and how far does the latter compare with that of England and Wales. The reply to these questions is furnished by the table on the following page.

might possibly be thus indirectly benefited by Universal Old Age Pensions, payable at 65, is shown in the following table:—

"Primary" Poverty.		"Secondary" Poverty.		Total Poverty.	
No. of persons who would be directly or indirectly benefited.	Percentage of the total number of persons in "Primary" Poverty who would be directly or indirectly benefited.	No. of persons who would be directly or indirectly benefited.	Percentage of the total number of persons in "Secondary" Poverty who would be directly or indirectly benefited.	No. of persons who would be directly or indirectly benefited.	Percentage of total number of persons in poverty who would be directly or indirectly benefited.
877	11·17	617	4·72	1494	7·14

This table shows that 1494 of the 20,914 persons "in poverty" in York might possibly receive some direct or indirect benefit from pensions payable at 65, while 19,420 persons would receive no benefit. Even if it could be assumed that all the 1494 persons who might receive direct or indirect benefit were raised *ipso facto* above the "Poverty Line," the effect would only be to reduce the proportion which those in poverty bear to the total population of the city from 27·59 per cent to 25·61 per cent, *i.e.* by 1·98 per cent.

[1] No doubt in an unofficial inquiry of this sort, all the ages were not given correctly, but it will be readily seen that even if a very liberal margin be allowed for error the general conclusion arrived at above would be practically unaffected.

	York.		England and Wales.
	Percentage of Persons living "in Poverty" in each Age Group. (In 1899, 20,914 persons were "in Poverty.")	Percentage of Total Population of the City in each Age Group. (Pop. 67,004, 1891 Census.)	Percentage of Total Population in each Age Group. (Pop. 29,002,525, 1891 Census.)
Under 1 year	2·99	2·47	2·60
1 year and under 5 years	10·96 } 43·75	9·47 } 33·80	9·65 } 35·06
5 years ,, 15 ,,	29·80	21·86	22·81
15 ,, ,, 65 ,,	52·63	61·53	60·21
65 and over	3·62	4·67	4·73
	100·00	100·00	100·00

The striking fact brought out by the above table is that the proportion of persons *below* 15 *years of age* is much larger in the case of those "*in poverty*" than in the case of the total population of the city, or of England and Wales. The percentage, as seen by the table, is 43·75 as compared with 33·80 and 35·06. This is due to the fact that many of the families of the labouring classes are passing through a period of poverty during the years when the children are entirely dependent upon the earnings of the father or mother. Many of these families will rise above the Poverty Line when the children begin to earn money. In consequence of the large proportion of children under 15 years of age who are below the Poverty Line, the proportion in poverty for the other age groups must of course be correspondingly smaller in relation to the general population. Thus it is found that of all persons "in poverty" in York, only 3·62 per cent are 65 years of age or over, whereas

taking the *general* population of the city, 4·67 per cent have attained that age, and in England and Wales generally 4·73 per cent have reached it. The similarity of the two last figures shows that so far as the longevity of its inhabitants goes, York may be regarded as typical of the rest of the country.

One other point remains to be noticed, viz., the proportion which the population "in poverty" *at each age* bears to the total population of the city *at the same age.* Assuming that the proportion of the population of York at each age was the same in 1899 as in 1891 the figures will come out as under. In 1899 there were in York—

Under 1 year . .	1,875	persons of whom	625 or 33·33	per cent were "in poverty."
1 year and under 5 years	7,185	,, ,,	2,293 or 31·91	
5 years ,, 15 ,,	16,571	,, ,,	6,228 or 37·58	
15 ,, ,, 65 ,,	46,633	,, ,,	11,009 or 23·60	
65 and over . .	3,548	,, ,,	759 or 21·39	
Total (all ages) .	75,812		20,914	

The main fact brought out by this table is the very large proportion of children who are "in poverty." It is seen that in infancy the proportion is 32 or 33 per cent, increasing possibly to 40 per cent when school ends, and then no doubt dropping very rapidly to below the mean of 23·6 per cent which applies to all ages from 15 to 65. Then the proportion again rises to a mean of 21·39 per cent for the population above 65 years of age. The explanation of the large proportion of children who are "in poverty" has already been given on the preceding page.

(*i*) Abstract of York City Accounts for Year ending March 31, 1901

In determining large questions of municipal policy and considering whether the wealth and energy of the city is being advantageously expended, valuable thoughts may be gathered from an examination of the expenditure of the city. What relation, for instance, does the expenditure under the heads of crime and pauperism on the one hand bear to that for education and recreative agencies on the other? Or, if the city is engaged in municipal trading of any kind, does such trading result in gain or loss? In the same way an examination of the various sources of municipal revenue is likely to throw light both upon municipal and national finance, by showing the amount of the grants from the central purse in aid of the municipal purse and the relation which such grants bear to the amount raised by the rates.

As the accounts of the city, in their ordinary form, are difficult to understand, the writer has prepared the following Abstract, in which the main items are set forth more simply:—

ABSTRACT OF ACCOUNTS OF THE CITY OF YORK FOR THE YEAR ENDING MARCH 31, 1901, SHOWING THE MAIN ITEMS OF INCOME AND EXPENDITURE, AND THE PERCENTAGE WHICH EACH OF THE LATTER BEARS TO THE TOTAL EXPENDITURE.

	£	£	£	Percentage of Total net Expenditure.
RATES[1]—				
At 5s. 8d. in the £ (=to £1 : 6 : 8 per head of the population)			103,731	
GRANT IN AID FROM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT—				
In Relief of Rates		2865		
Agricultural Rating Act 1896		126		
			2,991	
ELECTRIC LIGHTING—				
Income		3803		
Less—Expenses		3393		
			410	
FOSS NAVIGATION—				
Dues and Rents		840		
Less—Expenses		811		
			29	
MARKETS—				
Parliament Street	1763			
Less—Expenses	1031			
		732		
Cattle Market	1827			
Less—Expenses	1182			
		645		
			1,377	
CRIME—				
Assizes, Sessions, and Petty Sessions		1,409		
Courts of Justice		1,968		
Police		8,065		
			11,442	
Less—Government Grant, half pay and half clothing of Police		3,490		
Government Grant, *in re* Cost of Prosecutions		282		
Government Grant for Conveyance of Prisoners		155		
Fines—City's share of		153		
Rents, etc.		238		
			4,318	
			7,124	6·68
PAUPERISM—				
Paid to Guardians		16,019		
Do. Guardians, Maintenance of Pauper Lunatics		3,285		
New Asylum, Revenue expenses connected with building of		602		
			19,906	
Less—Government Grant		2,387		
Rent for Land, New Asylum		308		
			2,695	
			17,211	16·14
EDUCATION—				
School Board		19,767		
Schools of Science and Art		1,812		
Free Library		1,816		
			23,395	
Less—Government Grant to School Board		7,261		
Science and Art Grant		692		
Government Grant to Technical Education Committee		1,328		
School Board Fees, Evening Continuation Classes		256		
School of Art, Fees		381		
Free Library, Fines and Catalogues		216		
			10,134	
			13,261	12·45
RECREATION—				
Art Galleries (Exhibition Buildings)		1,249		
Walks, Playgrounds, etc.		1,741		
Bar Walls		354		
			3,344	
Less—Art Galleries (Exhibition Buildings) Rent		491		
Do. (Summer Exhibition of Pictures) Admission Fees		152		
			643	

STREET IMPROVEMENTS		9,014		
Less—Rent of Buildings bought with view to ultimate Street Improvements		690		
			8,32	7·81
STREET REPAIRS, LIGHTING, ETC.—				
Roads, Flagging, Paving, etc.	11,586			
Depôts	1,939			
Private Works (ultimately repaid) . . .	3,170			
Lighting	4,735			
Watering	222			
		21,652		
Less—Government Grant, Maintenance old Turnpike Roads .	85			
Received for Private Work .	6,761			
		6,846		
			14,806	13·88
SEWERAGE		18,195		
Less—Sale, Sewerage Disposal Works . .	116			
Rents ,, ,, . .	29			
		145		
			18,050	16·92
HEALTH—				
Salaries, Office Expenses, etc. . . .	2,343			
Scavenging	10,231			
Fever Hospital	2,124			
Disinfector	258			
Baths	756			
Public Analyst, etc.	117			
		15,829		
Less—Scavenging Manure sold . . .	1,155			
Fees, Fever Hospital . . .	1,220			
Disinfector, Fees for use of . .	51			
Baths	68			
Automatic W.C.'s	106			
		2,600		
			13,229	12·4
PROPERTY—				
Guildhall, Offices, and Mansion House . .	2,952			
Expenses on other City Property . . .	1,030			
Skeldergate Bridge, Sinking Fund, etc. . .	2,304			
		6,286		
Less—Rents from Property . . .	2,734			
Skeldergate Bridge Tolls . .	1,375			
Bonding Warehouse Rent and Charges	353			
		4,462		
			1,824	1·71
Carry forward . .			96,530	

Carry forward . . £108,538

[1] The rateable value of the city in July 1901 was £396,025.

Abstract of Accounts of City of York—*Continued.*

				Percentage of Total net Expenditure.
Brought forward . .	£108,538			
		£	£	
Brought forward . .			96,530	
Fire Brigade		1,306		
Less—Payments for Service, etc.		300		
			1,006	·95
Salaries and Establishment Charges—				
Salaries		4,993		
Miscellaneous		1,663		
			6,656	6·25
Registration and Elections—				
Registration		650		
Municipal Elections		140		
			790	·74
Remuneration to Lord Mayor—				
War Fund			450	·42
Miscellaneous—				
Interest and Commission to Bankers . .	1,061			
Coroners' Inquests	347			
Testing Weights and Measures . . .	265			
Decorations, Royal Visit and Cost of presenting Freedom	386			
		2,059		
Less—Fees, Court of Summary Jurisdiction	441			
Testing Weights and Measures .	260			
Cab Licenses	163			
		864		
			1,195	1·12
			106,627	100·0
£108,538				

(1) It will be observed that in this statement of Income and Expenditure the credit and debit sides do not balance by £1911, the explanation being that the financial years of the Corporation, of the Overseers, and of the School Board, terminate on different dates.

(2) It may be said that a statement made out as above, in which the *net* amounts are brought out, fails to show the full magnitude of the annual transactions of the city. If the credits are entered in full on the credit side of the accounts, and the debits in full on the debit side, the total figures will be as follows:—Income, £149,141; Expenditure, £147,230.

(3) The total grants received from the Central Government are as follows:—

For Crime	£3927
,, Pauperism	2387
,, Education	9281
,, Streets	85
,, Relief of Rates	2991
	£18,671

which sum is equal to 18 per cent of the total sum raised by rates.

(4) *Re* Ouse Navigation. In addition to the enterprises dealt with in these accounts, the city authorities also manage the business connected with navigation on the Ouse. This is, however, managed as a self-contained business enterprise, having no connection with the city rates, and therefore the accounts are not shown here.

CITY OF YORK FINANCIAL STATEMENT

ASSETS.

Property, etc., realisable or remunerative, viz.:—			
Markets	£31,446 0 0		
Guildhall and Municipal Buildings	25,250 0 0		
Courts of Justice	23,123 0 0		
Asylum	12,464 0 0		
Library	9,780 0 0		
Art Galleries (Exhibition Buildings, etc.)	10,000 0 0		
Fever Hospitals	9,123 0 0		
Depots	20,556 0 0		
Baths	10,163 0 0		
Electric Lighting	31,743 0 0		
Various Properties	54,358 7 9½		
		£238,006 7 9½	
Drainage Works, Street Improvements, Flagging, Paving, etc., not remunerative, viz.:—			
Drainage Works	£222,788 0 0		
Street Improvements, Flagging, Paving, etc.	166,308 0 0		
Public Walks	11,594 0 0		
Various	35,680 0 0		
		436,370 0 0	
Lendal Bridge		35,000 0 0	
Skeldergate Bridge		61,347 0 2	
York School Board (Schools)		69,458 0 0	
Foss Navigation, New Lock and River Improvements		11,679 2 5	
		£851,860 10 4½	
Stock, Material, Furniture, etc.		26,246 6 5	
Investment in Consols		5,260 19 11	
		£883,367 16 8½	

LIABILITIES.

3 per cent Stock		£398,500 0 0
Loans on Mortage } Average rate of Interest,		165,868 16 10
Temporary Loan } £3 : 3 : 7d. per cent		6,000 0 0
		£570,368 16 10
(Average rate of Interest for whole amount, £3 : 1 : 1d. per cent.)		
Less—Accumulations to Sinking Fund Invested and in Treasurer's hands		87,331 16 5
		£483,037 0 5
Owing to Treasurer		51,871 7 6
Total Debt		£534,908 7 11
Sundry Creditors	£17,853 4 1	
Less—Sundry Debtors	9,969 10 7	
	7,883 13 6	
		£542,792 1 5
Surplus		340,575 15 3½
		£883,367 16 8½

N.B.—Nothing is included for York Union Property, Workhouse, Board Room, etc., as the share of the York Ratepayers.

APPENDIX A

Table showing the Mortality of Clergymen in York during the Black Death, 1348-49[1]

[Particulars taken from Parish Records]

Name of Parish.	Date of Institution of Rector or Clergyman.	Cause of Vacancy.	
		Death of Previous Incumbent.	Resignation of Previous Incumbent
City of York—			
St. Trinity, Gotheringate (1361) .	Aug. 2, 1349	Per mort.	
Wandesford's Chantry . . .	Feb. 14, 1348	,,	
.....	Sept. 24, 1349	,,	
Langtoft's Chantry	July 14, 1349	,,	
	July 28, 1349	...	Per resig.
St. Mary's qd. valvas . . .	1349		
St. Wilfrid (1361)	Feb. 26, 1349	...	Per resig.
Christ Church	Dec. 5, 1349	Per mort.	
Royston Chantry	Mar. 15, 1348	,,	
,, ,, ...	1349	,,	
Langton's Chantry	Nov. 4, 1348	,,	
,, ,, ...	July 21, 1349	,,	
St. Crux	Nov. 6, 1349	...	Per resig.
Nogron's Chantry	Aug. 22, 1348	Per mort.	
,, ,, ...	Nov. 28, 1349	...	Per resig.
Meeke's ,, ...	Feb. 9, 1349		
All Saints	Dates between 1344-1406		
Belton's Chantry	July, 1349	Per mort.	
St. Peter Parva	Sept. 18, 1349	,,	
St. Sampson	Sept. 20, 1349	,,	
St. Elenes, Stonegate . . .	Aug. 24, 1349	,,	
St. Martin's	1349	,,	
,, ...	...	...	Survived.
Sudham's Chantry.			
St. Michael's	Jan. 19, 1349	...	Per resig.
St. Mary's, Castlegate . . .	No information		
Pryor's Meed, ,, . . .	Sept. 5, 1349	Per mort.	
Norfolk Chantry	May, 1349	,,	
,, ,, ...	Oct. 6, 1349	...	Per resig.

[1] The writer is indebted for this table to Mr. Frederic Seebohm.

Mortality of Clergymen in York during the Black Death (*continued*)

Name of Parish.	Date of Institution of Rector or Clergyman.	Cause of Vacancy.	
		Death of Previous Incumbent.	Resignation of Previous Incumbent.
City of York—			
St. Lawrence	Aug. 22, 1349	Per mort.	
Wartres Chantry	Nov. 29, 1348	...	Per resig.
...	July 3, 1349	...	(?)
St. Margaret's	Aug. 14, 1349	Per mort.	
St. Dyonis	Jan. 22, 1349	,,	
,, ...	Nov. 23, 1349	,,	
St. George, Fishergate . . .	Jan. 24, 1348	..	Per resig.
St. Elenes, ,, . . .	...	...	Survived.
St. Cuthbert, Layerthorp . .	...	...	,,
All Saints, Peasholm . . .	Sept. 11, 1349	...	Per resig.
St. Elenes on ye Walls . . .	Dec. 7, 1349	Per mort.	
St. Saviour's	Sept. 2, 1349	,,	
Dr. Hathelsey's Chantry . . .	Nov. 23, 1349	...	Per resig.
All Saints, North Street . . .	July 12, 1349	Per mort.	
Benzes Chantry ,, . . .	Mar. 27, 1348	,,	
,, ,, . . .	Jan. 23, 1349	,,	
	July 6, 1349	,,	
St. John's, Ouse Brigg.			
St. Martyn's, Mickge. . . .	Oct. 21, 1349	Per mort.	
St. Gregory ,, . . .	...	...	Survived.
St. Trinity ,, . . .	...	...	,,
St. Mary's, Bphill. Nova . .	July 3, 1349	...	Per resig.
,, ,, Vetus . .	Nov. 16, 1349	...	,,
,, ,, ,, . .	Jan. 28, 1349	Per mort.	
,, Chantry . . .	1349	,,	
St. Clement's, Skeldge.			
St. Witham, Ouse Brigg (Chantry) .	Nov. 4, 1349	Per mort.	
,, ,, ,, .	...	...	Survived.
Prioress of St. Clement.			
St. Mary's (Abbott) (founded 1088).	May 24, 1348	Per mort.	
St. Mary Mag. Hospital . . .	June 17, 1349	...	Per resig.

APPENDIX B

In the text (p. 83) it has been shown that the average earnings per working-class family in York, including the whole earnings of all members of the family (irrespective of age), and payments made by lodgers for board and lodging, but excluding wages of members of the family who live away from home, as, for instance, domestic servants, were 32s. 8¾d. weekly.

It is here proposed to show what the average family earnings are, including the *total* earnings of lodgers and the wages of domestic servants.

Earnings of Lodgers.—There are 1349 lodgers lodging with working-class families in York, viz.—1195 men and 154 women. Their occupations have been ascertained by direct inquiry, and their average earnings estimated in the same way as the earnings of householders (see p. 262).

Their total earnings amount to £1559, out of which sum it has been estimated that they pay £557 for board and lodging.

If the *total* earnings of lodgers be included in the working-class earnings instead of merely the sum they pay for board and lodging, the total weekly earnings of the working classes in York are raised from £18,148 to £19,150, or 34s. 6½d. per family.[1]

Earnings of Domestic Servants.—I estimate the number of domestic servants in York to be 4296.[2] I think, however, it would be over-stating the fact if we assumed that this figure represented the number of servants drawn from York working-class homes. The demand for girls in the York factories is large, and hence the proportion of York girls who go into domestic service is lowered. After making inquiry at some of the principal registry offices in the city, I have come to the

[1] The 84 families who refused information and the 385 families living upon private means are not included in this calculation (see p. 83).

[2] See p. 26.

conclusion that it will probably not be far from the truth if we estimate the number of domestic servants coming from York homes to be two-thirds of the total number of domestic servants in York, namely—2864. I have, as stated previously, obtained no *direct* information regarding the wages paid to domestic servants in York, but, as above, have made inquiry at the registry offices, and think the average wage may be put down at about £15 a year. This would give a total of £826 per week as the *money* earnings of the 2864 domestic servants who are drawn from York homes. If we include an allowance for board, washing, and lodging, we may estimate their average earnings at £35 a year, giving a total for the 2864 domestic servants of £1928 per week.

If now we take the total earnings of lodgers and the wages of daughters in domestic service into account, we obtain the following figures :—

Average weekly earnings per working-class family in York

(*a*) Excluding daughters away in domestic service and including only payments made for board and lodging by lodgers.	32s. $8\frac{3}{4}$d.
(*b*) Including *total* earnings of lodgers . . .	34s. $6\frac{1}{2}$d.
(*c*) Including total earnings of lodgers and also *money wages* of daughters away in domestic service	36s.
(*d*) Including total earnings of lodgers and also *total* wages of daughters in domestic service .	38s.

APPENDIX C

THE following estimates were obtained personally from working people, either by the writer or his helpers :—

ESTIMATES OF THE MINIMUM NECESSARY ANNUAL COST OF A MAN'S CLOTHING

No. 1

		s.	d.
Boots	1 new pair and repairs	11	0
Socks	4 pairs at 9d.	3	0
Coat	1 second-hand	4	0
Vest	1 second-hand	1	6
Trousers	1 pair and repairs	7	6
Overcoat	1 second-hand 15s., lasts 3 years	5	0
Shirts	3 at 1s. 4d.	4	0
Cap and scarf	Say	1	3
		37	3

No. 2

		s.	d.
	1 pair second-hand 3s.; repairs 1s. 11d.	4	11
	4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
	1 second-hand	7	6
	1 second-hand	3	0
	1 pair second-hand and repairs	7	6
	(including under-shirts)	5	6
	Say	1	9
		32	2

No. 3

		s.	d.
Boots	2 pairs second-hand at 4s.; repairs 4s.	12	0
Socks	4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
Coat, Vest, Trousers	second-hand	12	6
Shirts	2 new ones at 2s.	4	0
Cap and scarf	Say	1	0
		31	6

No. 4

		s	d.
	1 new pair at 5s. 6d.; repairs 2s.	7	6
	4 pairs at 6½d.	2	2
	1 second-hand	4	0
	1 second-hand	2	0
	1 pair and repairs	7	0
	2 new ones at 2s. 3d.	4	6
	Say	1	6
		28	8

No. 5

		s.	d.
Boots	2 pairs second-hand	9	0
Socks	4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
Coat	1	4	6
Vest	1	2	0
Trousers	1 pair and repairs	6	0
Shirts	2 new at 2s.	4	0
Cap and scarf	Say	1	0
		28	6

No. 6

		s.	d.
	2 pairs second-hand	7	0
	3 pairs at 6d.	1	6
	1 second-hand	3	0
	1 second-hand	1	6
	1 pair and repairs	7	6
	2 new ones at 2s. 3d.	4	6
	Say	1	6
		26	6

No. 7

		s.	d.
Boots	1 new pair 5s. 6d.; repairs 2s. 6d.	8	0
Socks	4 pairs at 6½d.	2	2
Coat	1 second-hand	3	6
Vest	1 second-hand	1	6
Trousers	1 pair and repairs	6	0
Shirts	2 second-hand at 1s. 3d.	2	6
Cap and scarf	Say	1	6
		25	2

No. 8

	s.	d.
2 pairs second-hand	9	0
3 pairs at 6d.	1	6
1 second-hand	4	6
1 second-hand	1	0
1 pair second-hand	2	6
2 new ones at 2s. 3d.	4	6
Say	1	6
	24	6

No. 9

		s.	d.
Boots	1 new pair 5s.; repairs 2s.	7	0
Socks	4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
Coat	1 second-hand	4	0
Vest	1 second-hand	1	3
Trousers	1 pair second-hand	5	0
Shirts	2 new ones at 2s.	4	0
Cap and scarf	Say	1	0
		24	3

No. 10

	s.	d.
1 pair 5s.; repairs 2s.	7	0
5 pairs at 6d.	2	6
1 second-hand	2	6
1 second-hand	1	6
1 pair and repairs	6	0
2 second-hand at 1s. 6d.	3	0
Say	1	0
	23	6

No. 11

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair second-hand 3s.; repairs 1s. 6d.	4	6
Socks	4 pairs at 6½d.	2	2
Coat	1 second-hand	3	6
Vest	1 second-hand	1	0
Trousers	1 pair and repairs	7	0
Shirts	2 new ones at 1s. 11d.	3	10
Cap and scarf	Say	1	4
		23	4

No. 12

	s.	d.
1 new pair 5s.; repairs 2s.	7	0
4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
1 second-hand	3	6
1 second-hand	1	3
1 pair second-hand	4	3
2 new ones at 1s. 11d.	3	10
Say	1	4
	23	2

No. 13

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair second-hand and repairs	6	0
Socks	3 pairs at 6d.	1	6
Coat	1 second-hand	3	6
Vest	1 second-hand	1	6
Trousers	1 pair second-hand	5	6
Shirts	2 second-hand at 1s. 9d.	3	6
Cap and scarf	Say	1	6
		23	0

No. 14

	s.	d.
2 pairs second-hand at 3s. 6d.	7	0
4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
1 second-hand	4	0
1 second-hand	1	6
1 pair second-hand	3	6
2 new ones at 2s.	4	0
Say	1	0
	23	0

No. 15

		s.	d
Boots	1 pair 5s.; repairs 2s.	7	0
Socks	4 pairs at 6d.	2	0
Coat	1 second-hand	3	6
Vest	1 second-hand	1	6
Trousers	1 pair second-hand	3	0
Shirts	2 new ones at 2s.	4	0
Cap and scarf	Say	1	0
		22	0

Estimates of the Minimum Necessary Annual Cost of Clothing for a Woman

No. 1

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 5s. 6d.; repairs 3s. 6d.	9	0
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	Ready-made skirt 8s.; blouse 2s.	10	0
Aprons	4 at 6d. each	2	0
Skirt	Go without.		
Stockings	2 pairs at 9d.	1	6
Underclothing	1 of each articl	2	10
Stays	1 pair	2	6
Hat	New one would cost 4s. 6d., but would last several years, say	1	6
Jacket	Do., say	1	6
Shawl	Do., say	1	0
		31	10

No. 2

		s.	d.
	1 pair 6s.; repairs 1s. 6d.	7	6
	Wear old boots.		
	Buy at jumble sale	7	6
	5—2 at 6d. and 3 at 10d.	3	6
	Make out of old dress.		
	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
	1 of each article	3	4
	1 pair	2	6
	New one lasts several years, say	2	0
	Do., say	2	0
	Do., say	1	0
		31	4

No. 3

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 5s.; repairs 2s. 6d.	7	6
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	A new one	10	0
Aprons	3 at 1s.	3	0
Skirt			
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
Underclothing	1 of each article	3	3
Stays	1 pair	2	0
Hat	A new one lasts several years, say	1	6
Jacket	Do., say	1	0
Shawl	Do., say	1	0
		31	3

No. 4

		s.	d.
	1 pair 5s.; repairs 2s. 6d.	7	6
	1 pair	2	0
	Second-hand 4s.; blouse 2s.	6	0
	3 at 8d.	2	0
	Go without.		
	2 pairs at 8d.	1	4
	1 of each article	3	0
	1 pair	4	6
	A new one lasts several years, say	1	0
	Do., say	1	6
	Do., say	1	0
		29	10

No. 5

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 8s. 6d., repairs 6d., last two years	4	6
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	Includes all materials, make it yourself	10	0
Aprons	3 at 4d. each	1	0
Skirt	Use up old dress.		
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
Underclothing	1 of each article	3	8
Stays	1 pair	1	10
Hat	A new one lasts several years, say	1	0
Jacket	Do., say	4	0
Shawl	None.		
		28	0

No. 6

		s.	d.
	1 pair 5s.; repairs 2s. 6d.	7	6
	Wear old boots.		
	Buy a skirt at a jumble sale 4s. 6d., and a blouse 2s.	6	6
	3 at 6d. each	1	6
	Make out of old dress or go without.		
	2 pairs at 1s. each	2	0
	1 of each article	2	9
	1 pair	1	11
	New one would cost 4s., but would last several years, say	1	0
	Do., say	1	6
	Do., say	1	0
		25	8

No. 7

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 4s. 6d.; repairs 1s. 6d.	6	0
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	Buy one second-hand	7	0
Aprons	3 at 10d.	2	6
Skirt	Make out of old dress.		
Stockings	2 pairs at 9d.	1	6
Underclothing	1 of each article	2	6
Stays	1 pair	1	11
Hat	New one would cost 4s. 6d., but would last several years, say	1	6
Jacket	Do., say	1	6
Shawl	Do., say	1	0
		25	5

No. 8

		s.	d.
	1 pair	4	2
	Wear old boots		
	Second-hand	8	6
	2 at 6½d.	1	1
	New one	1	3
	2 pairs at 5½d.	0	11
	1 of each article	4	9
	1 pair	1	4
	A new one lasts several years, say	0	9½
	Do., say	2	6
		25	3½

No. 9

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 4s. 6d.; repairs 1s. 6d.	6	0
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	Buy at jumble sale 4s. 6d.; blouse 1s. 11d.	6	5
Aprons	2 at 9d.	1	6
Skirt	Go without.		
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
Underclothing	1 of each article	3	4
Stays	1 pair	2	6
Hat	A new one lasts several years, say	1	0
Jacket	Do., say	1	0
Shawl	Do., say	1	0
		24	9

No. 10

		s.	d.
	1 pair 5s.; repairs 2s. 6d.	7	6
	Wear old boots.		
	Second-hand	4	6
	2 at 6d. each	1	0
	Make out of old dress.		
	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
	1 of each article	3	4
	1 pair	1	11
	A new one lasts several years, say	1	6
	Do., say	1	6
	Do., say	1	0
		24	3

No. 11

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 4s. 6d.; repairs 1s. 6d.	6	0
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	Second-hand	6	0
Aprons	2 at 7d.	1	2
Skirt	Go without.		
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
Underclothing	1 of each article	3	2
Stays	1 pair	1	11
Hat	A new one lasts several years, say	1	0
Jacket	Do., say	1	6
Shawl	Do., say	1	0
		23	9

No. 12

		s.	d.
	1 pair 4s. 3d.; repairs 1s. 9d.	6	0
	Wear old boots.		
	Buy at jumble sale	4	6
	2 at 6d.	1	0
	Make out of old dress.		
	1 pair, knits them herself, and re-foots 1 pair	2	2
	1 of each article	2	0
	1 pair	1	11
	A new one lasts several years, say	1	0
	Do.	1	6
	Do.	1	0
		21	1

No. 13

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair 2s. 11d., repairs 1s., husband does repairs.	3	11
Slippers	Wear old boots.		
Dress	Second-hand	5	0
Aprons	2 at 6d.	1	0
Skirt	Go without.		
Stockings	2 pairs at 6½d.	1	1
Underclothing	1 of each article	2	11
Stays	1 pair	2	11
Hat	A new one lasts several years, say	1	0
Jacket	Do.	1	6
Shawl	Do.	1	0
		20	4

Estimates of the Minimum Necessary Cost of Clothing for Boy of 12 Years

No. 1

		s.	d.
Boots	1 pair, 5s.; repairs 4s.	9	0
Suit	12s. 6d., extra trousers 2s. 6d.	15	0
Shirts	1	1	9
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
Caps, etc.	....	1	0
Overcoat	Lasts several years, say	2	0
		30	9

No. 2

		s.	d.
	1 pair 6s.; repairs 3s.	9	0
	10s. 6d., extra trousers 2s. 11d.	13	5
	1	1	3
	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
	....	1	0
Say		2	0
		28	8

No. 3

		s.	d.
Boots	2 pairs, 4s.; repairs 4s.	12	0
Suit	10s. 6d., extra trousers, 2s.	12	6
Shirts	1	1	1
Stockings	2 pairs at 9d.	1	6
Caps, etc.	....	1	0
Overcoat	Do without.		
		28	1

No. 4

		s.	d.
	2 pairs 4s. 6d.; repairs, 3s.	12	0
	7s., extra trousers 2s.	9	0
	1	1	3
	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
	....	1	0
Say		1	6
		26	9

No. 5

		s.	d.
Boots	2 pairs 4s. 6d.; repairs 3s.	12	0
Suit	7s., extra trousers, 2s.	9	0
Shirts	1	1	3
Stockings	2 pairs	1	6
Caps, etc.	....	1	0
Overcoat	Say	2	0
		26	9

No. 6

		s.	d.
	2 pairs 3s. 6d.; repairs 3s.	10	0
	9s. 6d., extra trousers 2s. 6d.	12	0
	1	1	9
	2 pairs at 9d.	1	6
	....	1	0
	Do without.		
		26	3

No. 7

		s.	d.
Boots	2 pairs 3s. 11d.; repairs 2s. 2d.	10	0
Suit	6s. 6d., extra trousers 2s. 6d.	9	0
Shirts	1	1	3
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s. 3d.	2	6
Caps, etc.	....	1	0
Overcoat	Say	2	0
		25	9

No. 8

		s.	d.
	2 pairs 4s.; repairs 4s.	12	0
	7s. 6d., extra trousers 2s. 6d.	10	0
	1	1	6
	2 pairs at 9d.	1	6
	....	0	6
	Do without.		
		25	6

No. 9

		s.	d.
Boots	2 pairs 3s. 11d.; repairs 2s. 2d.	10	0
Suit	8s., extra trousers 2s.	10	0
Shirts	1	1	3
Stockings	2 pairs at 1s.	2	0
Caps, etc.	....	1	6
Overcoat	Do without.		
		24	9

Estimates of the Minimum Necessary Annual Cost of Clothing for a Child of 2 Years

No. 1

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes.	2 pairs at 2s. 6d.	5	0
Dresses	2 at 1s. 9d.	3	6
Underclothes	2 of each article	3	3
Night-dresses	2	1	0
Pinafores	3 at 6d.	1	6
Socks	2 pairs at 6d.	1	0
Hat	1	2	0
Coat	1	3	6
		20	9

No. 2

		s.	d.
	3 pairs at 1s. 6d.	4	6
	3 at 1s. 6d.	4	6
	2 of each article	2	7
	2	1	2
	3 at 6d.	1	6
	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
	1	1	6
	1	3	6
		20	0

No. 3

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes.	3 pairs at 2s.	6	0
Dresses	2 at 2s.	4	0
Underclothes	2 of each article	3	0
Night-dresses	2	1	0
Pinafores	3 at 5d.	1	3
Socks	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
Hat	1	1	0
Coat	1	2	6
		19	6

No. 4

		s.	d.
	2 pairs at 2s.	4	0
	2 at 1s. 3d.	2	6
	2 of each article	2	10
	2	1	9
	3 at 6d.	1	6
	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
	1	2	0
	1	4	0
		19	4

No. 5.

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes	2 pairs at 2s. 6d.	5	0
Dresses	2 at 1s. 3d.	2	6
Underclothes	2 of each article	3	0
Night-dresses	2 at 6d.	1	0
Pinafores	3 at 5d.	1	3
Socks	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
Hat	1	1	0
Coat	1	3	6
		18	0

No. 6

		s.	d.
	2 pairs at 2s. 9d.	5	6
	2 at 1s. 3d.	2	6
	2 of each article	3	0
	2 at 9d.	1	6
	3 at 5d.	1	3
	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
	1	1	0
	1	2	6
		18	0

No. 7

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes	2 pairs at 2s. 3d.	4	6
Dresses	2 at 1s. 3d.	2	6
Underclothes	2 of each article	2	6
Night-dresses	2	1	0
Pinafores	3 at 6d.	1	6
Socks	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
Hat	1	1	6
Coat	1	2	6
		16	9

No. 8

		s.	d.
	3 pairs at 2s.	6	0
	2 at 1s.	2	0
	2 of each article	2	6
	2 at 6d.	1	0
	3 at 6d.	1	6
	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
	1	1	0
	1	1	6
		16	3

No. 9

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes	2 pairs at 2s.	4	0
Dresses	2 at 1s.	2	0
Underclothes	2 of each article	2	4
Night-dresses	2	1	0
Pinafores	3 at 5	1	3
Socks	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
Hat	1	1	0
Coat	1	3	6
		15	10

No. 10

		s.	d.
	2 pairs at 2s.	4	0
	2 at 1s.	2	0
	2 of each article	2	0
	2	1	0
	4 at 5d.	1	8
	2 pairs at 6d.	1	0
	1	1	6
	1	2	6
		15	8

No. 11

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes	2 pairs at 2s.	4	0
Dresses	2 at 1s.	2	0
Underclothes	2 of each article	2	6
Night-dresses	2	1	0
Pinafores	3 at 5d.	1	3
Socks	2 pairs at 4½d.	0	9
Hat	1	1	0
Coat	1	3	0
		15	6

No. 12

		s.	d.
	2 pairs at 1s. 6d.	3	0
	2 at 1s.	2	0
	2 of each article	2	2
	2 at 6d.	1	0
	3 at 4d.	1	0
	2 pairs at 6d.	1	0
	1	1	0
	1	2	6
		13	8

No. 13

		s.	d.
Boots or shoes	1 pair	2	11
Dresses	2 at 1s. 6d.	3	0
Underclothes	2 of each article	1	11½
Night-dresses	None.		
Pinafores	3 at 6½d.	1	7½
Socks	2 pairs at 4d.	0	8
Hat	1	1	0
Coat	1	2	0
		13	2

The following are independent estimates of the minimum necessary requirement of *coal* per week. The figures are given in stones :—

15.	12½.	12½.	17.	12½.	12½.
15.	20.	15.	10.	15.	15.
15.	15.	15.	15.	15.	20
25.	20.	15.	15.	15	20
15.	15.				

Average 15 stones = 1½ bags per week.

APPENDIX D

TABLE SHOWING THE AGE AT MARRIAGE OF THE SKILLED WORKERS AND LABOURERS WHO WERE MARRIED IN YORK 1898-99.

(See p. 139.)

SKILLED WORKERS 1898–99.					LABOURERS 1898–99.				
Males.			Females.		Males.			Females.	
Age at marriage (*i.e.* age last birthday).	No. of marriages.	Per cent.	No. of marriages.	Per cent.	Age at marriage (*i.e.* age last birthday).	No. of marriages.	Per cent.	No. of marriages.	Per cent.
16	...	...	2	·32	16	...	...	1	·20
17	...	...	1	·16	17	...	...	1	·20
18	...	...	16	2·56	18	4	·80	26	5·23
19	3	·47	24	3·83	19	17	3·42	37	7·44
20	13	2·11	33	5·27	20	20	4·03	41	8·25
21	45	7·19	83	13·26	21	64	13·00	78	15·70
22	56	8·91	68	10·87	22	54	11·00	55	11·07
23	57	9·10	66	10·54	23	52	10·04	48	9·66
24	74	11·82	63	10·07	24	39	8·00	35	7·04
25	57	9·10	44	7·03	25	41	8·25	29	5·84
26	40	6·39	33	5·27	26	35	7·05	18	3·62
27	49	7·82	28	4·47	27	26	5·23	18	3·62
28	33	5·27	26	4·15	28	21	4·24	23	4·63
29	31	5·00	16	2·56	29	19	3·82	12	2·42
30	21	3·35	24	3·83	30	16	3·23	10	2·01
31—35	61	9·74	41	6·55	31—35	40	8·05	29	5·83
36—40	19	3·03	28	4·47	36—40	22	4·42	13	2·62
41—45	29	4·63	10	1·60	41—45	7	1·41	11	2·21
46—50	15	2·40	10	1·60	46—50	7	1·41	2	·40
51—55	6	·96	6	·96	51—55	5	1·00	1	·20
56—60	11	1·75	1	·16	56—60	3	·60	7	1·41
61—65	6	·96	3	·47	61—65	5	1·00	2	·40
TOTALS	626	100·00	626	100·00	TOTALS	497	100·00	497	100·00

The following table shows the percentage of persons marrying at the various age periods in different countries. The figures are taken from Italian statistics collected by Bodio, and quoted by Dr. Georg von Mayr. (See *Statistik und Gesellschaftslehre*, pp. 399-400.)

TABLE SHOWING THE PERCENTAGE OF MARRIAGES AT EACH AGE GROUP, CALCULATED UPON THE TOTAL MARRIAGES

MEN

Age of Men at time of Marriage.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Italy.	France.	Prussia.	Bavaria.	Saxony.	Würtemberg.	Austria.	Switzerland.	Belgium.	Netherlands.	Sweden.	Norway.	Denmark.	Russia.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Buenos Ayres.
Under 20 years	2·14	2·54	2·46	2·63	1·90	2·06	0·51	0·02	17·62	17·19	1·01	27·04	2·97[2]	0·15	1·79	25·22	32·01	1·89	2·52	2·81
20-25 ,,	43·41	35·62	31·17	31·55	24·58	69·53	28·92	38·78			26·29		27·98[2]	26·68	26·48		34·11	35·60	36·62	31·36
25-30 ,,	29·99	32·62	30·44	34·27	42·36		35·54	36·87	44·50	47·29[1]	34·49	37·36	35·22	36·08	34·07	39·01	17·74	33·14	30·64	33·37
30-40 ,,	15·81	20·57	26·	20·83	22·36	21·81	24·72	16·20	26·72	22·02	24·62	24·51	22·75	26·00	25·85	26·14	9·80	20·07	19·86	24·80
40-50 ,,	5·02	5·79	7·05	6·74	5·35	5·47	9·27	5·00	7·21	7·98	8·33	7·31	6·83	6·81	6·89	6·32	4·31	5·68	6·44	5·57
50-60 ,,	2·38	2·04	2·08	2·63	2·39	2·22		2·23	2·88	3·79	3·62	2·67	2·89	4·28	4·92	2·39	2·03	2·26	2·47	1·52
Over 60 ,,	1·25	0·82	·80	1·35	1·06	0·91	0·20	0·90	1·07	1·73	1·64	1·11	1·36			0·92		1·36	1·45	0·57
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

WOMEN

Age of women at time of Marriage.	England.	Scotland.	Ireland.	Italy.	France.	Prussia.	Bavaria.	Saxony.	Würtemberg.	Austria.	Switzerland.	Belgium.	Netherlands.	Sweden.	Norway.	Denmark.	Russia.	Massachusetts.	Rhode Island.	Buenos Ayres.
Under 20 years	11·06	11·64	11·83	23·35	20·52	8·18	10·73	7·65	4·01	17·33	7·21	47·12	12·43[2]	6·36	7·94	7·37	56·35	16·10	15·87	45·61
20-25 ,,	49·68	45·11	48·03	41·90	42·20	73·59	41·93	51·95	41·41	30·28	40·61		36·56[2]	36·07	39·20	39·13	29·48	44·53	44·43	31·90
25-30 ,,	22·50	25·67	25·74	18·64	20·59		26·62	24·43	33·09	30·24[1]	28·07	27·99	28·58	31·37	28·48	30·84	6·94	23·19	22·18	12·41
30-40 ,,	11·24	13·11	11·17	10·71	11·97	13·55	15·40	11·13	15·82	14·94	16·62	17·59	15·67	20·11	18·31	17·58	4·95	11·83	12·77	7·24
40-50 ,,	3·79	3·53	2·41	3·78	3·20	3·67	5·12	3·72	4·37	5·35	5·64	5·32	4·67	4·78	4·67	3·97	1·86	3·13	3·51	2·11
50-60 ,,	1·34	0·78	0·62	1·62	1·52	0·90		0·94	1·14	1·84	1·55	1·49	1·63	1·31	1·40	0·92	0·42	0·92	0·91	0·61
Over 60 ,,	0·29	0·16	0·20			0·16	0·20	0·18	0·16		0·30	0·49	0·46			0·19		0·30	0·33	0·21
	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0	100·0

[1] Over 24 and up to 30 years inclusive.

[2] Under 21 and between 21 and 25.

APPENDIX E

A COMPARISON of the conditions of the York meat supply with those in force in Copenhagen (recently investigated by the writer) may prove of interest. In the Danish capital all animals are slaughtered in the municipal Abattoir.

"The animals are inspected by a veterinary surgeon at the Abattoir before slaughtering, after which the meat is examined by veterinary surgeons (who also supervise the slaughtering) and assistants.

"Meat declared fit for human food is stamped with a blue mark, the carcases of larger animals in twelve different places, of pigs in eleven, of calves in four, and of sheep in two. Meat which is only conditionally sound and wholesome is also stamped, but with a different shaped stamp and with black.

". . . In the way described above a considerable portion of the meat consumed in the metropolis passes through the Abattoir, but a still greater quantity is imported killed, and is inspected at Meat Inspection Stations erected for that purpose. One principal station is at the Abattoir itself, one large one at the main railway station, and three lesser in various parts of the town. The veterinary staff of the Abattoir attend to these stations also, and they are under the same administration as the former institution. The meat found on inspection to be sound, or only conditionally sound, is stamped with two different marks, which are easily distinguished from the Abattoir marks both by their shape and size. The superintending veterinary surgeon, or his deputy, decides as to the condemnation of carcases or parts of such, but his judgment can be appealed from to the Copenhagen Board of Health in the same way as in like cases at the Abattoir.

". . . The meat, having thus passed the Abattoir or Inspection Stations and furnished with the necessary stamp, is sold—the imported meat at special places. It is a matter of course that

control in these places runs the danger of being eluded, and in consequence a thorough daily inspection is held by four policemen, who have previously received some instruction in judging meat. The principal object of this inspection is to ascertain that all the meat for sale is furnished with the control stamp; but at the same time the meat is examined as to possible deterioration from being kept too long and being thereby rendered unfit for human food, or as to more or less uncleanly mode of treatment. The inspection includes shops, warehouses, mincing machines, etc., and takes place two or three times monthly in each business at unstated periods."[1]

[1] *Denmark: Its Medical Organisation, Hygiene and Hemography*, pp. 113-115. Paper contributed by St. Friis, Copenhagen, Veterinary Surgeon to the Copenhagen Board of Health.

APPENDIX F

WHILE much may admittedly be done to improve the milk supply of cities by municipal inspection and control, it is, however, to private initiative that the most effective and far-reaching reforms yet introduced in any large centre of population have been due. In Copenhagen, for instance, the writer has recently been able to inspect an institution which constitutes a splendid example of the way in which private enterprise can safeguard public health from the dangers of contaminated milk.

Twenty-two years ago a merchant of that city, struck by the difficulty of getting pure and wholesome milk, determined to bring about an improvement in the supply. Having first secured the promise of the support of the principal doctors, he formed a small company (the Copenhagen Milk Supply Association), and commenced to build up what is now one of the finest and largest businesses of its kind in the world, and one that is a complete financial success. The regulations imposed on the farmers dealing with the Company are strict, and comprise such items as a fortnightly veterinary inspection of every cow and the immediate disposal of any that show the least symptom of disease; inspection of the sanitary arrangements and examination of water supplies; proper feeding of the cows, which is a more vital matter, especially in the milk supply for infants, than most people have any idea of; cleanliness of the shippons, of the cows themselves, and of the operation of milking; the health of the milkers and farm hands; and the prompt and thorough cooling of the milk with ice to arrest bacterial growth. The distribution of the milk is carefully carried out. From the farms it is conveyed in sealed cans by the Company's own railway vans, which are cleansed daily, and in warm weather are liberally supplied with ice—in pleasant contrast to the prevailing methods in this country. On arrival at the Company's depot the milk is

all filtered through sterilised gravel in order to remove any minute particles of dust or dirt that may have gained access in transit. The sediment so often seen in English milk is sufficient proof of the desirability of such a process. A sample from each can is taken for analysis, while an expert taster tastes a small quantity and examines the temperature, anything faulty being at once rejected. Every precaution, in fact, is taken to prevent contamination of the milk.

A considerable quantity of the milk (about 4000 quarts per day) is sent out in sealed glass bottles, for which a small extra charge is made. The bulk, however, is distributed over the city by about forty closed vans, in which the milk is placed in sealed cans provided with taps, the taps alone being accessible to the driver, while round the cans ice is packed whenever the weather is warm. No preservatives are used, yet only one delivery per day is made, and that with perfect satisfaction to all concerned. The saving in expense thus effected is considerable, and, together with the large turnover, accounts for the low price at which this almost perfect milk can be profitably retailed—namely 2½d. per quart. It is necessary to state, however, that the wholesale price of milk in Denmark is less than in England, the difference amounting to fully ½d. per quart.

APPENDIX G

Analyses used in Dietary Studies, showing Percentages of Protein, Fat, and Carbohydrates contained in the various Food-Stuffs.

Those marked "A" are from "American Food Materials," by Atwater and Bryant, Bulletin 28 (Revised Edition), U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1899.

Those marked "B" are from analyses made in the Royal College of Physicians' Laboratory (Edinburgh).

ANIMAL FOODS

Kind of Food.	Source of Analysis.	Protein.	Fat.	Carbo-hydrates.
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Anchovies	A	23·7	12·1	
Beef (flank)	A	18·6	19·9	
,, (ribs)	A	14·4	20·0	
Bones, etc.	A	9·7	3·9	
Bacon	A	14·5	33·2	
Butter	A	1·0	85·0	
Cheese (American)	A	29·6	38·3	
,, (Cheddar)	A	27·7	36·8	4·1
Cream	A	2·5	18·5	6·5
Dripping	B	...	97·7	
Eggs	A	11·9	9·3	
Fowl	A	13·7	12·3	
Fish (fresh), as cod	A	16·7	·3	
,, ,, haddock	A	17·2	·3	
Ham	A	14·5	33·2	
Liver	A	20·2	3·1	2·5
Lard (pure)	A	...	100·0	
Milk (whole)	A	3·3	4·0	5·0
,, (skimmed)	A	3·4	·3	5·1
,, (condensed, as Nestle's)	B	9·0	13·5	51·5
Margarine	A	1·2	83·0	
Mutton (flank)	A	13·8	36·9	
,, (sides)	A	13·0	24·0	
Pork	A	12·0	29·8	
Potted Meat	B	23·6	27·7	
Rabbit	A	21·5	2·5	
Sausages (pork)	A	17·4	32·5	
Salmon	A	19·5	7·5	
Suet	A	4·7	81·8	
Soup	B	1·1	·1	7·8
Sheep's Heart	A	23·1	9·0	5·0
Shrimps	A	25·4	1·0	·2
Tripe	B	14·1	3·1	
Veal	A	15·1	6·0	

VEGETABLE FOODS

Kind of Food.	Source of Analysis.	Protein.	Fat.	Carbo-hydrates.
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Arrowroot	A	...	...	97·0
Bananas	A	·8	·4	14·3
Beer	B	·6	...	1·3
Beans	A	22·5	1·8	59·6
Biscuits	A	8·7	2·6	55·3
Bread	A	9·2	1·3	53·1
,, (Hovis)	A	9·7	·9	49·7
Cherries (bottled)	A	1·1	·1	21·1
Cocoa	A	21·6	28·9	37·7
Cornflour	A	7·1	1·3	78·4
Currants	A	2·4	1·7	74·2
Dates	A	1·9	2·5	70·6
Flour	...[1]	11·4	1·0	70·0
,, (prepared barley)	A	10·5	2·2	72·8
Figs	A	1·5	...	18·8
Fruit (as apples)	A	·3	·3	10·8
Gingerbread	A	5·8	9·0	63·5
Gooseberries (bottled)	A	·7	...	24·0
Grapes	A	1·0	1·2	14·4
Honey	A	·4	...	81·2
Infants' Foods	A	12·7	3·3	76·2
Jam	A	·6	·1	84·5
Lemons	A	·7	·5	5·9
Macaroni	A	13·4	·9	74·1
Oatmeal	A	16·1	7·2	67·5
Onions	A	1·4	·3	8·9
Oranges	A	·6	·1	8·5
Peas	A	24·6	1·0	62·0
Potatoes	A	1·8	·1	14·7
Prunes	A	·7	...	17·4
Quaker Oats	A	16·7	7·3	66·2
Raisins	A	2·3	3·0	68·5
Rice	A	8·0	·3	79·0
Rhubarb	A	·4	·4	2·2
Sago	A	9·0	·4	78·1
Sugar	A	...	...	100·0
Treacle and Syrup	A	...	...	69·3
Tomatoes (fresh)	A	1·5	·2	12·3
,, (tinned)	A	1·2	·2	4·0
Tapioca	A	9·0	·4	78·1
Tea-cake	A	6·7	9·6	72·4
Wheaten Meal	A	16·7	7·3	66·2
Vegetables (as cabbages)	A	1·4	·2	4·8
Yeast	...	11·7	·4	21·0

[1] Average of series of analyses of samples purchased in York.

Trade Union.	No. of Members in York.	Contributions per Week.	Out-of-Work Benefits.	Accident Benefit.	Tool Insurance.	Sick Pay
Operative Bricklayers' Society	233	A. 7d. to 9d., according to age B. 3d. for over-aged, between 45 and 55	...	£50, and £50 for legal expenses for compensation	...	15s. for 13 wks 9s. „ „ 5s. for remainder of illness
National Association of Operative Plasterers	57	A. 6d. B. 7d. C. 2½d.	...	Total Disablement, £100	...	(B only) 10s. for 13 wks 6s. „ 13 „ 5s. „ 78 „
Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners	243	1s. . .	12s. for 12 wks. 6s. „ „	Total, £100; partial, £50	Up to £20	12s. for 26 wks 6s. for remainder of illness
United Operative Plumbers' Association	36	9d. . .	...	£100, £50, or £25	...	10s. for 26 wks 7s. 6d. for 13 wks 4s. for remainder of illness
Operative Stonemasons' Friendly Society	77	A. 7d. and 1d. to Wives' Fund B. 3d. for over-aged members	...	£100, £20, or £10, according to age at entrance	...	Sick fund being dropped Accident pay— 8s. for 12 wks 5s. „ „
Blue Tile Slaters .	24	6d. . .	...	£30 . .	...	10s. for 13 wks 6s. „ „ 3s. for remainder of illness
National Amalgamated Society of Operative House and Ship Painters	45	...	7s. per wk. for 8 wks.	Total, £20 to £100; partial, £10 to £30	...	8s. for 13 wks 4s. „ „
Amalgamated Engineers	160 (estimated)	A. B. C.	10s. for 14 wks. 7s. „ „ 6s. for varying periods according to length of membership	(A only) Total disablement, £100	(A only) Up to £10	(A only) 10s. for 26 wks 5s. „ „ 4s. for remainder of sickness

Strike Pay per Week.	Travelling Benefits.	Death Benefit.	Entrance Fee.	Superannuation Payment per Week
15s. . .	1s. 6d. at each station	A. £15 B. £6	...	Over 55. After 15 years' membership, 5s. ,, 20 ,, ,, 7s. ,, 30 ,, ,, 9s.
15s. . .	1s. 6d. per day	£10 for 12 months' member, and £6 for wife £5 for 6 months' member and £3 for wife .	...	Over 60. After 20 years' membership, 5s. ,, 25 ,, ,, 6s. ,, 30 ,, ,, 7s. 1s. extra for every 5 years' membership.
15s. . .	...	£12 . .	...	Over 50 years and 25 years' membership, 8s. per week.
15s. . . .	10s. 6d. per wk. for 7 wks. in one year	£10 for member; £5 for wife	...	Over 60 years and 20 years' membership, 5s. 1s. extra for every additional 5 years' membership.
12s. . .	98 days in year	£12 to £3 according to age at entry; £5 for wife	...	After 20 years' membership, 4s. ,, 25 ,, ,, 5s. ,, 30 ,, ,, 6s. ,, 40 ,, ,, 8s.
12s. . .	1d. per mile, with limit of 10s. in 6 months	£10 for member; £5 for wife	...	None except continued sick pay.
15s. . .	...	According to circumstances £3 to £10	...	After 20 years' membership if under 40 when admitted, and 60 years old, 5s.
s. for 52 wks. in addition to out-of-work pay	...	A. £12 B. £5 C. £2 : 10s. to £5	...	(A only) 55 yrs. and not working at trade— after 25 years' membership, 7s. ,, 30 ,, 8s. ,, 35 ,, 9s. ,, 40 ,, 10s.

Trade Union.	No. of Members in York.	Contributions per Week.	Out-of-Work Benefits.	Accident Benefit.	Tool Insurance.	Sick Pay.
Boiler-smiths and Iron and Steel Shipbuilders	76	A. 1s. B. 1s. C. 6d.	A. From 4s. to 10s. for 14 wks. From 2s. to 5s. for 2nd 14 wks. B. 3s. or 4s. for 14 wks. according to length of membership	A and B, £100	...	A 10s. for 26 wk 5s. ,, ,, 4s. remaind of illness B 8s. for 18 wk 5s. ,, ,, 2s. remainde
Steam Engine-makers' Society	24	1s. . .	10s. for 14 wks. 7s. ,, 14 ,, 4s. ,, 24 ,, Also railway fare to situation	£100, £50, or £20	...	10s. for 26 wk 6s. ,, ,, 4s. remaind of illness
Friendly Society of Iron Founders	34	1s. 6d. .	...	Total disablement, £100	...	9s. for 26 wk 8s. ,, 13 6s. ,, 13 5s. ,, 13 1s. remain up to 2 yea
Smiths and Strikers	95	A. 6d. B. 3d.	(A only and optional) 6s. for not longer than 8 wks.	(A only) Total disablement, £75	...	(A only) 10s. for 12 w 5s. ,, ,, 2s. during rest of the ness
...	...					
White Smiths .	9	A. 3d. B. 7d.	(B only) 10s. for 10 wks. 8s. ,, 8 ,,	...	...	...
Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants	480	A. 5d., and for Sick and Funeral benefit additional 5d. to 8½d. B. 3d., and for Sick and Funeral benefit additional 3d. to 5d.	A If suspended, 18s. per wk. Out of work— 12s. for 10 wks. 6s. ,, ,, B If suspended, 12s. per wk. Out of work— 10s. for 10 wks. 5s. ,, ,,	...	...	A 10s. for 20 w 6s. 6d. ,, B 6s. for 20 w 4s. ,, ,,

N YORK (*continued*)

Strike Pay per Week.	Travelling Benefits.	Death Benefit.	Entrance Fee.	Superannuation Payment per Week.
10s. or 12s.	(A and B) 6d. a night in addition to donation up to 20s. within 12 months	A. £12 for member; £6 for first wife, £4 for second wife B. £6 at death; £4 at death of wife	...	55 yrs. and not working at trade— after 25 years' membership, 4s. ,, 30 ,, 5s. ,, 35 ,, 6s. ,, 40 ,, 7s
5s. in addition to out-of-work pay	1s. 6d. per day and 6d. for bed	£12 for member; £6 for member's wife	...	55 yrs. and not working at trade— after 25 years' membership, 6s. ,, 30 ,, 7s. ,, 35 ,, 8s. ,, 40 ,, 9s. ,, 45 ,, 10s.
15s. . .	9s. per week and a bed each day for 2 years	...	...	60 yrs. and not working at trade— after 30 years' membership, 5s. ,, 35 ,, 6s. ,, 40 ,, 7s. 6d.
8s. . .	(A only) 3s. 6d. donation and 1d. per mile up to 30s. for a year	A £8 for member, £5 for wife B £2 for member, £2 for wife	A 2s. 6d. to 7s. 6d. according to age B All over 43, 7s. 6d. and 10s. according to age	No special provision. Infirm members get 2s. per week as continued sick-pay.
20 wks. at 15s. 10 ,, ,, 10s. 22 ,, ,, 7s. 6d.	(B only) Bed at each branch and 10s. for 10 wks 8s. ,, 8 ,, (out-of-work benefits)	(A and B) £5	...	(B only) Not working at the trade through old age or infirmity after membership of 20 yrs., 5s.; 25 yrs., 6s.; 30 yrs., 7s. 6d.
A 12s. per week and 1s. for each child under 12 B 8s. per week and 1s. for each child under 12	A For 1st 10 wks., 1s. 10d. per day and 1s. on Sunday. For 2nd 10 wks., 10d. per day and 1s. on Sunday B For 1st 10 wks., 1s. 6d. per day and 1s. on Sunday. For 2nd 10 wks., 8d. per day and 1s. on Sunday	A. £5 B. £3	1s. .	A. After 20 years' membership and over 60, bonus of £20. B. None.

Trade Union.	No. of Members in York.	Contributions per Week.	Out-of-Work Benefits.	Accident Benefit.	Tool Insurance.	Sick Pay.
United Kingdom Society of Coachmakers	66	A. 1s. B. 3d.	According to length of membership: A 10s. for 13 wks. 5s. „ „ B 8s. for 13 wks. 4s. „ „ or 8s. for 8 wks. 4s. „ „	£50 . .	Extra subscription	Optional su scription, £ per week.
Amalgamated Union of Cabinetmakers	18	...	10s. per wk. .	...	...	10s. for 13 w 7s. 6d. „ 13 „ 5s. „ 26 „
Amalgamated Society of Tailors and Tailoresses	79	A. 9d. B. 8d. C. 5½d. D. 3d.	...	...	...	(A and B) 10s. for 13 w 8s. „ „ 6s. „ „ 4s. „ „ 3s. 6d. for r mainder of i ness
Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society	86	2s. . .	10s. for 13 wks. 8s. „ 13 „ 5s. „ 26 „	...	...	7s. for 13 w 6s. „ „ 5s. „ „ 4s. „ „ 2s. for the r mainder of i ness
Typographical Association	141	7d. (4d. for unemployed and sick)	3s. per wk. for 5 wks., 6 wks., or 7 wks. in each quarter according to length of membership	Members incapacitated for working can remain members for 2d. per wk.	...	...
Bookbinders' and Machine Rulers' Consolidated Union	11	7d. . .	10s. for 12 wks. in one year	Members incapacitated for working can remain members for 2d. per wk.	..	...

IN YORK (*continued*)

Strike Pay per Week.	Travelling Benefits.	Death Benefit.	Entrance Fee.	Superannuation Payment per Week.
16s. for 13 wks.	A 1s. per day and 6d. for bed for 13 wks. B 9d. per day and 6d. for bed for 13 wks.	A £6 to £10 for member; £3 to £6 for wife B After membership of 2 years, £3 3 ,, £4 4 ,, £5 5 ,, £6	2s. 6d. . .	60 yrs. and not working at trade— after 30 years' membership, 6s. ,, 35 ,, 7s. ,, 40 ,, 8s.
15s. . .	...	Voted, and a special levy raised	...	60 years of age, or afflicted so as to be incapable of earning more than half the standard wages, after membership of 30 years, 6s. ; 35 years, 7s. ; 40 years, 8s.
10s. to 15s. according to length of membership	(A, B, and C) 1s. 4d. in each branch for 40 days in each year	£10, £6, or £4, and £4 or £2 for wife	A, B, C. 2s. 6d. to 5s. D. 1s.	60 years, and average earnings at the trade not exceeding 15s. per week, after membership of 15 years, 2s. 6d. ; 25 years, 5s.
15s. for 6 mths.	...	£8, and a special levy of £9	...	Over 56, or incapacitated for work at the trade, a grant of £9, and after membership of 10 years, 2s. ; 20 years, 3s. ; 25 years, 4s. ; 30 years, 5s. ; 35 years, 6s. ; commutable for £50.
20s. for 15 or 20 wks. according to age	Maximum allowance during 12 months, according to length of membership, from £8 to £11 : 4s.	£4 to £10 according to length of membership	5s. to 20s. .	Over 60, or permanently incapacitated and not working at any branch of the trade, after membership of 20 years, 6s. ; 25 years, 7s. ; 30 years, 8s. ; 40 years, 10s.
15s. for 8 wks., or a travelling document	1s. per day and bed, and 1s. 6d. on Sundays, payable at each branch	£1 to £15 according to length of membership	7s. 6d. . .	Not working at any branch of the trade, and not earning more than 15s. per week in any other calling, after membership of 25 years, 5s. ; 30 years, 6s.

Trade Union.	No. of Members in York.	Contributions per Week.	Out-of-Work Benefits.	Accident Benefit.	Tool Insurance.	Sick Pay.
Bricklayers' Labourers	346	3½d. under 60 2d. if over 60	1s. 4d. per day 2s. 8d. Sunday	10s. per wk. .	...	...
Glass Workers' and General Labourers' Union	100	10d. per month	...	..	...	...
Union of Postal Clerks	37	1s. 3d. per annum plus a subscription to local branch	...	...	...	...
Postmen's Federation	62	6d. per annum	...	Benefit Society attached, but optional	...	...

YORK (*continued*)

Strike Pay per Week.	Travelling Benefits.	Death Benefit.	Entrance Fee.	Superannuation Payment per Week.
5s. per wk. during shop strike, and 10s. per wk. during general strike	...	£7 : 7s., and £5 : 5s. for first wife	...	.....
5s. per wk. .	...	...	...	.....
...	...	...	...	... ..
...	...	...	..	.....

APPENDIX I

Table of Ingredients used in various Food Stuffs given on pages 99-102

Broth, vegetable .	pint	2 oz. fresh vegetables; ½ oz. dripping; 1 pint meat liquor; salt and pepper to taste.
Cake, plain . .	lb.	7½ oz. flour; 2 oz. sugar; 2 oz. dripping; 1 oz. currants; ½ gill milk; salt to taste; ¼ oz. baking powder; water a sufficiency.
Cake, seed . .	lb.	13 oz. bread dough; 2 oz. sugar; 2 oz. dripping; ¼ oz. carraway seeds.
Cocoa (Adults) . .	pint	½ oz. cocoa; $\frac{4}{10}$ oz. sugar; 3 fl. oz. milk; water a sufficiency.
Cocoa (Children) .	pint	½ oz. cocoa; $\frac{4}{10}$ oz. sugar; ½ pint milk; water a sufficiency.
Coffee (Adults) . .	pint	$\frac{4}{10}$ oz. coffee (20 per cent chicory); ½ oz. sugar; 3 fl. oz. milk; water a sufficiency.
Coffee (Children) .	pint	$\frac{4}{10}$ oz. coffee (20 per cent chicory); ½ oz. sugar; ½ pint milk; water a sufficiency.
Dumplings . .	lb.	11 oz. bread dough.
Gruel . . .	pint	2 oz. oatmeal; ½ oz. treacle; water and salt a sufficiency; allspice to be used occasionally.
Pease pudding . .	lb.	8 oz. split peas; ¼ oz. fat; salt; water or meat liquor a sufficiency.
Potatoes with milk .	lb.	10 oz. boiled potatoes; 1 oz. fat; 1 oz. flour; 1 gill milk; salt to taste.
Porridge . . .	pint	4 oz. oatmeal; water and salt.
Suet pudding . .	lb.	8 oz. flour; 2 oz. suet (beef); salt to taste; water a sufficiency.
Tea (Adults) . .	pint	$\frac{2}{10}$ oz. tea; ½ oz. sugar; 2 fl. oz. milk; water a sufficiency.
Tea (Children) . .	pint	$\frac{2}{10}$ oz. tea; ½ oz. sugar; ½ pint milk; water a sufficiency.

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