

Deceptive data? The New Survey of London Life and Labour
1928 – 31

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Abstract

This paper examines the New Survey of London Life and Labour, a social survey conducted within Greater London in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Relatively unknown compared to Charles Booth's more famous survey of London some forty years before, the New Survey is perhaps the most detailed study of the lives of everyday Londoners in the inter-war period. This paper explains the background of the New Survey and examines the processes that were used to collect household information. It then examines how reliable the data is, especially given that doubts have been raised over the conduct of one interviewer in particular, who was responsible for collecting almost a fifth of the total information.

Introduction

In 1930, the London School of Economics and Political Science published the first volume of *The New Survey of London Life and Labour*.¹ In the following five years a total of nine volumes were produced, analysing various aspects of London, from the leisure activities of its inhabitants to its industries. The concept behind the New Survey is revealed by the subtitle of its first volume, *Forty years of change*. Forty years before another social survey took place in the Metropolis, Charles Booth's *Inquiry into the Life and Labour of the People in London*.² Booth's survey was undertaken between 1886 and 1903 and remains perhaps the most famous social survey undertaken of the capital. Certainly, whilst a great number of people are aware of Booth's survey, and perhaps most of all the coloured maps giving a description of poverty on a street by street basis, relatively few are aware of its more recent successor, the New Survey.

One of the key undertakings of the New Survey was a household survey, overseen by the noted statistician Arthur Lyon Bowley.³ Houses were selected on the basis of random sampling, a technique that Bowley had pioneered in the decades before. The household survey covered 38 London Boroughs and was undertaken by at least 181 different interviewers, many of whom were school attendance officers. Equipped with a survey card interviewers attempted, with varying degrees of success, to collect information on the household including rent, wages, hours of work, and birthplaces. The completed cards were then sent back to headquarters to be statistically analysed, but it is clear that such was the volume and depth of the information collected that it was beyond the means of the New Survey staff to fully examine the results. Furthermore, as the New Survey was primarily an investigation into poverty, it was decided that households considered to be 'middle-class' should be excluded from the analysis, even when the data card for the household had been filled. Jewish households appear to have been similarly treated, though the separation process was less definite and it is unclear why such households were excluded.

After the completion of the New Survey, the household survey cards were placed into the custody of Professor Bowley. From there, they found their way into the archive of the London School of Economics (LSE), though at some stage the data cards for the London

¹ London School of Economics and Political Science, *The New survey of London Life and Labour Vol.I. Forty years of change*, (London, P. S. King & Son Ltd, 1930).

² C. Booth (ed), *The life and labour of the people: Volume I, East, Central, and South London*, (London, MacMillan and Co, 1892).

³ R. G. D. Allen, 'Bowley, Sir Arthur Lyon (1869–1957)', rev. John Bosnell, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/32006>, accessed 18 Sept 2013].

boroughs of Walthamstow and a portion of data cards for Tottenham (the cards which contained working-class households) were lost and have not been recovered. In the 1990s a digitisation of the household survey cards was undertaken by the LSE and the University of Essex, sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council. Coding of the data cards was overseen by A. Leith of the LSE between 1995 and 1997, with the Principal of the project T. J. Hatton (Essex), and the Investigators R. E. Bailey (Essex), D. E. Baines (LSE), P. A. Johnson (LSE), and A. Raspin (LSE).⁴ The project, however, only digitised the working-class data cards, and excluded the middle-class and Jewish information. In total 26,915 surviving data cards were computerised containing 94,137 individuals, around two per cent of the working-class population in the boroughs surveyed.⁵ The computerised data was then used in a number of articles largely focusing on inter-war poverty, the labour market, and social mobility.⁶

By digitising the data, the project team were able to examine some of the inconsistencies that arose in the way certain interviewers had recorded information. Such anomalies occurred when the original interviewer had either misunderstood instructions or chosen not to follow them, or when circumstances on the ground presented an issue that had not been considered in the instructions issued. For the most part these inconsistencies were resolved at the coding stage (i.e., rent recorded in various ways was converted to a weekly format in pence). But one issue arose that is of important note, the activities of one interviewer named G. E. Bartlett.

Little is known of G. E. Bartlett, indeed, it is not even clear what sex this erstwhile interviewer was (Bartlett is presumed here to have been a man on the basis that female interviewers were often prefixed with 'Miss' on the data cards they filled in). What is apparent is that he was the most prolific of all the interviewers, responsible for completing 4,971 of the working-class cards digitised by the LSE and Essex project, 18.5 per cent of the

⁴ The database and notes for this project are available from the UK Data Service at <http://discover.ukdataservice.ac.uk/catalogue?sn=3758>. Grant numbers R000235697 and R000221981.

⁵ D. Baines and P. Johnson, 'In search of the 'traditional' working class: Social mobility and occupational continuity in inter-war London', in *The Economic History Review*, (52), 1999, p.697.

⁶ See D. Baines and P. Johnson, 'Did they jump or were they pushed? : the exit of older men from the London labour market, 1919-1931', in *Journal of Economic History*, *Second Series*, (59), 1999, p.949 – 971, D. Baines and P. Johnson, 'In search of the 'traditional' working class: Social mobility and occupational continuity in inter-war London', in *The Economic History Review*, (52), 1999, p.692 – 713, T. J. Hatton and R. E. Bailey, 'Rowntree's life cycle of poverty in interwar London', in J. Bradshaw and R. Sainsbury (eds), *Getting the Measure of Poverty: The Early Legacy of Seebohm Rowntree*, (Aldershot; Ashgate, 2000), p.109 – 147, T. J. Hatton and R. E. Bailey, 'Seebohm Rowntree and the postwar poverty puzzle', in *Economic History Review*, (53), 2000, p.517 – 543, T. J. Hatton and R. E. Bailey, 'Women's work in census and survey, 1911-1931', in *Economic History Review*, *Second Series*, (54), 2001, p.87 – 107, and T. J. Hatton and R. E. Bailey, 'Unemployment Incidence in Interwar London', in *Economica*, 69 (276), 2002, p.631 – 654,

total. This impressive feat, far in excess of any other interviewer (the next most prolific interviewer filled in 905 cards), raised concerns. In October 1930 Bartlett completed an estimated 600 interviews in a month, and in four other months completed over 400 interviews.⁷ A dramatic achievement given the conditions the survey was undertaken in. These issues led the project team to note in 1998 that;

One possibility is that Bartlett carried out the interviews over a longer span of time and subsequently signed and dated the cards in batches later on. Another is that he subcontracted some of the work. Yet another is that Bartlett sat at home and used his imagination to fill in the cards. The sheer variety of entries, carelessness in completion of the cards and awkwardness of non-standard responses suggest that this is unlikely – a most fertile imagination would have been required. It is possible that this enigma will eventually be disentangled though reliable evidence is hard to come by given the incomplete records and, by now, it is most unlikely that any person directly involved in organising the interviewing still survives.⁸

However, despite the concerns raised over Bartlett's substantial contribution to the database, in the articles written subsequently using the digitised data no mention was made of him or the problematic nature of using his data. No further investigative work was undertaken and Bartlett's data has continued to be used uncritically.

In 2011 I began a new phase of digitisation work on the New Survey. The aim was to digitise a sample of the middle-class and Jewish data cards that had been set aside by the previous project. A total of 5,814 middle-class data cards were digitised covering 23 of the 38 boroughs surveyed.⁹ It was in this regard that Bartlett was brought to my attention, as his cards were both frequently encountered and his entries seemingly repetitive regarding certain information (for example, Bartlett appeared to largely record a birthplace of 'London' for interviewees, whilst other interviewers typically recorded the specific borough or county of birth). The newly digitised middle-class data cards were originally to be added to the existing working-class database, but it became apparent that the leap in computing technology between 1998 and 2013 required that the original database be redesigned. This was

⁷ R. Bailey and A. Leith, *Computerising and Coding the New Survey of London Life and Labour. A Companion Paper for the Codebook (Release 2.0)*, 1998, p.49.

⁸ *Ibid*, p.50.

⁹ Those boroughs were; Bethnal Green, Shoreditch, Stepney, Bermondsey, Stoke Newington, Greenwich, Lewisham, Woolwich, Barking, East Ham, Leyton, Tottenham, West Ham, Finsbury, Lambeth South, Southwark, Hammersmith, Hampstead, Camberwell, Wandsworth, Acton, Hornsey, and Willesden.

undertaken to put the data into a more useable format and convert it for use within Microsoft Access 2010. This having been completed, it was now a much easier prospect to test Bartlett's data against that of the other 179 identified interviewers. In doing so, we can test whether a fifth of the household survey had been the creation of Bartlett's imagination.

This working paper is divided into three main sections; the first examines the background to the New Survey and the methods implemented by Bowley for the household survey. The second compares the information recorded by Bartlett with regard to birthplaces, transport costs, and wages against that provided by the other interviewers. The third provides a conclusion on how accurate the New Survey data might be considered.

The New Survey of London Life and Labour.

The genesis of the New Survey was rooted in that of Booth's. One of Booth's assistants on his project was Hubert Llewellyn Smith, the man who would direct the New Survey. As such, a level of commonality between the two surveys is sometimes apparent. Like Booth's survey, the New Survey contained a street survey (not to be confused with the household survey) which produced a series of street maps which were colour coded with regard to the income, occupation, and class of the occupants. Though the categorisations of occupants into groups differed slightly from Booth's, the similarities were perhaps exemplified by the fact that where Booth's survey coloured black streets inhabited by the 'vicious' and 'semi criminal', the New Survey also coloured black streets where the inhabitants were deemed to be 'the lowest class of degraded or semi criminal population'.¹⁰ But it was in the household survey that the differences between Booth's survey and the New Survey become apparent. Llewellyn Smith's background was one grounded in statistics. He held a double first in mathematics from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and during his time there had become involved with the so-called 'new Oxford movement', a group committed to improving the condition of the working classes. He was appointed the first labour commissioner to the newly created labour department of the Board of Trade in 1893, becoming deputy comptroller-general and then comptroller-general of the commercial, labour and statistical branch from 1897. He was subsequently appointed permanent secretary to the Board of Trade between 1907 and 1919. In 1919 he became the chief economic adviser to the government,

¹⁰ London School of Economics and Political Science, *The New survey of London Life and Labour Vol.IV and VII. Maps*, (London, P. S. King & Son Ltd, 1934 - 35). For online access to Booth's poverty maps the Charles Booth Online Archive is operated by the London School of Economics at <http://booth.lse.ac.uk/>.

retiring in 1927.¹¹ Perhaps as a consequence of this the New Survey leaned more towards statistical evaluation than Booth's had done. The household survey epitomised this approach and was overseen by the statistician Arthur Lyons Bowley.

Booth's survey had relied on the use of school board visitors and then cross referenced their information with charitable workers and clergy. There was no specific house-to-house visiting nor were school board visitors asked to collect specific information on households for the survey itself.¹² In contrast, the household survey undertaken by Bowley specifically sought out households for examination as part of the New Survey. In 1906, at a meeting of the Economic Section of the British Association, Bowley had suggested that instead of making a full house-to-house survey to investigate poverty, it was possible instead to use a system of random sampling which would generate reasonably accurate results (he asserted that it would be possible to mathematically estimate the degree of error involved) from a relatively small number of samples and with a great saving in time and labour.¹³ In 1912 he undertook a pilot study of working-class households in Reading based upon a five percent sample followed in 1913 by similar studies of Warrington, Stanley, and Northampton. In 1915 these were published under the title *Livelihood and Poverty*.¹⁴ With this experience Bowley designed the household survey for London in a similar manner.

Households were selected on a borough basis, with the survey area covering all private houses, but excluding institutions, common lodging-houses, barracks, hostels, hotels, and boarding houses.¹⁵ It is apparent, however, that in practice private houses converted into boarding houses were surveyed, as well as pubs and shops. With the survey area established for each borough, a list of potential samples was then drawn up using borough population censuses, supplemented with school attendance officers' schedules, local directories, and, in at least one case, the voting register. These lists were then numbered with every x household selected. The number of households selected varied from borough to borough. In larger boroughs 1 in 50 houses were selected, but in smaller boroughs, such as Bethnal Green, there was concern that this ratio would not give a large enough sample; hence 1 in 20 households

¹¹ Roger Davidson, 'Smith, Sir Hubert Llewellyn (1864–1945)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/36147>, accessed 22 Aug 2013]

¹² E. P. Hennock, 'The measurement of urban poverty: from the metropolis to the nation, 1880 - 1920', in *Economic History Review, Second Series*, (40), 1987, p.208.

¹³ *Ibid*, p.220.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, p.221.

¹⁵ London School of Economics and Political Science, *The New survey of London Life and Labour Vol.III. Survey of social conditions (I) The Eastern Area*, (London, P. S. King & Son Ltd, 1932), p.31.

were examined.¹⁶ The aim was to get at least 500 households for each borough, though in Barking and Stoke Newington this target was missed.¹⁷ Interviewers were required to visit the addresses selected, often multiple times, and collect whatever information possible, filling in a data card containing the information and then returning the card to headquarters for analysis, even if information was refused. A copy of one of these data cards is included at the end of this working paper (Figure 5). Only in cases where the house was unoccupied was the interviewer permitted to substitute a different address (the house to the left of the unoccupied building when facing the address, and if this was unoccupied, the house on the right), but it is clear that in practice interviewers were not necessarily rigorous in the application of these rules, an issue which forms the main analysis for this paper.¹⁸

The investigators themselves appear to have been a mixed group of people. It seems that originally the intention was to use school attendance officers, but the reaction from the officers themselves was not necessarily conducive to this aim. In Leyton, for example, the officers considered themselves grossly overworked as a consequence of cutbacks which had reduced their numbers from eleven to five. They felt that if they accepted the New Survey work ‘their case against the Education Authorities for an increase of staff would be hopelessly undermined’.¹⁹ As such, in some areas school attendance officers were used but in others private interviewers appear to have been taken on. It is unclear from the information left behind from the New Survey what the relative proportions of these groups were. It is also apparent that the interviewers were of varying quality. It was noted by the Secretary of the New Survey in January 1929 during the household survey in West Ham that ‘I understand from Mr Reed that of the present West Ham team only two are effective workers, viz. Miss Kerman and Mr Baron. Miss Hilliard, who was probably the best, has just left to take up a post in Bermondsey...’²⁰ It also appears that private interviewers were being paid 1s 4d per card completed, a greater sum than that offered to the school attendance officers. From the accounts left on the payment of interviewers it appears that G. E. Bartlett was being paid around 1s 3d per card successfully completed. However, as the other interviewers operating in the same boroughs as Bartlett were also earning this sum, it remains difficult to say whether they were private interviewers or school attendance officers.²¹ Whilst 1s 3d is below

¹⁶ Ibid, p.32.

¹⁷ Ibid, p.436.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.413.

¹⁹ London School of Economics Archive, NSOL/1/9/6, letter from Secretary to Hubert Llewellyn-Smith dated December 9th 1929.

²⁰ London School of Economics Archive, NSOL/1/9/1, letter from Secretary to Hubert Llewellyn-Smith dated January 14th 1929.

²¹ London School of Economics Archive, NSOL/1/14/1.

the rate of pay offered for the private interviewers in West Ham, the first borough examined, the New Survey suffered from funding shortages throughout so the rate of pay could have been decreased subsequently. In any case, the range of interviewers, in addition to differing pay scales, explains to some degree why certain data cards were completed to a better standard than others.

The main aim of the household survey was ‘to study the relative amount of actual poverty and sufficiency in wage-earning households’.²² In this regard the New Survey sought to examine working-class poverty in a similar respect to Booth. Indeed, the New Survey established a poverty line for a moderate family of 40 shillings a week in order to measure the proportion of households in poverty, just as Booth had established a poverty line of 21 shillings.²³ Investigators filled in a card for each household, recording age, occupation, employer, place of work, the weekly amount spent on fares, full time weekly earnings, earnings in the week before, full time hours, hours worked in the previous week, insurance contribution, sources and value of unearned income (such as pensions or investments), birthplace, weekly rent (including rates), the tenure status of the house (i.e., owner occupied, rented, or otherwise), the number and type of rooms in the house, the presence of a garden, yard, or allotment, and there was space for additional comments if required. But it is apparent there were difficulties in the collection of data. Recording wages was complicated through individuals earning on commission, or being on piece work or short time. Unearned income was also difficult to record, and rentals were complicated by lodgers and internal household payments. Furthermore, many households refused information, the most frequent refusals coming from households considered to be upper-working or middle-class.²⁴ Indeed, the class of a household also raised important issues.

The New Survey, as Booth’s survey before it, was primarily interested in the conditions of the working class. But the random sampling method used was bound to include wealthy and middle-class households. With regard to these households it was decided that ‘it was not necessary to do more than ascertain the number of households whose regime was superior to that of the wage-earning class’.²⁵ The definition of which households were middle-class was largely arbitrary. The New Survey explains;

²² London School of Economics and Political Science, *The New survey of London Life and Labour Vol.III. Survey of social conditions (I) The Eastern Area*, (London, P. S. King & Son Ltd, 1932), p.34.

²³Ibid, p.101.

²⁴Ibid, p.33.

²⁵Ibid, p.34.

The method followed was to mark a card as middle-class if the corresponding house was evidently from its situation or size of that nature, without further inquiry, local knowledge usually being sufficient for the purpose. Where there was doubt, the card was filled up as far as possible, unless the first question showed it to be unnecessary. The completed cards then covered the whole of the working class, and a fringe of the middle class which was subsequently set aside.²⁶

It was further explained that the definition of class was also made on the basis of the occupation of the head of household (primarily defined as the male father or husband in the household). Clerical workers, for example, were deemed to be middle-class despite the fact they could be earning less than their artisan counterparts. Furthermore, the occupation of other family members was not considered. For example, if the sons of a clerk were both general labourers, the family was still determined to be middle-class (and, equally, a household where the head was an artisan but his children were clerks was determined to be working-class). Whilst the New Survey stressed that it was the occupation of the head of household rather than their income which was the primary means of differentiation, it is clear this is not the case. Households where the head was earning more than £250 per annum, and hence was above the threshold for national insurance contributions, were also deemed middle-class. Furthermore, and perhaps less statistically rigorous, was the idea that some 'middle-class addresses... were written off because they were discovered to be in good class residential streets'.²⁷

The result was that all the data collected by the New Survey was divided into three primary groups; working-class, middle-class, and waste cards, the latter being cards which, for reasons often unclear, were excluded from any analysis. Other divisions were also made. For the borough of Stepney Jewish households were collected separately, a curious division, because for the other boroughs Jewish households were included in the working-class and middle-class collections. In some cases these cards are signified with a red 'J' marked upon them, but not always, which adds to the confusion surrounding them. One of the problems with the New Survey data cards is that it is not entirely clear how the cards were subsequently processed once they were completed. What is apparent, however, is that the volume of data collected was so vast, that it was beyond the ability of the survey team to thoroughly analyse it.

²⁶ Ibid, p.34.

²⁷ Ibid, p.34.

Subsequent to the household survey the data cards appear to have been primarily used in two studies. F. D. Klingender used a sample of the middle-class data cards in his 1935 work *The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain* to argue that the average male clerk in Britain was in a similar economic position as his manually employed counterpart, a distinct contradiction to the assessment of the New Survey itself.²⁸ Klingender had in fact been employed by the New Survey to write a chapter about clerical labour, a task he decided to combine with research work for his thesis which was to become *The Condition of Clerical Labour*. Such was his broader scope as a result that he was actually cautioned by the New Survey administration for his actions for fear that he prejudicing his interviewees, an event which possibly explains Klingender's subsequent antipathy to the New Survey.²⁹ K. Liepmann also used samples from the New Survey data in her 1944 study *The Journey to Work: Its Significance for Industrial and Community Life* which used the data to analyse commuting patterns in the Metropolis.³⁰ Both of these studies, however, highlighted how the level of engagement with the data was ultimately limited by its vastness. Use of the data was retarded by the need to use sampling methods to collect a practical number of households for assessment (creating, in effect, a sample within a sample) as well as the difficulty in manually calculating results. Only in 1995, when the afore-mentioned LSE and University of Essex project began to digitise the working-class data cards did a deep analysis of the data become a practical proposition.

Deceptive Data?

With the principles and methods behind the New Survey outlined it is time to turn the attention onto one specific interviewer, G. E. Bartlett. As outlined above, Bartlett was the most prolific interviewer by a substantial margin, to such a degree that questions have been raised over the accuracy of his information. After the digitising of the working-class cards it was suggested that Bartlett could even have been making up all the information recorded, though this seems exceptionally unlikely, subcontracting work out to others, or collecting together large numbers of cards and then signing them off together, creating the illusion of prolific interviewing in certain months. A more likely prospect, which is argued here, is that he undertook the interviewing work himself but rushed through his survey cards to such an extent that he failed to accurately record information and estimated and guessed certain

²⁸ F. D. Klingender, *The Condition of Clerical Labour in Britain*, (London; Martin Lawrence LTD, 1935), p.80.

²⁹ London School of Economics, NSOL/1/9/2, Minutes of Meeting of the Consultative Committee, 27th March 1931.

³⁰ K. K. Liepmann, *The Journey to Work: Its Significance for Industrial and Community Life*, (First edition published by Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co Ltd, 1944, this edition, London; Routledge, 1998).

responses from interviewees to save time. Aside from a few notes in the New Survey accounts, little exists on Bartlett's role or background. He was contracted to carry out some corrections on previously completed survey cards in addition to his own interviewing, which might suggest he held a more senior position than the other interviewers. However, he is not mentioned in any correspondence regarding the household survey, which one would expect if he held a senior post. Rather it seems he was just an interviewer who happened to be exceptionally prolific. This section seeks to test the accuracy of Bartlett's information by comparing it to that recorded by other interviewers across both the digitised working-class and middle-class data cards.

By combining the working-class cards and the middle-class sample cards a total of 32,729 households are available for analysis (this will be referred to as the 'combined dataset' hereafter). Of these households Bartlett was responsible for filling in 6,217 cards, equating to 19 per cent of the data. The next most prolific interviewers were A. N. Winter who recorded 1,162 households, J. Hopker who recorded 1,030, and J. Ludgate who recorded 1,022. Four other interviewers recorded more than 500 households and the rest (of 181 identified interviewers in total) less than that number. On 4,402 cards the name of the interviewer had either not been recorded or was illegible (and hence is liable to be made up of a mix of cards filled in by Bartlett and the other identified interviewers). Some may argue that as Bartlett was only responsible for 19 per cent of the data his overall impact is actually quite low. However, interviewers were typically assigned to specific boroughs; hence their impact could be far greater on a borough level. In Bartlett's case, he was not involved in interviewing any households in 23 of the 38 boroughs recorded in the combined database. In Battersea, Holborn, and Camberwell, however, he was responsible for over 40 per cent of the data recorded. If Bartlett's information is therefore dubious, it undermines the usefulness of the data for comparing certain boroughs. Furthermore, Bartlett was one of the most proficient interviewers at completely filling in his data cards. This sometimes translates to him being responsible for a much larger share of the data than the percentage of households interviewed would imply, which will be demonstrated below.

To test the reliability of Bartlett's data it will be compared with the information collected by the other 180 identified interviewers. Whilst interviewers were biased by borough in terms of the information they recorded, all other aspects of the survey were largely random thanks to the random sampling method used. This does assume, however, that the data collected by the other interviewers is entirely correct, an assumption that is not entirely true. For example, one interviewer, J. Stevenson, collected much of his data not

necessarily from the occupants of the house he was asked to survey, but from housekeepers, and in one instance, a member of the head of household's congregation that Stevenson somehow managed to meet (the head of household being a religious Minister).³¹ Stevenson was a more extreme example, but it is clear that in certain cases interviewers took details from housekeepers, landladies, and others who were not members of the actual household, especially when the household to be surveyed was considered middle-class. Furthermore, with certain information it seems that interviewers were encouraged to guess if they could not get actual results, most notably with regard to rental values. Despite this, sheer weight of numbers should offset any impropriety on the part of certain interviewers. Of the 180 other interviewers identified in the combined dataset it would be incredible if all were guilty of repeated estimations or bad practice. Furthermore, if any were particularly inaccurate, then their impact on the overall database is liable to be exceptionally small given that the vast majority recorded fewer than 500 households each out of a total of 32,729. Stevenson, for example, recorded 322 households, around 1 per cent of the total surveyed.

To accurately test Bartlett's information we need to use data which is comparable. In this regard the information for those individuals in employment will be used, excluding those in self-employment and joint-employment whose circumstances often varied quite considerably. Furthermore, interviewers had a wide range of practice in how they recorded earnings data for such people (for example, if both husband and wife were operating a shop some interviewers recorded joint earnings (i.e. one earnings value jointly attributed to both individuals), some recorded the wife as an employee of the husband, whilst others regarded the wife as a non-earner with a note that she helped in the shop). Individuals in employment also have the most data attributed to them in terms of birthplaces and commuting costs, two areas that will be examined. With this in mind, three main areas will be used for analysis. Firstly, the birthplaces stated on the data cards. It was noted above that Bartlett seemed to be particularly prolific in recording birthplaces generically as 'London'. How does this compare to the other interviewers? Secondly, transport costs. Fare data was recorded on the data cards where applicable, but it was not a major part of the survey. As such, it could be an area where numerical data was haphazardly entered, as it was not deemed particularly important. Finally, full time earnings data will be examined for clerical workers and carpenters to see if Bartlett was accurately recording wage values.

³¹ NSOL card ID reference 300151.

Birthplaces

By selecting those in a state of employment we have a pool of 41,572 individuals. Bartlett is responsible for recording the data for 7,570 of these, some 18.2 per cent. 3,370 individuals cannot be attributed to any particular interviewer (8.1 per cent), and the remainder, some 30,362 individuals, were recorded by a total of 179 other interviewers ('other interviewers' will be used subsequently to denote the data recorded by the pool of identified interviewers excluding Bartlett and the unidentified interviewers). Of these the next most prolific interviewers were A. N. Winter (1,600 individuals interviewed), J. Hopker (1,414), and J. Ludgate (1,339). Each clearly recorded a far lower number of interviewees than Bartlett's total. Furthermore, the average number of individuals surveyed by the other interviewers was only around 180 people. Of the individuals recorded by Bartlett, 67.8 per cent are listed as having the birthplace of 'London'. This is a largely generic term when one considers that the usual practice was to give the specific borough of birth (in some cases the actual address where the individual was born is given, though these were converted to the borough or county level when the data was digitised). In contrast, of the individuals recorded by the other interviewers, 'London' is only recorded as a birthplace for 3,809 individuals, a comparatively low 12.4 per cent of the total.

This suggests that Bartlett was recording places of birth more generically than the rest of the interviewers. The next most frequent birthplaces recorded by Bartlett were Battersea (474 entries) and Wandsworth (397 entries), whilst no other birth place was recorded more than 30 times. The overuse of the term 'London' as a birthplace therefore suggests a dubious aspect to Bartlett's data, and that he was not necessarily rigorous in his interviewing technique. We can take this analysis further. All the birthplaces recorded in the New Survey have been assigned 'conurbation codes'. These codes are a set of numbers which link the birthplace to eight large metropolitan areas including Greater London and Birmingham. For example, the London borough of Lewisham is assigned a code number of 1, which places it within Greater London. Those born without these areas are contained within the row 'not within following conurbations'. As such, we can measure what proportion of individuals interviewed were born in each conurbation. The results are outlined in Table 1.³²

³² Conurbations defined as follows; West Midlands (Birmingham and Wolverhampton), Merseyside (Liverpool and Birkenhead), Manchester (includes Salford and Stockport), Sheffield (includes Rotherham), Leeds (includes Bradford), Tyneside (Newcastle, Gateshead, North and South Shields).

Conurbation	Percentage of individuals born in each conurbation		
	Bartlett	Other Interviewers	Unidentified Interviewers
Not within following conurbations	18.36	33.20	33.38
Greater London	81.57	65.77	65.79
West Midlands	0.01	0.29	0.15
Merseyside	0.01	0.19	0.12
Manchester	0.00	0.17	0.18
Sheffield	0.00	0.04	0.03
Leeds	0.00	0.08	0.12
Tyneside	0.03	0.16	0.18
Clydeside	0.01	0.12	0.06
Total number of individuals	7,570	30,362	3,370

It is immediately apparent that Bartlett was recording much larger numbers of people as having been born in Greater London, a result of his repeated use of the generic birthplace 'London'. One would expect a closer correlation between the birthplaces recorded by Bartlett and the other interviewers, which is the case with the unidentified interviewers. Whilst it is possible that Bartlett just happened to be in areas where a greater proportion of the population were born in London, it seems unlikely. Bartlett recorded a substantial number of individuals (7,570) across various boroughs of London via the same random sampling method used by the other interviewers. One can therefore rule out a particular local bias that might have skewed the results. Rather, I would suggest that Bartlett simply presumed a birthplace of London for the majority of the individuals he interviewed, leading to the over recording of Greater London as a birthplace. It is possible that he approximated on the basis of his interviewees accent and grouped people from the Home Counties as being from 'London'. This might explain why the number of people Bartlett recorded as being without any of the conurbations is almost half that recorded by the other interviewers, though this is only conjectural. As such, his information regarding birthplaces should not be taken as entirely reliable.

Transport Costs

The second area of comparison is transport costs. The New Survey recorded, for applicable individuals, the amount spent on public transport to work per week. As explained above, this value was not a particularly important part of the survey (the main areas of data that were the real focus of the survey being wages and rents). As such, if Bartlett was rushing through data cards as the birthplaces would suggest, we might expect a similar disparity between his values and that of the other interviewers. The transport data is also useful because, for reasons that will be explained below, we will be examining directly comparable

journeys between certain locations. If there was, therefore, a local bias in the districts Bartlett was surveying, this bias should also be reflected in the data provided by other interviewers operating in the same area.

Comparability is of prime importance in this regard. Only individuals in full time employment (excluding self and joint-employment) and those spending a recorded sum greater than zero on public transport will be included in the analysis. Furthermore, the comparison will be based on the weekly sum spent by the individual to get from their borough of residence to the City of London. As some interviewers only worked in inner-boroughs and some in outer-boroughs it would not be accurate to compare the transport costs recorded across the whole of London. Consequently, interviewers will be grouped by borough and their results only compared within those boroughs. Furthermore, by examining within boroughs we avoid the issue that some boroughs only contain working-class data whilst others have a combination of middle-class and working-class data, which could complicate a London-wide analysis. Ultimately the aim here is to compare Bartlett's data with that of the other interviewers, not compare the costs of travelling to the City between different boroughs.

Another issue would arise if Bartlett or the other interviewers had filled in a very small percentage of the data cards. If, to take a theoretical example, Bartlett had filled in 99 per cent of the cards in a borough and the other interviewers only 1 per cent, then the comparison to be made between the two is hardly valid, as the data from the other interviewers could be considered of dubious accuracy. Equally, however, there is a limit to how stringent one can be. As such, it was decided that only in those boroughs where either Bartlett or the other interviewers had filled in 20 per cent of the data would comparisons be drawn. A similar issue arises if the number of individuals recorded is very low. As such, it was decided that only in boroughs where at least 100 entries were recorded could comparisons be drawn. With both of these criteria in place five boroughs were available; Lewisham, Lambeth South, Southwark, Camberwell, and Wandsworth. Furthermore, all of these boroughs had low levels of entries attributed to unidentified interviewers, the largest proportion being 4.5 per cent of individuals in Lambeth South, and all contain both working-class and middle-class data. The number of individuals interviewed and by whom is given in Table 2, whilst Table 3 shows the amount the individuals interviewed were spending to commute between their borough of residence and the City of London.

Borough	Number of Individuals	Percentage of individuals interviewed by Bartlett	Percentage of individuals interviewed by other known interviewers	Percentage of individuals interviewed by unknown interviewers
Camberwell	306	76.80	22.55	0.65
Lambeth South	202	38.61	56.93	4.46
Lewisham	132	49.24	50.00	0.76
Southwark	236	50.42	49.58	0.00
Wandsworth	187	68.98	31.02	0.00

Borough	Average cost of transport recorded by all interviewers (including unidentified) (d)	Average cost of transport recorded by Bartlett (d)	Average cost of transport recorded by other interviewers (d)	Average cost of transport recorded by unidentified interviewers (d)
Camberwell	29.19	28.11	32.86	30.00
Lambeth South	33.00	31.00	34.07	36.67
Lewisham	38.29	33.97	42.67	30.00
Southwark	18.34	16.84	19.86	X
Wandsworth	37.56	32.42	48.98	X

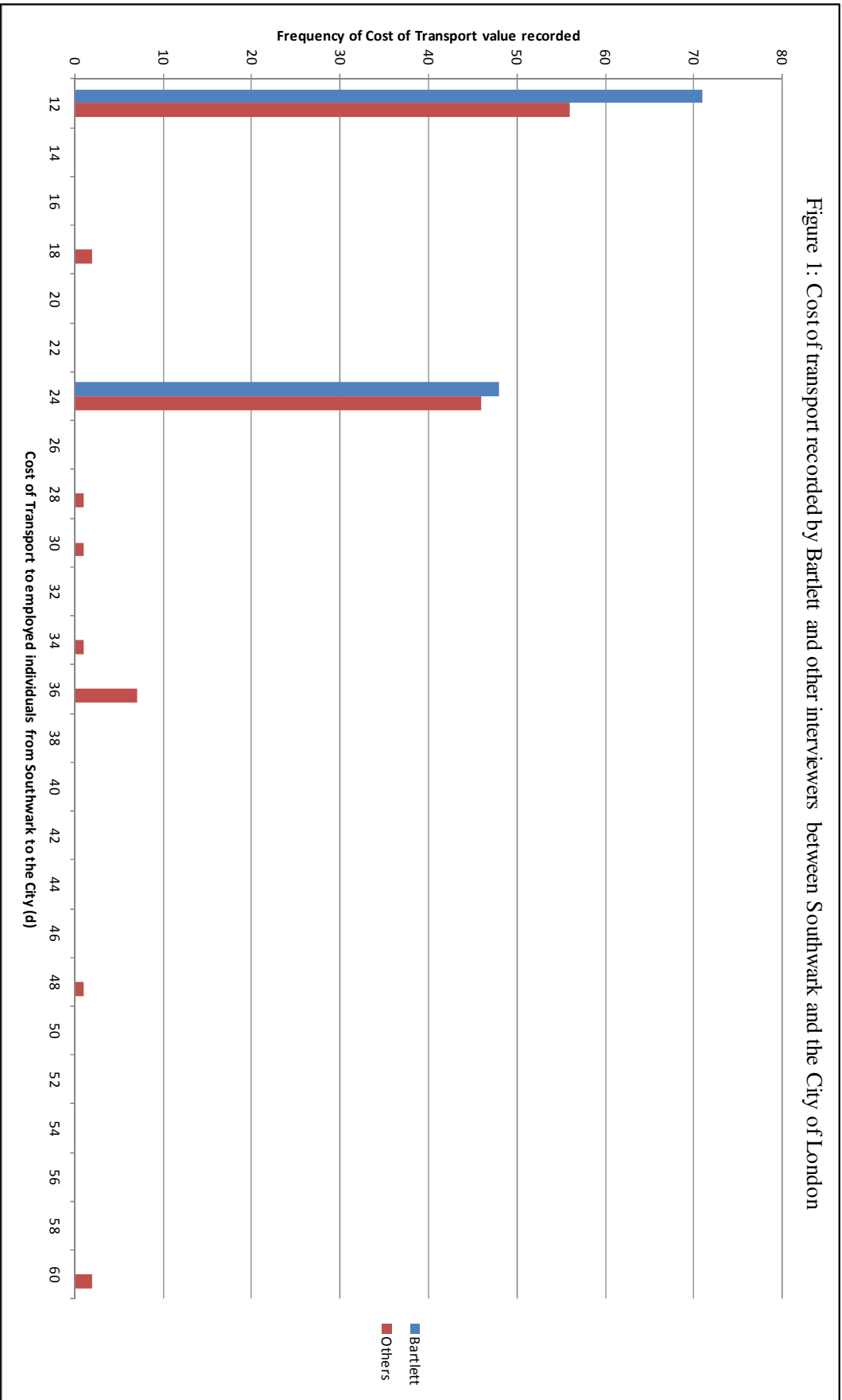
From Table 3 it is apparent that Bartlett's recording of transport costs only differs significantly in two boroughs, Lewisham and Wandsworth. In Lewisham the disparity is 8.7d, which can hardly be considered excessive. In Wandsworth, however, the difference between Bartlett and the other interviewers stands at 16.56d, which is of more concern. This could, however, be explained by the fact that Wandsworth was one of the largest boroughs surveyed. Given that interviewers typically worked in a specific area of the borough, this could simply be a reflection of Bartlett interviewing individuals who lived further from the City of London or were obliged, due to their location, to use more expensive means of transport. Currently, it is not practicable to map the individual household locations to see if this is the case, but it is a possibility. Furthermore, it is worth noting that in the other three boroughs Bartlett's values are fairly close to that of the other interviewers.

An alternative means of assessing Bartlett's entries is to examine the actual transport costs he was recording. As shown above, Bartlett used the generic birthplace 'London' rather excessively when compared to the other interviewers, suggesting he was filling in the data cards in something of a rush and failing to thoroughly examine his interviewees. A similar

examination can be applied to the transport costs recorded. For example, if it was shown that Bartlett largely recorded transport costs as 1/ or 2/, whilst other interviewers recorded a more eclectic range of results, it could be argued that Bartlett was again recording generic estimations. Once again we need a comparable set of results, so we will again use the transport data outlined above. This time, however, we shall examine the incidence of each recorded transport cost. For this the data from the borough of Southwark will be used. This is because Southwark records the second largest number of individuals in employment who recorded a transport cost in travelling to the City, all the interviewers are named on the cards, the difference in the average transport costs recorded by Bartlett as opposed the other interviewers is very low, and there is an almost fifty-fifty split between those individuals recorded by Bartlett and those recorded by the other interviewers. The results are displayed on Figure 1.

Figure 1 shows that the majority of residents in Southwark paid either 12d or 24d (which equates to 1 or 2 shillings) per week on transport. As can be seen, the transport costs recorded by Bartlett are not out of line with those recorded by the other interviewers. Curiously, however, Bartlett doesn't record a single individual paying anything other than 1 or 2 shillings despite interviewing some 119 people. It's a result which again raises questions about Bartlett recording generic values, but given that the other interviewers recorded people spending 1 or 2 shillings 87 per cent of the time, his values are not seriously out of line. As such, it is impossible to claim that Bartlett was definitely inventing values. What the data does suggest, however, was that he was aware of the probable cost of transport and, perhaps in cases where he was unable to get the proper information, used those values. As such, his data is an acceptable fit, but seems almost too good to be entirely true. Of course, because of this, it is impossible to get any idea of how many values he estimated, if indeed, he estimated any at all.

Figure 1: Cost of transport recorded by Bartlett and other interviewers between Southwark and the City of London



Wages

A final area of comparison is wages. The data collected in the New Survey has been coded into the same occupational orders and code numbers as given in the 1931 Census.³³ This means that specific occupations can be grouped and their wages by interviewer compared. For example, if we take those individuals defined as ‘other clerks’, which includes all unspecialised clerical workers, we can examine the different average wages recorded by individual interviewers. To ensure comparability, only those individuals recorded as in employment (excluding those in self-employment and joint-employment) and with full time earnings greater than zero were examined. The data is also divided by gender, as the pay divide is substantial between male and female clerks, with six individuals whose gender was not recorded removed. This accounts for a total of 1,936 male clerks and 1,180 female clerks.

Taking the male clerks, of the 1,936 individuals Bartlett interviewed 547 (28.25 per cent), the unidentified interviewers interviewed 90, and the other interviewers interviewed 1,299. The average full time wage recorded by the other interviewers was 716.46d. Bartlett recorded an average of 753.67d, a difference of 5.19 per cent. For the female clerks, Bartlett interviewed 296 of the 1,180 individuals recorded (25.08 per cent), the unidentified interviewers 57, and the other interviewers 827. The average wage recorded by the other interviewers was 393.53d. In contrast Bartlett recorded an average wage of 514.19d, a considerable difference of 30.66 per cent. The result for the female clerks is therefore quite concerning, as the difference is quite a large one. Equally, however, the closeness of Bartlett’s figure for male clerks to the other interviewers might disguise issues arising from the distribution of those results. As such, the distribution of the wage data from both genders is presented graphically in Figures 2 (male clerks) and 3 (female clerks). Wage rates were divided into groupings of 100d and the data divided between Bartlett and the other named interviewers. The number of individuals in each wage grouping was then calculated as a percentage of the total number of individuals interviewed by the respective interviewers. This means we can easily compare how often Bartlett and the other interviewers recorded certain wage values.

³³ Registrar General, *Decennial Supplement, England and Wales. Part IIa Occupational Mortality*, (London, His Majesties Stationary Office, 1938).

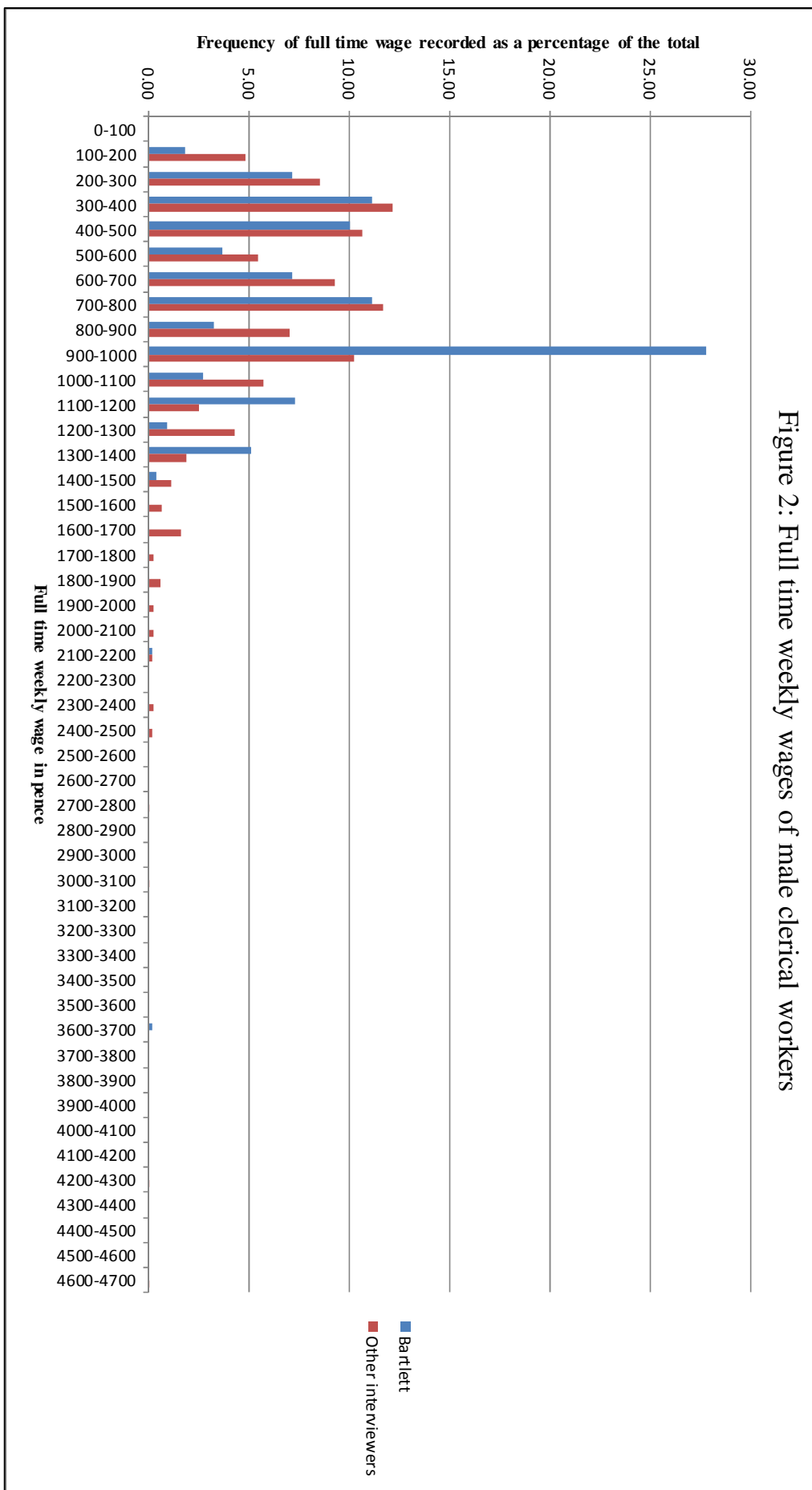
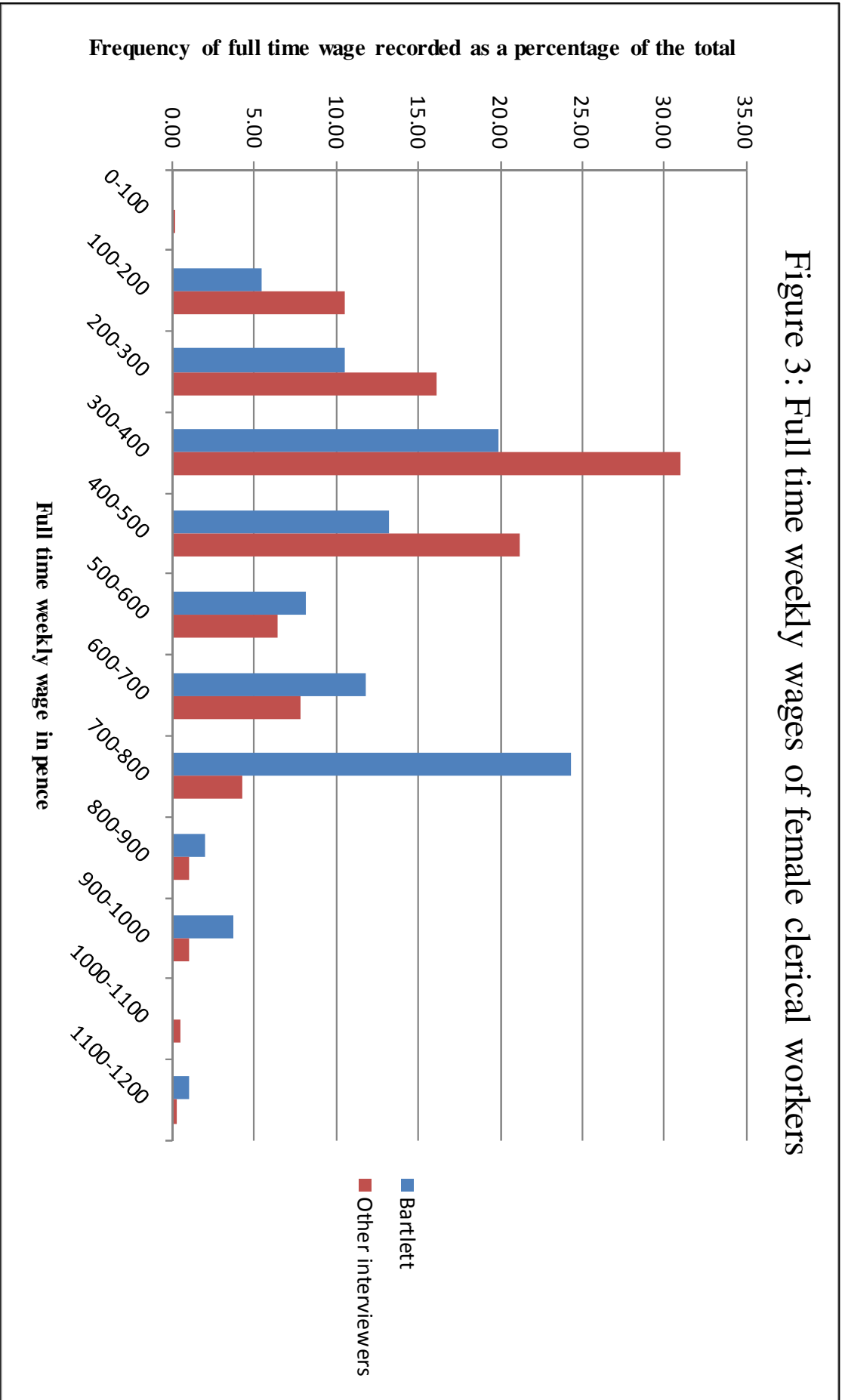


Figure 2: Full time weekly wages of male clerical workers

Figure 3: Full time weekly wages of female clerical workers



The distributions of the wage data recorded by Bartlett raise considerable concern. It is apparent that the closeness of Bartlett's average to that of the other interviewers with regard to the earnings of male clerks is primarily due to the fact that he records 27.79 per cent of the individuals he interviewed as earning between 900d and 1000d. This puts his values almost in the middle of the distribution of values recorded by the other interviewers. But in contrast, the other interviewers only recorded individuals earning 900 – 1000d per week 10.24 per cent of the time. The other interviewers also tend to record lower earnings over a wider spread, with 69.67 per cent of their interviewees recorded as earning between 0d and 900d, whilst Bartlett records these values for 55.39 per cent of his. The huge difference between the number of clerks recorded as earning 900 - 1000d by Bartlett and the other interviewers is indicative of a problem with Bartlett's data. Given the numbers involved, 547 and 1,299 individuals interviewed by Bartlett and the other interviewers respectively, one would expect a more similar distribution. The reason behind the peaking of Bartlett's data in the 900 – 1000d grouping becomes apparent when one examines the individual wages that he recorded. 136 individuals are all earning a wage of 960d, which equates to 80 shillings. This represents 24.86 per cent of all the individuals recorded by Bartlett. In contrast, the number of people earning 80 shillings recorded by all of the other identified interviewers is only 78, 6.00 per cent of the total. It is then perhaps undeniable that Bartlett was using 80 shillings as an estimate, and using it quite incorrectly. Whilst Bartlett's data has little impact on the overall average for clerks (the overall average earnings recorded by all of the interviewers is 723.75d, a mere 7.29d increase on the average of 716.46d which excludes Bartlett and the unidentified interviewers) it is clear that it is dubious. An even more evident problem occurs regarding the wages of female clerks.

If one views Figure 3, it is immediately obvious that Bartlett was recording much higher wages than the other interviewers for female clerks. Bartlett's largest grouping is those earning 700 – 800d, which accounts for 24.32 per cent of the total. In contrast, the other interviewers only record 4.23 per cent of their interviewees in this group. This has a reasonable impact on the overall average for the group; when Bartlett's and the unidentified interviewers' data is added to that of the other interviewers, the average increases from 393.53d to 424.19d, an increase of 7.79 per cent. When a closer look is taken at the actual values Bartlett was recording, it is found that he records the value of 720d, which equates to 60 shillings, some 68 times, accounting for 22.97 per cent of his interviewees. In contrast, the other interviewers only record 24 people earning that amount, a mere 2.90 per cent of their total. This suggests that Bartlett had an estimated wage value in mind for male and female

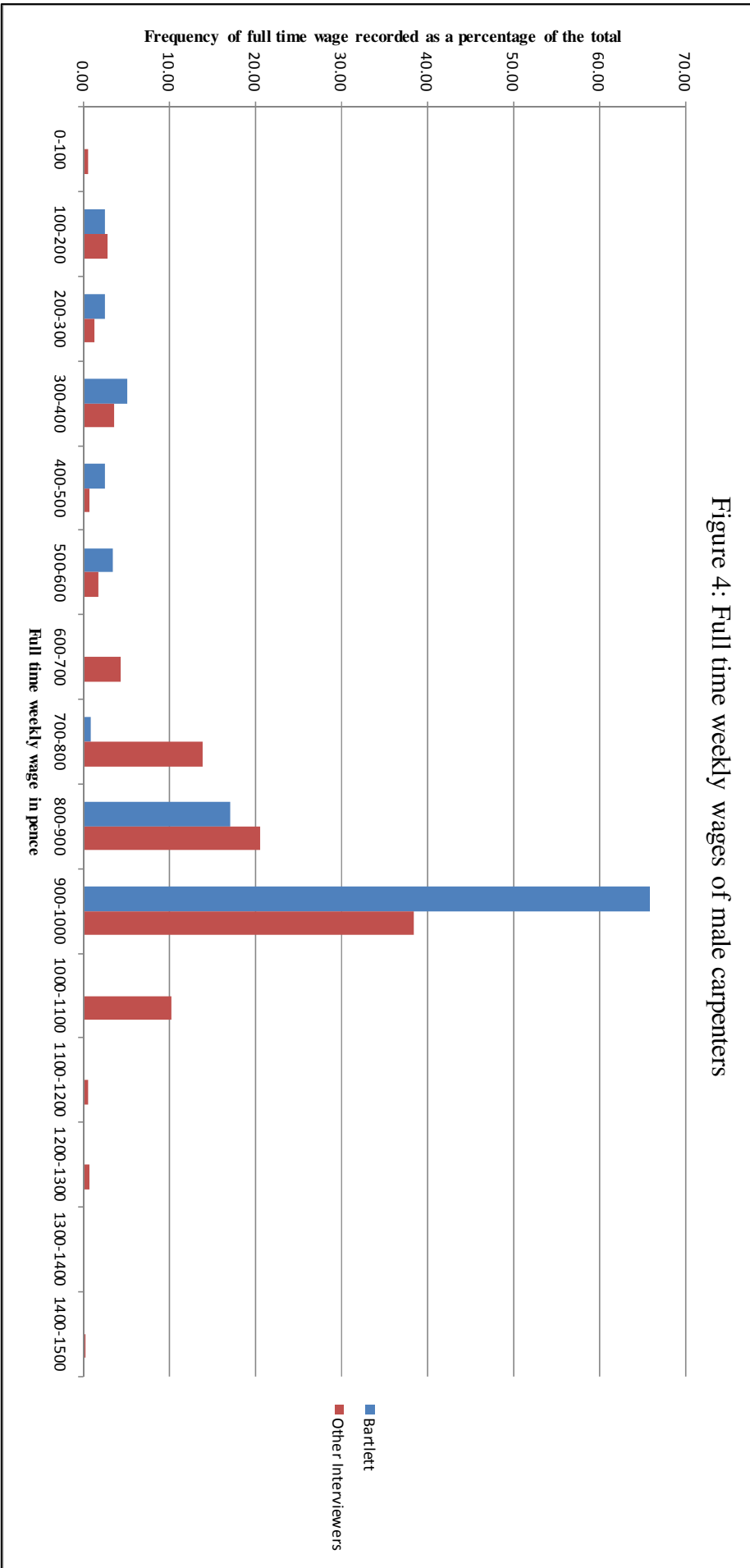
clerks, 80 and 60 shillings respectively, and used it in his data cards. This is the only way to explain why both of these wage values occur so often in his data, but not in that of the other interviewers.

However, it must also be noted that the New Survey was primarily an investigation into working-class poverty. As outlined above, middle-class households were to be ultimately excluded from further analysis, hence, it could be possible that Bartlett was overly lax in recording the data for middle-class individuals, such as clerks, on the presumption the data would never be used. As such, it is worth testing a 'working-class' occupation to see if his wage data is more acceptable.

It was decided to examine the full time wage rates of carpenters in employment (excluding those in self or joint-employment). 537 carpenters are listed in the dataset, one of whom was female. It was decided to exclude this individual because there were no other women to compare her wages with and also because the full time wage recorded for her was only ten shillings a week, substantially below the average for the men. For the 536 male carpenters the average wage recorded by all of the interviewers was 815.67d, which equates to almost 68 shillings. The average wage recorded by Bartlett alone was 805.93d for 117 individuals, for the unidentified interviewers it was 776.68d for 31 individuals, and the other interviewers recorded an average of 821.72d for 388 individuals. The difference between the averages recorded is not substantial, but, as with the clerks, the real test of Bartlett's data is in its distribution. A comparison between the wages recorded by Bartlett and those recorded by the other interviewers is given in Figure 4.

It is clear that the distribution of the carpenters' wages demonstrates similar issues to that of the male clerks, in that Bartlett's data tends to be highly concentrated. Bartlett records 65.81 per cent of his interviewees as earning 900 – 1000d. In contrast, the other interviewers recorded individuals in that wage group only 38.40 per cent of time. If one goes further it is again clear that Bartlett was recording the majority of this group under a single value. 76 of Bartlett's interviewees were earning 900d, which equates to 75 shillings. This accounts for 64.96 per cent of all of his interviewees, and practically everyone in the 900 – 1000d grouping. In contrast, the other interviewers record a value of 75 shillings for 31 individuals, which is a mere 7.99 per cent of their total. It would appear that Bartlett was using 75 shillings as an estimated wage for carpenters and using it to excess. Indeed, the wage data for carpenters appears even more dubious than that for clerks.

Figure 4: Full time weekly wages of male carpenters



It cannot therefore really be doubted that Bartlett was estimating a significant proportion of the full time weekly wages of his interviewees. With regard to both clerical workers and carpenters, Bartlett almost certainly had an estimated value in mind, and these values make up significant, though varying, proportions of his data. With regard to carpenters it is especially striking, with the majority of interviewees assigned a single full time wage value. The fact that there is still some variation in the wages recorded suggests that, in some instances at least, Bartlett did record genuine values, but clearly a large proportion of the earnings recorded were estimates. Given that Bartlett's estimates are, with the exception of female clerks, usually quite close to the average recorded by the other interviewers, it suggests he made his estimates with a reasonable level of knowledge. This would imply that he was actively involved in the surveying process, but for reasons which will be outlined in the conclusion, chose to invent certain parts of his information.

A further suggestion of irregularity can be ascertained by the proportion of respondents for whom Bartlett got wage data. In some cases interviewers found that whilst they were given the occupations of a household, wages and other information were refused. If we take the occupational grouping 'other clerks', Bartlett records numerical full time wage values for 843 of 855 individuals interviewed, a rate of 98.60 per cent. The other interviewers record numerical full time wage values for 2,131 individuals out of a total of 2,342, a rate of 90.99 per cent. Equally, however, when one examines the same proportions for carpenters, the other interviews record a numerical full time wage value for 97.74 per cent of their interviewees, although Bartlett achieves an impressive 100.00 per cent. These values might suggest that where Bartlett failed to get wage data from an interviewee, he provided the estimate instead (this seems quite likely with regard to the clerks) though clearly this is by no means definitive. Rather, taken with what has already been demonstrated about the wage values Bartlett was recording, this adds a further element of doubt to the honesty of his data.

Bartlett's wage data must therefore be called into serious question. The use of his estimates in any analysis will make an impact when the data is used. If, for example, we were to calculate the wage gap between male and female clerks, the inclusion of Bartlett's and the unidentified interviewers' data with the rest would give us a gap of 24.96 shillings in favour of the men. If we exclude it, the gap increases to 26.91 shillings, a noticeable difference. Perhaps more importantly, it makes comparing variables (such as the relationship between full time earnings and rent) a far more precarious exercise, because so many of Bartlett's respondents have been given a single, probably estimated, wage value. In fact, it would seem best to completely exclude Bartlett's data from any use of the New Survey database. If

Bartlett's data was used, it would be necessary to make it clear that there are concerns over it and that it might not be particularly accurate.

Conclusion

How reliable is Bartlett's data, and in turn, how reliable is the New Survey itself? Considering the evidence from birthplaces, transport costs, and wages then the answer must be that Bartlett's data is highly contentious, but that the rest of the New Survey data is probably reliable. It has been demonstrated above that Bartlett was probably estimating and presuming certain information. Consequently, his information regarding birthplaces probably overestimates the number of people born within Greater London, his transport data appears accurate, but is almost too good (given that his respondents from Southwark exclusively spend one or two shillings, which seems unlikely), and his wage data for clerks and carpenters almost certainly reflects the use of generic estimates that do not fit well with the information recorded by other interviewers.

Was Bartlett therefore sitting at home making up the data? It seems unlikely. Nor does he appear to have subcontracted data cards out to others. All of his cards are written in the same handwriting with no evidence of previous information being written in pencil and then erased. The only exceptions to this are 94 cards which are noted in the account books as being 'corrected' by him, and this action is usually very apparent on the data cards. It is also clear that he was visiting households as he makes a range of notes on certain of them detailing his visit. For example, he notes on one card

A cheap house, but very large. Pre-war rent. ... I was commanded to visit this lady in her bedroom to listen to her story of suffering from rheumatism + to also tell me the value of the property in the district as compared with her own. This room was almost indescribable in its confusion + muddle.³⁴

Perhaps more pertinent is a comment he made on another card where he explained 'I see these people + chat with them + judge the rest by careful enquiry, but one cannot ask a surgeon what he earns, I approximate it.'³⁵ It is clear therefore that, with regard to middle-class households at least, he was willing to approximate values. It seems he was equally willing to do the same with working-class households, as our information regarding carpenters suggests. Ultimately, the only way to reconcile his prolific interviewing skills with

³⁴ NSOL card ID reference 160144.

³⁵ NSOL card ID reference 250539.

the comments that show him to be physically visiting addresses is to assume that he was rushing at some speed through the households he was assigned, estimating and approximating when he found an answer difficult to get. This is supported by the fact that he often assigned a single value to both the 'full time' and 'last week' earnings and hours fields, probably to save time, which can be seen in Figure 5. As such, his data must be considered of varying accuracy, some of the information is probably genuine, but some of it is almost certainly an approximation. Equally, however, it is often difficult to assess what proportion of his data he was estimating (though the concentration of wages around a single value will give some indication in this regard at least). Overall this means his data is compromised to a substantial degree.

It is worth at this juncture trying to ascertain what proportion of the unidentified interviewers could be Bartlett. The policy of the team digitising the working-class cards was to record any card where no interviewer was listed as belonging to the unidentified interviewer grouping. This was also followed initially when the middle-class cards were digitised. However, once it had become obvious that Bartlett's cards made up a large proportion of the middle-class data, those cards where he did not list his name, but which were clearly filled in by him (his distinct handwriting and style being exceptionally apparent) were attributed to him. The number of such cards was very small. Of the 277 middle-class cards for Camberwell filled by Bartlett, only in five cases did he not give his name, in Hampstead it was two cards out of 132 filled, and in Lambeth South only a single card out of 160 filled. Overall this suggests that Bartlett failed to write his name on 1.41 per cent of his cards, a very small number. With regard to the working-class data only, Bartlett is named as the interviewer on 4,971 cards. If we assume that the percentage generated from the middle class cards gives an indication of the number of working-class cards filled by Bartlett but on which he did not write his name, and hence are categorised with the unidentified interviewers, we can estimate around 70 cards with no interviewer listed in the working-class data set might be attributed to Bartlett. Given there are 2,477 working-class cards with no interviewer listed this means Bartlett probably has little impact on the accuracy of the data (he would account for only 2.83 per cent of the unidentified interviewers). This is all, however, based entirely on estimation. There is no way of knowing how many of the unidentified cards might in reality be attributed to Bartlett without re-examining them, a task that is unlikely to be undertaken at any time in the immediate future. What can be suggested, rather, is that the data from the unidentified interviewers is probably useable, and to exclude it along with Bartlett's data from any analysis would probably be unwarranted. It would,

however, be wise to check the data before using it, to see if any of the wage distributions that so characterise Bartlett's data are obvious.

The final conclusion is that, overall, the New Survey is probably a fairly accurate source of information on the lives of Londoners in the late 1920s and early 1930s. The large number of interviewers and the random sampling technique used means the majority of the information is probably quite accurate. The primary issue is entirely with Bartlett's data, the impact of which varies with how the data set is used. Whilst Bartlett filled in 19 per cent of the household cards contained within the combined dataset, just under a fifth, if we were to examine the full time earnings of male clerks then 28 per cent of the data would come from Bartlett, over a quarter. As such, he often has a disproportionate effect on the data, certainly more so than any other interviewer. Whilst other interviewers may also have been at fault, such as Stevenson, none of them filled in enough cards to make such a large impact. Furthermore, Bartlett's cards show evidence of systematic approximations. These fundamentally undermine the random sampling method that formed the basis of the household survey. As such, Bartlett's data is unreliable and often detrimental to the use of the data set as a whole. This is most apparent in the evidence presented above with regard to birthplaces and wages. For anyone using the data set it can only be reiterated again that excluding Bartlett's data from any analysis is probably the best option. In a perfect world one would use the Enumerator's books from the 1931 Census to cross reference households and individuals from the New Survey. Unfortunately these books were destroyed during the Second World War.³⁶ Did interviewers approximate and estimate certain elements of data in the New Survey? Undoubtedly. But it was not to an extent that renders the data as a whole worthless. Even if the actions of a certain G. E. Bartlett may never be fully explained, as long as they are recognised and admitted, then the New Survey may be considered one of the most valuable insights we have into the world of inter-war Greater London.

³⁶ The Enumerator's books from the 1931 Census were destroyed by fire on the 19th December 1942 whilst being stored in a warehouse in Hayes, Middlesex. Ironically, the cause of the fire was not enemy action, but suspected to be the result of a firewatcher, a staff member assigned to put out any fires that might occur, throwing a lit cigarette onto the floor. None of the records survived. Information accessed at <http://www.1911census.org.uk/1931.htm> on 30.08.2012.

Name [REDACTED] Address [REDACTED]
 Borough *Wandsworth*

11C LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON. Social Survey of London.
 File No. *1378 1476*

WAGE EARNERS (including unemployed)

Relationship	Age	Occupation	Employer	Place of Work	HOURS			EARNINGS		State Insurance Deductions	
					Cost of Transport Weekly	Last Week	Full Time	Last Week	Full Week	s	d.
<i>Husband</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>clerk</i>	<i>Walham Green</i>	<i>Gas works</i>	<i>4</i>		<i>48</i>	<i>80/-</i>		<i>14</i>	
<i>Wife</i>	<i>40</i>	<i>at home</i>									
<i>Daughter</i>	<i>17</i>	<i>Wipers asst</i>	<i>Coddards</i>	<i>Beersfield</i>			<i>48</i>	<i>18/-</i>		<i>1-</i>	

NON-WAGE EARNERS
 Sex...
 Age...
 Relationship

INCOME FROM OTHER SOURCES
nil

Date *November 76* Interviewer *G. E. Bartlett*

GENERAL REMARKS, Etc.

Birthplaces of Adults
London

RENT, Weekly *6/-*
 (Including Rates. Receipts from Sub-tenants not deducted)

PERSONS AND ACCOMMODATION
 (This refers to family as on face of card)

No. of Persons *3*
 " " Bedrooms *1*
 Parlour *1*
 Kitchen *1*
 Scullery *1*
 Pantry or Larder *1*
 Bath *no*
 Yard *no*
 Garden *4 1/2 Small*
 Allotment *no*

Remarks on Accommodation

Figure 5: Front and back of a New Survey data card. This card has been filled in by G. E. Bartlett and gives a reasonable idea of the speed with which he completed cards. Note that only one value is recorded for hours worked full time and last week, and the same has been done in the earnings columns. The wife, who should be recorded in the non-wage earners section has instead been included with the earners with a note stating she is 'at home'. Birthplace of adults is given generically as 'London'. The name and address of the occupants has been blanked out in accordance with the Data Protection Act.