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Creating the slum: representations of poverty in the Hungate and Walmgate districts of York, 1875-1914

In his first social survey of York, B. Seebohm Rowntree described the Walmgate and Hungate areas as ‘the largest poor district in the city’ comprising ‘some typical slum areas’.² The York Medical Officer of Health condemned the small and fetid yards and alleyways that branched off the main Walmgate thoroughfare in his 1914 report, noting that ‘there are no amenities; it is an absolute slum’.³ Newspapers regularly denounced the behaviour of the area’s residents; reporting on notorious individuals and particular neighbourhoods, and in an 1892 report to the Watch Committee the Chief Constable put the case for more police officers on the account of Walmgate becoming increasingly ‘difficult to manage’.⁴ James Cave recalled when he was a child the police would only enter Hungate ‘in twos and threes’.⁵ The Hungate and Walmgate districts were the focus of social surveys and reports, they featured in complaints by sanitary inspectors and the police, and residents were prominent in court and newspaper reports. The area was repeatedly characterised as a slum, and its inhabitants as existing on the edge of acceptable living conditions and behaviour. Condemned as sanitary abominations, observers made explicit connections between the physical condition of these spaces and the moral behaviour of their

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² B. Seebohm Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901), p.199.

³ York City Archives, York (YCA), York City Health Department Records, Ministry of Health Papers, Walmgate and Hungate 1909 – 1924, Acc 157.10.9, York Medical Officer of Health, Report on Walmgate, 1914.

⁴ *York Herald*, 26 August 1876 and YCA, Watch Committee Minute Book, July 1892.

⁵ Interview with James Cave, born 1910, York Oral History Project (YOHP). The York Oral History Project is a collection of over 600 interviews gathered by the York Oral History Society, a group of local historians who have carried out interviews with local residents since 1982. The small sample of interviews used here are taken from residents who lived in the Hungate and Walmgate districts in the first part of the twentieth century, with many talking about their very early memories of the period.

inhabitants. In his report on the sanitary conditions of Hungate, Edmund Smith - the York Medical Officer of Health - noted that the 'dark dilapidated and overcrowded dwellings' of the area 'destroy "house pride" and engender the "slum habit of life", also alcoholism, indifference, indecency, immorality and crime'.⁶

Poor areas of the city had always existed, yet in the closing decades of the nineteenth century the narrow streets and overcrowded courts of the Hungate and Walmgate districts were thoroughly investigated, and their conditions well publicised. Their reputation as being 'the roughest place in York' had been firmly cemented in the minds of the city's residents.⁷ Alan Mayne has argued that no 'slumland' literature can tell us about the slums as slums were 'a myth' produced by the press and urban reformers,⁸ and the historiography of urban poverty has been structured by a distinction between the real and the imagined, the empirical and the cultural.⁹ Using a range of sources, this article will address the ways in which the press, social investigators and middle-class commentators constructed an image and reputation for the Walmgate and Hungate area; a reputation which made it 'a byword for all that was thought evil among the respectable people' of the city.¹⁰ It will consider how this reputation was established and reproduced, and examine the ways various groups and individuals began 'mapping' the slums of Victorian and Edwardian York. However, doing so is not to ignore the 'reality' of the slums, but rather to consider how both the social construction and physical attributes of these poor working-class districts operated

⁶ YCA, Y614, Report on the Sanitary Conditions of the Hungate District by Edmund M. Smith, Medical Officer of Health, June 1908, p. 9. Rowntree also noted how those living in slum districts were likely to take on the chief characteristics of slum life; 'the reckless expenditure of money as soon as obtained, with aggravated want at other times; the rowdy Saturday night, the Monday morning pilgrimage to the pawn shop, and especially that love for the district, and disinclination to move to better surroundings, and urged 'the necessity of improving the surroundings of the slum dweller...for it is Nature's universal law that all living things tend to adapt themselves to their environment.' Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p. 5.

⁷ Interview with Fred Milburn, born 1894, YOHP.

⁸ Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), pp.1-27.

⁹ For a detailed consideration of this distinction in reference to the governance of common lodging houses in London, see Tom Crook, 'Accommodating the Outcast: Common Lodging Houses and the Limits of Urban Governance in Victorian and Edwardian London', *Urban History*, 35: 3 (2008), 414-436.

¹⁰ Graham Davis, 'Beyond the Georgian Facade: the Avon Street district of Bath', in S. M. Gaskell (ed.), *Slums* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), p. 157.

in a continuous process of negotiation.¹¹ The 'slum' was an imagined construct, but was simultaneously a physical manifestation of social inequality and deprivation. The conditions in the Hungate and Walmgate districts materially affected the lives of their residents; they experienced very real problems of poor housing and poverty. The sources utilised here played a central part in the social construction of the slum - they were written from an outsiders perspective and designed to provoke certain responses - but their authors were also concerned with investigating, understanding and, in many cases, improving the physical conditions of these poor districts. Reformers genuinely attempted to improve slum living conditions, but they were unable to do so without stigmatising the poorest. Their descriptions of the Hungate and Walmgate districts placed increasing spatial and experiential distance between the 'slum dwellers' and the more 'respectable' residents of the city. Less well-known than the rookeries of Bethnal Green or Whitechapel, the Walmgate and Hungate districts were nonetheless famous within the context of York and subject to intense local attention, attention which made assumptions on the basis of place, and negatively characterised the area and its inhabitants.

The slums exposed

The term *slum* became used increasingly throughout the nineteenth century to refer to poor working-class districts in large metropolitan centres. The origin of the term and its development over time has been examined by H. J. Dyos who traced its meaning from associations with the activity of thieves, through to its use in the 1840s in reference to areas of bad housing.¹² Concerns around concentrations of poverty also led to its adaptation as a verb, *slumming*; 'to explore poor quarters out of curiosity or charity'.¹³ The 'slum question' revolved around a number of key issues, including poor sanitation, overcrowding, contagious disease and the policing, control and relief of the poor. The slum became a sensation, and what had actually

¹¹ Crook, 'Accommodating the Outcast', p. 416.

¹² H. J. Dyos, 'The Slums of Victorian London', *Victorian Studies* 11:1 (1967).

¹³ J. S. Farmer and W. E. Henley, *A Dictionary of Slang and Colloquial English: abridged* (London: Routledge, 1905). See also Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin Slums 1800-1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (Ballsbridge, Irish Academic Press, 1997) and Seth Koven, *Slumming: Sexual and Social Politics in Victorian London* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2006).

existed for centuries began to be written about and widely debated throughout Britain. Anxieties over increasing urbanisation and expansion alongside greater residential segregation reinforced the sense of the slum as ‘unknown England’, and from the moment it was ‘identified’ the slum was isolated and defined as a problem; something to be improved, removed or destroyed.¹⁴ The initial exposé of slums was mostly concerned with infectious disease. The arrival of cholera in York in 1832 highlighted areas with unsanitary living conditions, and in his report on the state of York to the Health of Towns Commission, Thomas Laycock noted the ‘slaughterhouses, dung heaps, pigsties, etc., which unfortunately subsist in the heart of town [and] generate contagion’.¹⁵ At the turn of the century the York branch of the Charity Organisation Society spoke of the ‘miserable and unsanitary houses’ in the poorest parts of the city, and worried about the spread of disease to better off areas and higher class residents, demanding that the poor should live in ‘common decency’.¹⁶

The precise definition of a ‘slum’ was continually open to revision, dependent on social values and beliefs as to what constituted acceptable living standards. Middle-class observers created a map of poor areas by watching people in the street, analysing places of amusement, scrutinising living conditions and interpreting behaviour. Certain districts were identified as slums through unfavourable comparison with other areas in the city, and while they were often located in proximity to wealthier areas, slum districts became seen as increasingly separated by their impoverished circumstances and terrible housing, and their residents perceived as a race apart.¹⁷ The registration of births and deaths allowed reliable statistics on mortality rates to be compiled, and the census provided further information on individual households. Increasing concern about poverty and sanitation, coupled with greater resources, enabled areas to be more easily quantified, and by the middle of the nineteenth century, a ‘geography of disease and premature

¹⁴ Peter Keating (ed.), *Into Unknown England, 1866-1913: Selections from the Social Explorers* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996) and S. Martin Gaskell, ‘Introduction’ in S. Martin Gaskell, (ed.) *Slums*, p. 7.

¹⁵ Thomas Laycock, *Report on the State of the City of York: First Report of the Royal Commission for Enquiring into the State of Large Towns and Populous Districts, Parliamentary Papers*, vol. xvii, 1844.

¹⁶ *York Herald*, ‘Annual Report of the York Branch of the Charity Organisation Society’, 9 February 1899.

¹⁷ See also J. Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925*, p. 60-61.

death had been established¹⁸. A succession of authorities were then able to identify the same areas through statistical collection, and certain districts became notorious; the subject of numerous documents and reports.

The government, social surveyors, sanitary inspectors, poor law authorities and newspaper reporters were evidently concerned with the physical conditions of, and moral behaviour in, the poor areas of Britain's industrial cities. The conditions of life in these metropolitan centres were scrutinised and widely disseminated.¹⁹ Historians have explored the geography of urban poverty in large industrial centres, considering the material conditions and representations of poverty in London, Birmingham, New York, Dublin, Manchester, Salford, Glasgow, Sydney and San Francisco, among others.²⁰ However, despite the iconic status of York in the historiography of poverty literature - on account of Rowntree's studies - much less attention has been paid to smaller provincial towns and cities where the slum question was also being debated.²¹ Poorer areas could be found in most parts of the city, but those in the south-east of York and around the medieval core became the focus of increasing attention. In a report to the Health of Towns Commission, James Smith, appointed by Robert Peel to the Commission, highlighted the

¹⁸ Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925*, p. 61.

¹⁹ For example; Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor* (London, 1851) and Charles Booth, *Life and Labour of the People in London* (London: Macmillan, 1892).

²⁰ Anthony S. Wohl, *The Eternal Slum: Housing and Social Policy in Victorian London* (London: Edward Arnold, 1977); Jerry White, *The Worst Street in North London: Campbell Bunk, Islington, between the wars* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1986); Sarah Wise, *The Blackest Streets: The Life and Death of a Victorian Slum* (London: Random House, 2009); David R. Green and Alan G. Parton, 'Slums and slum life in Victorian England: London and Birmingham at mid-century', in S. Martin Gaskell (ed.), *Slums* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), pp.17-91; Rebecca Yamin, *Tales of Five Points: Working-Class Life in Nineteenth-Century New York* (Washington DC: General Services Admin, 2002); Jacinta Prunty, *Dublin Slums, 1800-1925: A Study in Urban Geography* (Ballsbridge, Irish Academic Press, 1997); Bill Luckin, 'Revisiting the Slums in Manchester and Salford in the 1930s' in Barry M. Doyle (ed.), *Urban politics and space in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: regional perspectives* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2007), pp. 134-147; Robert Roberts, *The Classic Slum: Salford life in the first quarter of the century* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990); Andreas Gestrich, 'Depicting the "moral dregs of our great population": An 1890 illustrated newspaper series on "The Homes of the Glasgow Poor"' in A. Gestrich, S. King and L. Raphael (eds.), *Being Poor in Modern Europe: historical perspectives 1800-1940* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 417-440 and Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993).

²¹ With the notable exception of Graham Davis and his work on Bath. See Graham Davis, 'Beyond the Georgian Facade: the Avon Street district of Bath', in S. M. Gaskell (ed.), *Slums* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1990), pp.144-85 and Graham Davis, *Bath as spa and Bath as slum: the social history of a Victorian city* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2004). In her article on the domestic arrangements of lodgers, Vicky Holmes considers the representation of working class homes and the limits of the outside gaze in Victorian Ipswich through the use of coroners' inquest reports. Vicky Holmes, 'Accommodating the Lodger: The Domestic Arrangements of Lodgers in Working-Class Dwellings in a Victorian Provincial Town', *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 19:3 (2014), 314-331.

differences between the main streets of the city, and those areas occupied by the poor - conflating them with all poor areas;

The aspect of York, as seen in the principal streets, is tidy and pleasing, and the streets, though narrow, are well kept. Not so, however, the more retired and densely crowded parts, which have the same damp and filthy character as all other towns.²²

Following an outbreak of cholera in the city, the *Yorkshire Gazette* drew its readers' attention to the 'disgraceful' domiciles of the poor; 'we do not refer to the disgusting details of filth and immorality in the great metropolis; for alas! We need go no further than our own city'.²³ At the turn of the century Rowntree set out to assess 'how far the general conclusions arrived at by Mr Booth in respect of the metropolis would be found applicable to smaller urban populations ... I decided to undertake a detailed investigation into the social and economic conditions of the wage-earning classes [in York]'.²⁴

The slums exposed: York

By the eighteenth century, York had firmly cemented its reputation as the social capital of the north of England. Francis Drake considered there to be 'no place, out of London, so polite and elegant to live in as the city of York'.²⁵ During this period the physical growth of the city was relatively restricted, but the differences between the wide avenues and public squares frequented by the elite, and the dark and overcrowded areas traditionally inhabited by the city's poor, became increasingly marked. Polite society restructured the urban built environment of eighteenth century York, with street widening and improvement schemes, but the subtext of these improvements was segregation.²⁶ The wide avenues and grand houses of Bootham, strolls

²² James Smith, cited in Patrick Nuttgens, (ed.) *The History of York: From Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2001), pp. 288-289.

²³ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 27 October 1849.

²⁴ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p. vi.

²⁵ Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or, The history and antiquities of the city of York, from its original to the present times* (London: Printed by W. Boyer for the author, 1736).

²⁶ Mark Hallett and Jane Rendall, *Eighteenth Century York: Culture, Space and Society* (York: University of York Publications, 2003), p. 8



Scale 1:5000

Figure 1. Map showing the Hungate and Walmgate districts of York in the south-east of the city, c.1900. The Cattle Market is pictured bottom centre and St Saviourgate top left. The main Walmgate thoroughfare is running through the centre of the map, and Hungate can be seen sloping almost parallel to Fossgate - leading from St Saviourgate down to the River Foss. © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited 2015. All rights reserved.

on the tree-lined New Walk, or the genteel entertainment that took place in the Assembly Rooms could hardly have been more different from the dark, dirty and overcrowded streets of the Hungate and Walmgate districts. Street widening and improvement schemes had little impact on these poorer districts of the city.²⁷

The development of increasingly segregated areas continued through the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. When the poor law guardians proposed moving their offices to Museum Street in 1859, they were faced with a flurry of protest. Both the *York Herald* and *Yorkshire Gazette* received complaints from those concerned that the offices would be too close to the theatre, Assembly Rooms, Museum Gardens and, perhaps most importantly, the houses occupied by the more affluent residents of the city. The Lord Mayor also expressed concern that the new location would create ‘closer and more direct communication between the infected districts and the better districts of the city, and thus spread disease’.²⁸ One protestor summed up the proceedings: ‘in every town there are localities for the poor and industrious, and localities for the affluent and comparatively idle, and that it is for the comfort of both classes to keep them as distinct as possible’.²⁹ It was with this in mind that one correspondent to the *Gazette* noted that ‘as many parties receiving relief lived in Walmgate and its neighbourhood, a better site might have been chosen’, and the Lord Mayor offered an array of alternative locations; ‘the bulk of the poor and industrious classes of York are in the neighbourhoods of Walmgate, Fossgate, Peasholme Green [Hungate] and the Water Lanes’.³⁰

In the mid-nineteenth century, the three Water Lanes drew comment and criticism from all quarters, and seemed to dominate the slum question in York. The three Lanes – First, Second and Third (also known as King Street, Middle Water Lane and Friargate respectively) stretched

²⁷ Hallett and Rendall stress that the Corporation and directors of the Assembly Rooms actively took steps to prevent the working classes from enjoying the city’s facilities, attempting to limit servants’ access to the main areas of entertainment in the Assembly Rooms, and suppress any activities that did not chime with the New Walk’s polite ambience. Hallett and Rendall, *Eighteenth Century York*, p. 8.

²⁸ *York Herald*, 10 September 1859.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 10 September 1859.

from Castlegate down to the edge of the river at King's Staithe. Although King Street was widened in the 1850s, all three were narrow and contained a number of warren-like courts and alleyways. In 1844 Laycock observed that the large number of lodging houses in the Lanes were where 'the scum of the country come to sleep, and there is no discrimination of the sexes'.³¹ With associations to poverty, crime and immorality dating back to the fifteenth century, by the 1850s the horrendous conditions in the Lanes had been well publicised.³² In a letter to the York Corporation published in the *York Herald* the Medical Officer of Health argued that residing in the Lanes was 'highly injurious to the health and comfort of the inhabitants and most prejudicial to decency and morality ... I am satisfied that nothing short of the entire removal of these premises can affect any sufficient or satisfactory improvement'.³³ Housing inadequacies and a lack of sanitary facilities meant that by 1852 the Corporation had already agreed that the Lanes ought to be demolished. But while questions of disease and slum housing generated minutes and column inches, awareness of the 'slum problem' did not translate into action and full-scale clearance of the Lanes did not begin until 1875. This was partly due to the belief that poor conditions were in some respects a consequence of the failings of the inhabitants, who throughout the nineteenth century and beyond were characterised as undisciplined, intemperate, thriftless and criminal. In 1914 the *York Herald* published an obituary for the Reverend Frederick Lawrence, the rector of St Mary's Castlegate from 1871 to 1881. They noted the strains on his health - which had ultimately led to his death - resulting from his tireless missionary work in the Water Lanes area 'inhabited by many of the criminal classes' in which 'a single policeman dared not enter in those days'.³⁴

The Castlegate Improvement Scheme began in 1875, and the construction of Clifford Street in 1881 finally swept away the majority of the remaining slum dwellings of the Lanes, including a

³¹ Laycock, *Report on the State of the City of York*.

³² Pamela Beatrice Hartshorne's study of the fifteenth and sixteenth century wardmote courts identified the three Water Lanes as 'hotspots' for concerns about dirt and immorality. Pamela Beatrice Hartshorne, 'The Street and the Perception of Public Space in York, 1476-1586' (University of York: unpublished PhD Thesis, 2004).

³³ *York Herald*, 2 June 1876.

³⁴ *York Herald*, 13 October 1914.

number of infamous beer houses and brothels. In their place a number of new public buildings were erected, including a new Magistrates' Court, Police and Fire Station and the York Institute of Arts, Science and Literature. Municipal policy became greatly motivated by a desire to project a certain image of York, and honouring municipal achievement took precedence over providing good quality working-class housing for those uprooted. As Rowntree highlighted, clearance schemes were often of little benefit to the poorest residents of the city; 'unless equally cheap as well as more sanitary accommodation can be provided elsewhere, such action will be of doubtful benefit to those displaced'.³⁵ In the case of the three Water Lanes, many former residents were forced to move to already overcrowded areas where their arrival exacerbated conditions, and placed them once more in the sights of sanitary inspectors and middle-class commentators.

Creating the slum: housing, public health and social investigation

The influx of a large number of displaced residents from the Water Lanes particularly aggravated the overcrowded conditions in the Hungate and Walmgate districts. While already invested with a certain notoriety, the focus on both areas began to intensify following the clearance of the Lanes. Situated on the south-east side of the city, Walmgate was enclosed by the River Foss and the city walls, and Hungate by the Foss, Peasholme Green and St Saviourgate. Though Rowntree referred to the areas together, they were in fact separated by the Foss, which was given to recurrent flooding and described in 1850 as 'a great open cesspool into the stagnating waters of which the sewers of half the city sluggishly pass'.³⁶ During the eighteenth century Walmgate had been a relatively prosperous area, with the main thoroughfare containing a number of Georgian houses used as town residences by York's wealthier citizens. Unlike Bootham and Micklegate which both retained their superior status, Walmgate declined and by the mid-nineteenth century these large town houses had become overcrowded tenements. Yards, stables and gardens belonging to the once fashionable houses were built up through the nineteenth century, and the

³⁵ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p. 43.

³⁶ James Smith, *Report to the General Board of Health on a preliminary inquiry into the sewerage, drainage and supply of water and the sanitary condition of the inhabitants of the city of York* (London: W. Clowes Sons, 1850).

physical deterioration was accompanied by a process of social descent. Deteriorating housing stock and the growing pressures of population following the arrival of large numbers of post-famine Irish immigrants, and later the displaced Water Lanes residents, intensified this process.³⁷

Three narrow passages linked Hungate with Walmgate; Straker's Passage, which led from Fossgate into Wesley Place, as did Black Horse Passage, and Stonebow Lane, a small alley running from Fossgate to St Saviour's Church on the corner of Hungate. Hungate itself, the principal thoroughfare in the area, sloped almost parallel to Fossgate from St Saviourgate in a wide curve down to the river. In the eighteenth century, Hungate had contained some large properties with gardens and allotments, but became densely populated in the nineteenth century. Maps from the 1820s and 1850s reveal a building explosion as the area was built up quickly to accommodate the growing working-class population. In 1813 John Bigland, a historian who contributed to *The Beauties of England and Wales* (1801-1815) series, commented on the poorly drained area of the south-east of York, which was both 'disagreeably situated and thinly inhabited', yet by the 1840s, Hungate had been intensively built over, and along with Walmgate was identified as one of the districts with the worse housing in the city.³⁸

Rowntree estimated that at the time of his social survey of the city there were 1398 back-to-back houses in York, and a further 562 houses without through ventilation which were back-to-back with warehouses, stables and waterclosets.³⁹ Off the main Walmgate thoroughfare, a number of courts and alleyways were to be found, and the yards behind the street's numerous public houses were filled with one-up one-down back-to-back cottages. These yards were often chronically overcrowded and had few amenities, and received particular attention from sanitation inspectors.

³⁷ For further details on Irish immigration to York see Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice: A Study of Irish Immigrants in York, 1840-1875* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1982).

³⁸ John Bigland, *A Topographical and Historical Description of Yorkshire*, (London: Sherwood, Nealy and Jones, 1813) and Thomas Laycock, *Report on the State of the City of York*, vol. xvii, 1844.

³⁹ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, pp. 146-181.

Slaughterhouses, stables, pigsties and other offensive premises were often mixed with the houses of the poor.⁴⁰ Rowntree noted:

There are no less than 94 private slaughterhouses 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 the smells from these open grates.⁴¹

As a child Nell Fearn recalled making paper boats which were floated in the blood running down the guttering to 'see which would go fastest'.⁴² Small manufactories and other offensive trade premises – such as skin and bone merchants, fish bone dealers and gut scrapers – were also clustered amongst the houses, and the gas works and iron foundries off Walmgate also polluted the area.

The Bay Horse, the Duke of York, the Barley Corn and the Old Malt Shovel all had yards which had been packed with small cottage dwellings. Before the major clearances of 1933 to 1934 there were around 53 yards branching off the main Walmgate thoroughfare. A number of them, like Britannia Yard, could only be accessed by covered passage, and contained rows of one-up one-down cottages which were described in 1844 as 'dirty, no drain, bad smells'.⁴³ The Hungate area was also densely populated, and the long narrow streets which branched off the main thoroughfare - Palmer Lane, Garden Place and Haver Lane - contained blocks of small working-class houses. The smaller streets which split off from here, such as Upper and Lower Wesley Place and Dundas Street, were also made up of two to four roomed back-to-backs. Leatham's

⁴⁰ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, pp. 146-181; See also, *Kelly's Directory of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire with the city of York*, 1893 and YCA, York City Health Department Records, Acc. 157.1.3, Slaughterhouses Register, 1850-1940.

⁴¹ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, p. 191.

⁴² Interview with Nell Fearn, born 1918, YOHP.

⁴³ Laycock, *Report on the State of the City of York*.

Flour Mill dominated the Hungate skyline and was liable to spread dust all over the area.⁴⁴ As well as a major employer of the area's residents, Leethams also owned a number of properties in both Hungate and Walmgate. Dick Calpin was born in Rosemary Place, Walmgate, in a house that was owned by Leethams, and 'they wouldn't do any repairs at all. We was damp and when we used to go out at night-time and then we used to put the light on and the beetles used to be running out of all corners'.⁴⁵ Most of the Hungate area was bounded on the south side by the River Foss, and Dundas Street, Wesley Place and Garden Place in particular were liable to flooding. '[The water] used to come up Hungate and Dundas Street, Wesley Place and Pound Garth'.⁴⁶ The location of several major industries, residents of Hungate were subjected to the smells of slaughter houses and chicory works, and the smell and smoke from the flour mill, gas works and saw mill; 'it was [fairly vile], you could get the smell from the gasworks'.⁴⁷

As well as small cottages and back-to-back houses, Hungate also contained a number of tenement buildings. To the north of the district, a small court which had formerly been the residence of the Vicars Choral was home to the Ebor Buildings, and in a small closed court off the main Hungate thoroughfare the Bradley's Building tenements were built above water closets. These buildings were described by the Medical Officer of Health in 1907 as the 'worst' dwellings in the district, and were described in detail by Rowntree.⁴⁸

Both the Hungate and Walmgate districts evidently contained the overcrowded and poor-quality housing which signified to contemporaries that it was a slum. Yet squalid housing alone cannot account for a reputation that persisted well into the twentieth century. These conditions were scrutinised and widely distributed by the extensive sanitation surveys that took place in the area, and helped both to spread and further cement this reputation. In 1909 in a letter to the Town

⁴⁴ Interview with Nell Fearn, 1918, YOHP.

⁴⁵ Interview with Dick Calpin, born 1909, YOHP.

⁴⁶ Interview with Ted Chittock, born 1922, YOHP.

⁴⁷ Interview with Nell Fearn, 1918, YOHP.

⁴⁸ YCA, Health Department Records, Hungate area house inspection record sheets, 1901-1910, Acc. 157.10.10, Hungate, 1907, and Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*, pp. 155 – 157.

Clerk, the Health Department attempted to communicate the importance of carrying out such surveys:

We recognise how much labour is involved in making a complete sanitation survey of this large district but we believe the existing conditions are such that this consideration should not deter the council from undertaking the investigations.⁴⁹

Certain yards and streets in the Walmgate district were a frequent feature of sanitary reports and public health documents. Hope Street, George Street, Long Close Lane and Britannia Yard were particularly prominent, and their large Irish population was often the focus of discussion. The concern on the part of the authorities was centred around the threat this immigrant population posed to public health, and was particularly apparent during the nineteenth century cholera and typhus outbreaks. Following the 1847 outbreak of typhus amongst the Irish in Butcher Yard – aptly named for the slaughter houses which bordered the small cottages and lodging houses – the Yard was taken over by St Margaret’s Parish. Renamed St Margaret’s Court, the properties were repaired and ‘let to a more respectable class of people’.⁵⁰ Smith’s report to the Board of Health in 1850 noted that a fear of a typhus epidemic and a desire to reduce poor law expenditure were the leading motivations in removing the sick Irish, who were then sent to an adjacent parish.⁵¹ That the Irish had settled in the most impoverished areas of housing, however, made little difference when later apportioning blame for their conditions.

The death rate in Walmgate was consistently higher than the rest of the city. In 1898 the York Medical Officer of Health reported that the ‘special predisposing causes’ of the repeatedly higher mortality rate were ‘its greater density of population, the poverty and want of cleanliness of a large proportion of its population, its old and small houses and tenements, and want of sunlight

⁴⁹ YCA, Health Department Records, Acc. 157.10.9, 1909.

⁵⁰ YCA, York Board of Guardians and Public Assistance Committee, Acc. 2/1.1.7, Board of Guardians Minute Books, 1847-49.

⁵¹ Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice*, p. 49.

and fresh air'.⁵² By 1913 the Medical Officer found that the mortality rate in Walmgate had reached almost double that of the rest of the city. The chief causes of death – tuberculosis, bronchitis, pneumonia and diarrhoea – he related explicitly to the squalid conditions.⁵³

The full scale sanitation survey that took place between 1906 and 1907 in Hungate strengthened the reputation of the area as a slum, particularly at the local level, and highlighted it as one of the city's problem areas. The extensive house-to-house survey followed Rowntree's classification of the streets in Hungate as 'poor' and 'working-class', and included comments on both the buildings and their tenants.⁵⁴ In the years immediately preceding the First World War, Edmund Smith, York's Medical Officer of Health, was especially active in the area, threatening unwilling owners with demolition orders to achieve housing improvements.⁵⁵ In his reports Smith included comments on the general cleanliness of each house visited, alongside amenities, and demonstrated the perceived link between environment and behaviour. In the case of George Jackson's house, No. 5 Church Side, the bedding and bedroom were described as 'filthy' and the inspector also noted that the bedroom was 'defective, dark' and had 'no through ventilation'.⁵⁶ Accepting that many tenants were 'blameworthy', the Medical Officer of Health also criticised house owners for the lack of 'care and cleanliness' in regard to their properties.⁵⁷ Others were far quicker to place the blame firmly at the feet of the slum tenants themselves. When completing his section of the Visitation Returns for York in 1915, Canon G. M. Argles explicitly stated 'there are a good many wretched homes but in the main the fault lies with the people not the houses'.⁵⁸ In total, the York Health Office identified 201 properties as 'unhealthy' in the 1906-7 surveys.⁵⁹

⁵² YCA, York Medical Officer of Health, Report, 1898.

⁵³ YCA, Health Department Records, Acc.157.10.9, Report on Walmgate, 1914.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ YCA, Health Department Records, Acc. 157.10.9-10, Hungate area house inspection record sheets, 1906-1907.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ E. M. Smith, 'Report on the Hungate District by the Medical Officer of Health 1908', *Appendix to Council Reports, etc., 1908-9* (York: York City Council, 1909).

⁵⁸ Borthwick Institute for Archives, Parish of St Mary Bishophill the Elder with St Clement's, Bp.V. 1915/ Ret.

⁵⁹ YCA, Health Department Records, Acc. 157.10.9-10, 1906-07.

In 1901 Rowntree had identified the districts as belonging to the poorest section of the city. In the accompanying map, Hungate and Walmgate were branded in an unpleasant muddy brown colour that identified them as belonging to the ‘poorest districts of the city, comprising the slum areas’.⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that the other areas of the map were represented in much more visually appealing colours; commercial districts in pink, the working-class areas in yellow and the ‘servant keeping class’ areas in lime green – highlighting to readers of his report that Hungate and Walmgate belonged to the most unappealing elements of the city. Rowntree also singled out a number of streets surrounding Micklegate as being slum areas, although Micklegate itself was not part of this classification. Skeldergate and North Street were undoubtedly two of the poorest streets in the city. One particular court in the area, Beedham’s, was known locally as ‘Hagworm’s Nest’, and was the site of the first cholera fatality in the outbreak of 1832 which caused 185 deaths.⁶¹ However, neither of these streets or the Micklegate area ever reached the infamy of the Hungate and Walmgate districts on which this article focuses - it could be argued that a district only became a slum when it acquired a degree of notoriety in the popular mindset. Once established such a reputation then provided a focal point for all considered squalid and immoral.

Creating the slum: court and newspaper reports

It was not only sanitary surveys and reports of poor housing which bolstered the slum image of Hungate and Walmgate. Charles Dickens brought the connection between the slums and crime before a very large audience with his vivid descriptions of parts of the London underworld.⁶² Such sensationalist writings fed a view of the slums as places threatening danger.⁶³ H. J. Dyos noted that lurid descriptions of the London slums turned them into a ‘public spectacle’, but he separated such popular literature from the serious reform discourse of social investigators and

⁶⁰ Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life*.

⁶¹ Frances Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution: A Study of Victorian Prostitutes in York* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 52 and Edward Royle, ‘Nineteenth Century York’, in Patrick Nuttgens (ed.), *The History of York From Earliest Times to the Year 2000* (Pickering: Blackthorne Press, 2001), pp. 295-301.

⁶² See in particular *Sketches by "Boz," Illustrative of Every-day Life and Every-day People* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1874 [1836]) and *Oliver Twist* (London: Richard Bentley, 1838).

⁶³ S. Martin Gaskell, ‘Introduction’ in *Slums*, p. 5.

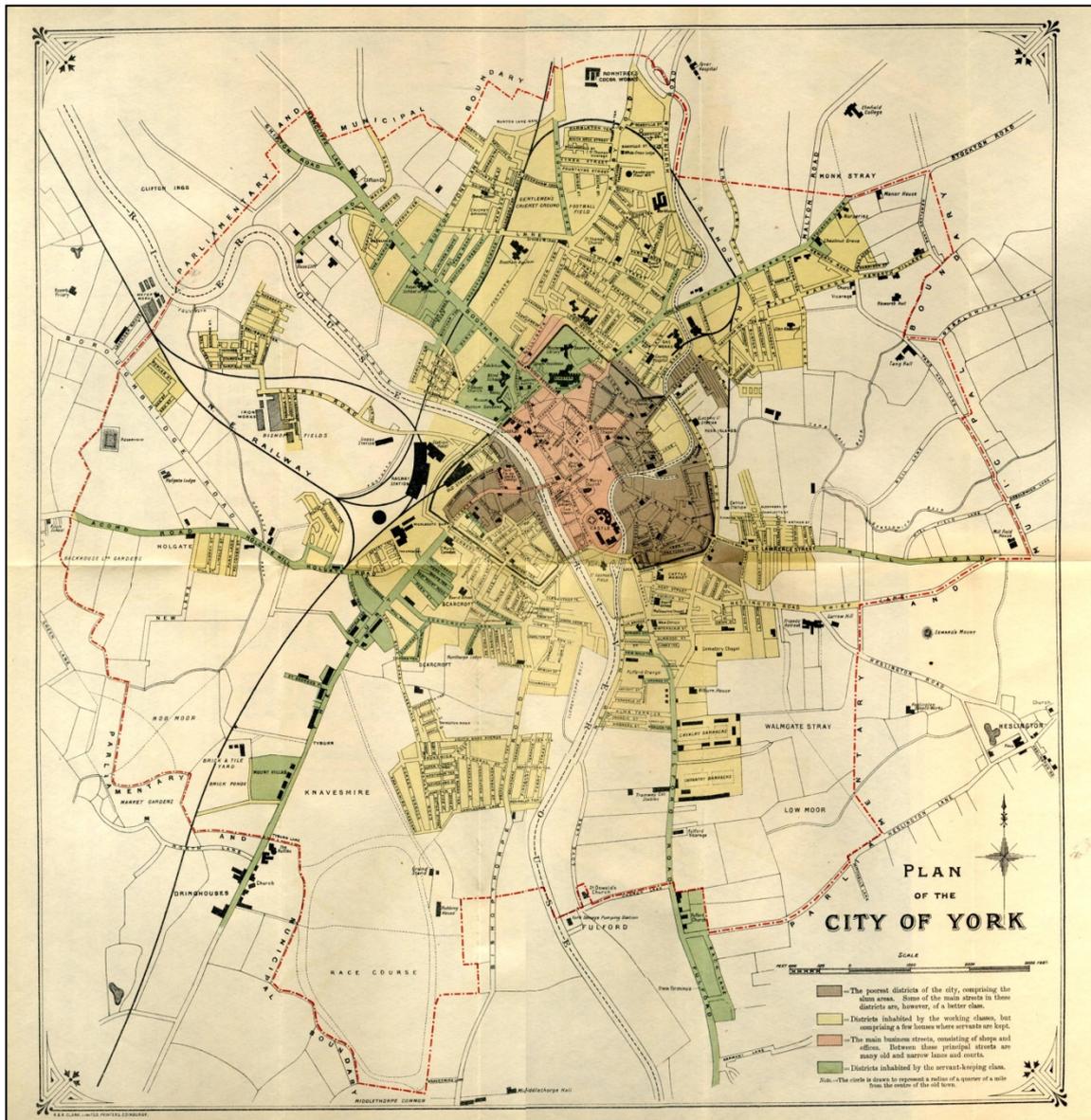


Figure 2. Rowntree's 'Plan of the City of York' divided into four districts. Taken from B. Seebom Rowntree, *Poverty: A Study of Town Life* (London: Macmillan, 1901).

sanitary inspectors.⁶⁴ This artificial divide, however, fails to recognise that both ‘factual’ and entertaining literature contributed to the same view of the slums as dangerous and unhealthy places.⁶⁵

Newspapers reported on court appearances by residents of slum areas and published sensationalised accounts of the horrendous conditions in the poorest districts of the city. In the 1840s the *Yorkshire Gazette* ran a dehumanising exposé of the Bedern area and its residents, which bordered Hungate:

Take Bedern, for instance, and what do you find – filth, misery, drunkenness, disease and crime. Let those who doubt the proof of this assertion examine (if they have the courage) for themselves and they will find that no language can describe the feelings excited by observing the swarms of human beings hoarding together, without the slightest regard for the decencies of life. Let them, for a short time, inhale the close and pestilential atmosphere of these abodes of filth and contemplate if they can without horror man in his lowest state displaying brutal unconsciousness of his degradation.⁶⁶

Such depictions could be found in newspapers accounts across the period. In October 1896 John and Mary Agar of Carmelite Street, Hungate, were summoned by the NSPCC for neglect. The *York Herald* reported that the two room house which the Agars’ shared with their eight children was ‘shockingly filthy’ and Inspector Notton told the court that ‘the stench was overpowering’ and he could not inspect the house carefully as ‘it was too revolting’.⁶⁷

Recognised as one of the most intensive areas of Irish settlement in the city, in the local press Britannia Yard, Walmgate, was characterised by the fights, assaults and theft committed by its residents.⁶⁸ John Gill, a notorious resident, was convicted for the sixteenth time in 1888. His

⁶⁴ Dyos, ‘The Slums of Victorian London’, pp. 5-40.

⁶⁵ See also Mayne, *The Imagined Slum*.

⁶⁶ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 27 October 1849.

⁶⁷ *York Herald*, 24 October, 1896.

⁶⁸ Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice*, p. 48.

first appearance before the court, in 1875 under the headline ‘A Caution to Walmgate Roughts’ saw Gill, then aged 19, charged with assaulting a horse dealer. He was subsequently charged with a variety of offences, including assaulting his own father.⁶⁹ In 1896 he was described as ‘one of York’s worst characters’ and had been convicted eight times of assaulting the police.⁷⁰ In one of his court hearings, Chief Constable Haley remarked that Walmgate was ‘becoming beyond control. If a policeman took a prisoner out of Walmgate, the prisoner was sure to be rescued’.⁷¹ P.C. William Atkinson was disciplined in 1901 ‘for allowing a prisoner to escape custody in Walmgate ... by not using sufficient force to prevent his rescue’.⁷² The exploits of infamous individuals and families, reported in the press, tainted the reputation of particular neighbourhoods and the wider area.

In the press, the Irish in particular were stereotyped as ‘uncivilised’ and ‘wild’. The ‘mean little streets’ of Hope Street, Albert Street, Dennis Street and Navigation Road gained particular notoriety throughout the period due to their overcrowded nature and intensive Irish settlement.⁷³ Associations with drinking and fighting were popularised through the local press, and Robert Kay recorded a particular incident in his diary where ‘an Irishwomen said to me a few days ago [that] the Lord Mayor [also the Chief Magistrate] ought to be grateful for the Irish in Walmgate, for if it was not for them he could never get a living’.⁷⁴

The pubs, beer-houses, lodging houses and brothels in these districts, criticised by newspapers and featured in court reports, also helped to create a particular image of these poor districts. Brothels recorded by the police and named by Penitentiary inmates were overwhelmingly concentrated in these poor districts of the city. Young women working as prostitutes would often meet potential clients while they were walking through the main streets of the city centre,

⁶⁹ *York Herald*, 14 September 1888, 4 September 1875 and 20 April 1883.

⁷⁰ *York Herald*, 10 October 1896.

⁷¹ *York Herald*, 26 August 1876.

⁷² YCA, Police Service and Character Books, Acc. 236.23.12, William Atkinson, 1901.

⁷³ Interview with Fred Milburn, born 1894, YOHP.

⁷⁴ YCA, Grandfather Robert Kay’s Book, Acc. 794, 1875-1900. Temperance supporter Robert Kay recorded details of the public houses from Fossgate to Walmgate Bar, noting the ‘low’ character of many establishments.

but took them back to houses in Hungate and Walmgate. Elizabeth Convin met Private Robert Eastwood in the city centre on a Saturday night and took him back to her house in Hungate, where their exchange took place.⁷⁵

Particular streets in both Hungate and Walmgate became notorious for the numerous brothels they contained, and the large number of prostitutes living and working there. Wesley Place, located in Hungate but also directly connected to Walmgate, had by the late nineteenth century cemented its reputation as a centre of prostitution. Clients picked up in Walmgate and Fossgate could – by means of Strakers or Black Horse Passage – be quickly conveyed to a house of ill fame, and few local residents could fail to be aware of their character. Such notoriety could, however, prove lucrative for business; clients would know where to go and what to expect. Being well-established in a particular area was an important way to attract clients, but could also attract the attentions of the police. It could also have implications for other young women living in such ‘notorious’ areas. In 1893 James McLaren, a soldier, was charged with indecently assaulting fourteen year old Emma Lacey, at her parents’ house in Wesley Place. He was found late at night trying to get into the bed that she shared with her sister. Both girls screamed and he ran off – to be later apprehended by her father. While the jury found the young soldier guilty, in passing a lenient sentence, the Recorder said that there were ‘women of immoral character’ living next door to the Laceys, and living in a bad neighbourhood, the prisoner had evidently ‘made a mistake in the house’.⁷⁶

It is difficult to establish precisely what more ‘respectable’ neighbours thought of prostitutes and brothel keepers. The responses of Mr Lacey and his daughters to James McLaren’s lenient sentence were not recorded in the newspaper reports. Newspapers published letters from middle-class observers complaining about the moral state of an area’s inhabitants, but these often viewed the poor in general with disapproval. In Preston, when asked about life in the red

⁷⁵ *Yorkshire Gazette*, 21 May 1881.

⁷⁶ *York Herald*, ‘York Quarter Sessions’, 7 October 1893.

light district of Manchester Road, the responses of Elizabeth Roberts' interviewees ranged from outright condemnation of the women who worked there, to tolerance and even a grudging admiration.⁷⁷ In York Harry Thelfall noted disapprovingly that 'there were a deuce lot of them' in the city, but Emily Richardson conceded that prostitution was just 'their way of earning a living'.⁷⁸ One poor community which remained largely removed from prostitution was the Irish population. Moving into areas often associated with prostitution, including some of the yards off Walmgate, Frances Finnegan noted how prostitution offences fell rapidly in areas colonised by the Irish.⁷⁹

Soldiers undoubtedly augmented the coffers of pubs in both the Hungate and Walmgate districts, and their presence cemented the reputation of the area in the minds of many outsiders. Soldiers stationed at the nearby Cavalry and Infantry Barracks on Fulford Road frequented Hungate and Walmgate to visit friends, drink and take advantage of other, more illicit, pleasures. Chief Constable Haley told the Watch Committee that Walmgate was becoming problematic 'on account of the number of soldiers who nightly assemble there'.⁸⁰ In 1882 the military authorities had to be called in to help restore order in Walmgate. The incident was widely reported across the city and Robert Kay noted in his diary that the trouble began in the Black Horse public house, where a fight between a military man and residents got out of hand. Chief Constable Haley told the Watch Committee that a soldier had returned to the pub to reclaim his stolen property and confront the thief. After apprehending the man he believed to be responsible, a fight broke out. Other soldiers became involved, along with other local residents, and the street became inaccessible for over an hour. After the event, the soldiers were forbidden from entering

⁷⁷ See in particular the interview with Mrs H. I. P whose brother, a policeman, thought the Manchester Road prostitutes were 'the grandest lasses you could wish for'. Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women 1890-1940* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1984), p. 19.

⁷⁸ Interview with Harry Thelfall, born 1890 and Emily Richardson born 1902, cited in Charles W. Masters. *The Respectability of Late Victorian Workers: A Case Study of York, 1867-1914* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010), p. 156.

⁷⁹ Finnegan argues that the Irish contribution to prostitution in York was disproportionately low and muses that this might be because of different moral codes and the 'unusually chaste' nature of Irish immigrant women. Finnegan, *Poverty and Prostitution*, p. 53 and Finnegan, *Poverty and Prejudice*.

⁸⁰ YCA, Watch Committee Minutes, 16 March 1881.

Walmgate for the rest of their stay in the city.⁸¹ The *York Herald* reported that several ‘disgraceful rows’ occurred in Walmgate ‘through the unruly conduct of militia men [who were] quarrelling with mobs of Irish’.⁸²

Mr Slater also noted the tension between soldiers and the residents of the area; ‘the soldiers and civilians they used to knock hell out a’one another’.⁸³ Many in the community did not like soldiers because they had ‘got a name’, and had a reputation for ‘being here today and gone tomorrow’, and ‘if any lass was foolish enough to be left with a bairn, they were bitter against it’.⁸⁴ Young women were often hindered from openly socialising with soldiers, even within a family setting. Annie Pinder’s mother would not allow her to dance with a young soldier at a family wedding party in Walmgate; “‘Get yourself sat down there”, she said, “and you young man, get on your way””.⁸⁵

Conclusions

The reputation of the Hungate and Walmgate districts developed through a process of repetition, with different issues constantly being brought to public attention. Over the course of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century the emphasis may have changed; from public health and sanitation, to crime and prostitution, or municipal improvement, but all helped to strengthen the ‘slum stereotype’. As Graeme Davison has noted:

The slum stereotype ... portrayed lower class life in essentially negative terms – *disease, distress, disorder, disaffection* – and always from a lofty middle-class point of view. It acted as a shutter closing the minds of contemporaries to the inner life and outlook of the poor.⁸⁶

⁸¹ YCA, Grandfather Robert Kay’s Book and YCA, Watch Committee Minutes, 3 August 1882.

⁸² *York Herald*, 5 August 1882.

⁸³ Interview with Mr Slater, born 1908, YOHP.

⁸⁴ Interview with Annie Pinder, born 1904, YOHP.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ Graeme Davison, ‘Introduction’ in Graham Davison, David Dunstan and Chris McConville (eds.), *The Outcasts of Melbourne: Essays in Social History* (Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 1986), p. 3.

Once established, the reputation of the area became an entity in its own right. Generally these neighbourhoods were socially mixed, with different levels of housing available. Working-class families with very different income levels lived in close proximity, yet for external observers it was easier to deal in blanket assertions and generalisations. Differences could be subtle or the character of streets could vary enormously. As Margaret Mann Phillips, the daughter of the vicar of St Margaret's, recalled; '[in some streets] one house would be a filthy hovel and the next a trim, clean cottage'.⁸⁷ Olive Waudby lived in George Street, Walmgate, but as the daughter of a greengrocer she was sent to private school and socialised largely with other shopkeeper's children. She was 'forbidden ever to go up that part of George Street, amongst the barefoot kids'.⁸⁸ Greengrocers like Olive Waudby's father, along with the Rowntree's factory workers, manual labourers, publicans, gas workers, and butchers that resided in Hungate and Walmgate were grouped together under the category of 'slum dweller', and their individual circumstances, identities and experiences were lost. The press highlighted criminal and disorderly behaviour, with reports of 'unfortunate women', theft, assault, gambling, drunkenness, obscene language and indecent behaviour by the residents of the district.⁸⁹ Newspaper reports, sanitary authority investigations and social surveys offered merely a snapshot of the urban landscape; the tangible conditions of the street mattered less to outsiders than the images of dirt and squalor they were presented with. Poverty, poor housing and the often increased visibility of families and young people on the streets encouraged such negative stereotyping, and those from outside Hungate and Walmgate read about or visited the area with their own preconceptions and apprehensions. The multiplicity of experience and identity was collapsed into a one-dimensional world, perhaps best highlighted by the unpleasant muddy brown colour on Rowntree's *Poverty* map.

⁸⁷ Margaret Mann Phillips, *Within the City Walls: A Memoir of Childhood* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1943), 22.

⁸⁸ Interview with Olive Waudby, born 1909, YOHP.

⁸⁹ *York Herald*, 31 July 1886, 21 August 1886, 27 May 1899, 11 May 1886, 4 April 1883, 4 August 1884, 17 June 1887.

For external observers, the streets and courtyards in Hungate and Walmgate were a place of squalor, of immorality and drunkenness, there to be improved or, ideally, removed. For the people who lived, worked and socialised there, they were a place for walking, eating, drinking, fighting and courting. It is beyond the scope of this paper to explore the ‘lived experiences’ of the ‘slum dwellers’ of Hungate and Walmgate, or how residents themselves considered their environment, but by questioning the representations of poverty, this article has attempted to demonstrate that published accounts – including philanthropic reports, sanitary investigations and newspaper reports – were fundamental in representing a particular view of the lives of the working class of York to outsiders.⁹⁰ The existence of poor working-class areas in the city had long been acknowledged, but Hungate and Walmgate were ‘rediscovered’ at times of social concern.⁹¹ Their existence was increasingly seen as conflicting with the image of a ‘genteel’ city that marketed itself as a resort for country gentlemen and well-healed tourists; ‘as they could not make York a manufacturing town, he thought they ought to maintain it as a place of resort for country gentlemen and their families’.⁹² The small overcrowded streets and densely packed houses seemed the very anathema of the clean and orderly city upon which late Victorian society placed increasing value. Known to most of York’s visitors and many of its residents only through reputation, a reputation that was established and reproduced through published accounts that told the same stories of dirt, misery and disorder, accounts of Hungate and Walmgate increasingly reflected the concerns of outsiders rather than any of the conditions or experiences they claimed to represent.

⁹⁰ David Englander, ‘Review: Alan Mayne, *The Imagined Slum: Newspaper Representation in Three Cities, 1870-1914*’, *Urban History*, 21:2 (1994), 309-311. Charles Masters has argued that the working class in York strove to appear respectable in the face of intense poverty and prejudice, a case that is supported by some of the YOHP respondents, many of whom recalled fondly the community spirit, respectability and resilience that characterised life in these poor districts. However, such comments must be placed into the context of a community that was subsequently split up through slum clearances and often moved to council houses on the outskirts of the city, and the issues of memory and overall trend of nostalgia evident in many of the interviews, and particularly the York Oral History Society publications. Charles W. Masters, *The Respectability of Late Victorian Workers: A Case Study of York, 1867-1914* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2010).

⁹¹ See also Graham Davis, ‘Beyond the Georgian facade’, p. 144 and John Welshman, who has explored the social construction of ‘the poor’ and how the idea of an ‘underclass’ has been successively reinvented. John Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded since 1880*, 2nd edn (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), p.4.

⁹² *Yorkshire Gazette*, 10 September 1859.

Appendix**Oral History Sample**

Name	Birth Year	Place of Birth	Occupations	Interview Year
Fred Milburn	1894	-	Journalist and police constable	1983
Annie Pinder	1904	Hope Street, Walmgate	-	1996
Mr Slater	1908	Navigation Road, Walmgate	Builder and journeyman	1984
Dick Calpin	1909	Rosemary Place, Walmgate	Labourer	1996
Olive Waudby	1909	George Street, Walmgate	Clerk	1996
James Cave	1910	St Saviourgate, Hungate	-	1992
Nell Fearn	1918	Dundas Street, Hungate	-	1993
Ted Chittock	1922	St John's Place, Hungate	-	1993

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