

The Urban Geography of Leeds an historical analysis of urban development

Introduction

Leeds is one of the largest cities in England and the foremost industrial city of the West Yorkshire conurbation. Its population in 1981 stood at 696 714 and with Bradford forms a metropolitan area supporting more than 1 million people. Although a large proportion of its population are engaged in the tertiary sector Leeds is primarily an industrial city. Its rapid growth during the nineteenth century mirrors any town which was endowed with the raw materials of the Industrial Revolution: coal, iron ore and cheap labour. The particular strength of the West Yorkshire towns was the manufacture of cloth, an industry which began on a small scale high up in the Pennine valleys and then later moved down to the growing mills of Halifax, Bradford and Leeds where engineering and coal mining were fast becoming important.

The importance of these traditional industries has gradually waned to be replaced with a more diversified industrial structure and one in which service industries are becoming pre-eminent and, in this respect, Leeds has emerged as the service centre for much of the surrounding area. Many of the components of the service sector in Leeds have received national acclaim particularly in areas of health care provision and university education.

It is partly Leeds' ready accessibility that has contributed to its large sphere of influence. Leeds is almost midway between London and Edinburgh and between Merseyside and Humberside. The M1 motorway reaches almost into the centre of Leeds and the M62 transpennine motorway crosses to the south with spurs into Bradford and Leeds. There is also still a considerable rail network and an airport. The Aire and Calder Navigation provides a significant water transport link from Leeds and Wakefield to the Humber estuary, but the Leeds-Liverpool Canal is now only of historical and recreational interest. The 'Metro' system allows for subsidisation of rail and bus services and consequent cheap fares throughout West Yorkshire and this encourages widespread public usage of urban passenger transport and freedom of movement within and between towns.

The early development of industrial activities within and around Leeds has produced environmental problems such as spoil heaps, obsolete mill buildings and water and air pollution, together with large areas of poor quality housing. However, a few miles to the north lie Lower Wharfedale and Ilkley Moor that, together with a rich diversity of recreational and cultural amenities, form the basis of a growing tourist industry and which has formed the backdrop to such popular television series as 'Last of the Summer Wine' and 'All Creatures Great and Small'.

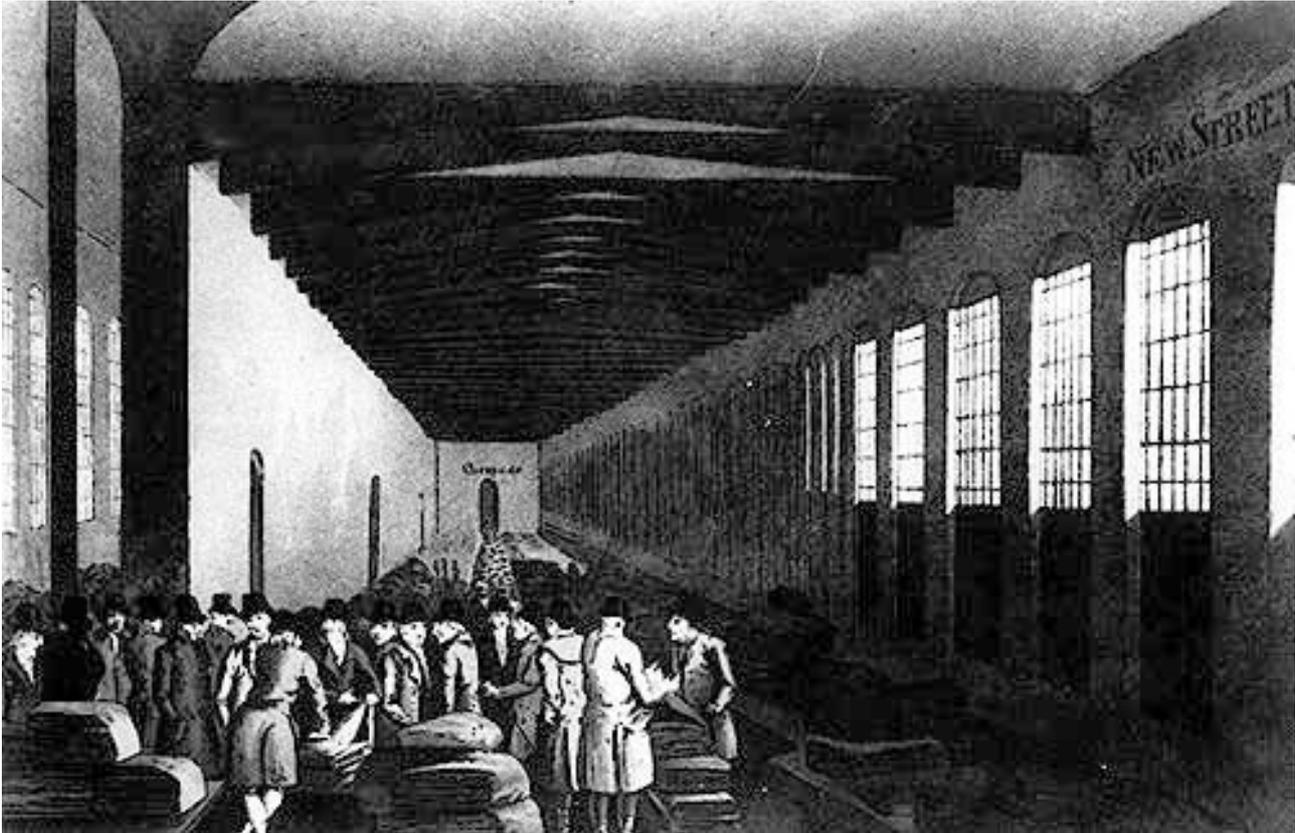
Alternative images of Leeds associated, on the one hand, with declining industries and urban dereliction and, on the other, with scenic beauty and tourist attraction, are both facets of the truth. Different people will call to mind different associations. For example, Leeds may be known to different individuals for 'The Good Old Days' on television, for the Leeds International Piano Competition, for the Rolling Stones last concert in Roundhay Park, or perhaps for the fortunes of Leeds United soccer team or for cricket matches at Headingley. Of course, after undertaking fieldwork different students will still have their own very personal perceptions of the geography of Leeds, but all are likely to gain a deeper understandings of what made and continues to make Leeds the economic and social heart of its region.

Leeds in the Eighteenth Century: The Beginnings of Urbanisation

The eighteenth century in Leeds is notable in that it paved the way for the great social and economic upheaval which began at the end of it, and continued all through the next century. That great change, the Industrial Revolution, completely altered the face of West Yorkshire, and to a marked extent its character, bringing as it did an influx of workers from all over England. It changed Leeds and its neighbourhood from a rural township to the great industrial city of today. It altered West

Yorkshire from a moorland wasteland pitted here and there with odd pockets of industry and smallholdings to a complex and highly organised industrial community with over three-quarters of the country's population depending for their living on its industries.

Leeds was well suited for the developing textile trade. There was plenty of pasture land in the upland dales where sheep could be raised; there was ample soft water for cleansing the wool; though the roads were poor, the rivers around Leeds were sufficiently navigable for transporting goods to Goole and Hull; and, finally as the eighteenth century progressed and the Industrial Revolution got well under way with its new inventions of steam powered machines, the coal-field just south of Leeds provided yet another natural source of power for working the new machinery. These factors, coupled with an invaluable tradition of cloth-making skills, gave Leeds an unqualified advantage in her development as the foremost textile town in eighteenth-century Yorkshire.



Leeds Coloured Cloth Hall

The cloth made by the handlooms in the many dales farmhouses around Leeds was sold to the Leeds merchants for them to trade and sell. Since medieval times a cloth fair had been held on the Bridge over the Aire, but in the 1680s this site had become so congested that it was moved to Briggate. In 1711, largely through the influence of Ralph Thoresby, a cloth hall was built in Kirkgate and trade grew to such proportions that a new and larger hall was built near Mill Hill for the sale of coloured cloth. A white cloth hall was opened in the Calls in 1775 following closure of the Kirkgate site. Still the trade grew, to such an extent that the Cloth Hall was moved yet again, in the nineteenth century, to King Street. From these cloth halls, material was sold to distributors all over the country.

Although woollen cloth-making was the staple industry in Leeds during the eighteenth century, it was not the only one. Other trades were practised and even today the healthy economic stability of the city's commerce is due to the variety of industries in Leeds. It is significant that Leeds is one of the very few areas in northern England which has not suffered a population decrease as a result of the drift south and an important factor in maintaining this population has been the wide variety of jobs available when one trade or another has suffered recession.

Leeds in the eighteenth century was famous for its pottery, manufactured since medieval times.

Linen too was produced in large quantities. John Marshall founded a famous linen-making firm in Adel which moved to Holbeck in 1840. Engineering, also, came to play a more and more important role in Leeds during the eighteenth century. Iron had been worked by the monks at Kirkstall in their forges and was smelted at Middleton and Horsforth. The discovery of the use of coal and coke, in the smelting and casting of iron, made Leeds by virtue of its coal seams a natural location for the siting of foundries and ironworks. The Low Moor Ironworks date from 1788 and Bowling from 1789.

One important feature of the late eighteenth century, which greatly facilitated the rise of industries in Leeds, was the tremendous improvement in means of communication. In 1775 Leeds Corporation set about improving the condition and paving of the town streets. Oil lamps were rigged up in Leeds in 1791, gas not being introduced until 1819. The Old Bridge over the Aire at the bottom of Briggate was widened several times. Communications outside the town with other centres of commerce were also improved by felling large areas of woodland to create new roads. By the late eighteenth century much of the forest to the north of Leeds had been cut down and replaced by arable farms.

Poor parishes outside Leeds found it impossible, however, to maintain the stretches of new roads within their boundaries, and so in the late seventeenth century a Turnpike Act was passed allowing tolls to be levied on those who used the roads. Toll-bars existed until the late nineteenth century.

It was in the late eighteenth century that the canal system in the Leeds area was built. The canal connecting Leeds to Liverpool was built in stages between 1770 and 1815 and the River Aire was made navigable to Leeds at the end of the seventeenth century. In the 1760s the Aire was connected to the Ouse by the Selby canal. The advent of the railway and steam locomotive was foreshadowed by the building of a railway for transporting coal from Middleton collieries to Leeds in 1759, though it was not until 1812 that a steam locomotive actually drew the trucks to Leeds on this line.

With better means of communication it was a natural consequence that, as Leeds became more readily accessible to the rest of the country and London, news coming from there and abroad would be more eagerly sought after in this growing commercial centre. Leeds' first newspapers included 'The Leeds Mercury', started in 1718, and 'The Leeds Intelligencer', started in 1754, both papers later merging in 'The Yorkshire Post' in 1939.

Leeds in the eighteenth century continued to be centred on the main thoroughfare, Briggate. However, Briggate was quite different from the modern road. From Leeds Bridge to Kirkgate it was wide, with houses standing well back in spacious gardens. Above Kirkgate the road narrowed and buildings stood in the middle of the street called The Shambles and Back Shambles, places where livestock was butchered in the open. The market was held in the widest section of Briggate which also contained the pillory and stocks, last used in 1837. Markets were also held at the top end of Briggate and on the Lower and Upper Head Rows for livestock. The cloth market, held in medieval times on the bridge at the bottom of Briggate, and then from 1684 to 1711 in the market in lower Briggate, was in 1785 held in the white cloth hall near the Calls close to the present Corn Exchange.

The vicarage stood in its own grounds between Kirkgate and Vicar Lane. The first infirmary, founded in 1767, stood in Kirkgate for a few years until a new one was built in 1771 near the coloured cloth hall to the west of the town. Vicar Lane in 1775 extended northwards to just above Lower Head Row, to a short street aptly named Towns End which was the last real street of the town and formed the main road out to Harrogate. It was in Towns End that the old Grammar School stood until it moved to Woodhouse Moor on the site of the University's new Western Campus in 1859. The Quarry Hill district was practically open countryside.

To the south of the Parish Church ran a little path called the Calls, still existing as a street today. Westward from the Calls, at the foot of Briggate, was the old bridge, demolished and widened several times during the eighteenth century. Swinegate was in much the same place it is today,

leading off westwards from the old bridge; but in the area now covered by City Station, Neville Street, Sovereign Street and the Queen's Hall, there were a number of mills and fullers' yards adjoining the river. Swinegate ran as far as Mill Hill as did Boar Lane, then a well-to-do suburb of the town. From the western end of Boar Lane, only nine yards wide in places, about where City Square is today, Kirkstall Abbey could be seen, as there was no building due west from that point apart from the large buildings of Mill Hill.

The old Bradford Road was a continuation of the Upper Head Row and is now covered by Westgate. Almost all the land between Bradford Road and Boar Lane consisted of fields or orchards; that is an area now bounded by Park Row, The Headrow, Lands Lane, Trinity Street and Boar Lane.

The open space west of Lands Lane was filled in soon after 1775. Park Row seems to have been built up first, then South Parade and East Parade; these three streets, together with the infirmary and the coloured cloth hall, formed an open square by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Park Place appeared on maps in 1781 and Park Square in 1806. Albion Street was built towards the end of the eighteenth century to join Boar Lane and Upper Head Row and was the site of the first Music Hall (1792).

Out of the north-west was Lidgate, the road to Kendal, now the lower part of Woodhouse Lane considered in 1775 to be particularly healthy, as it was somewhat removed from the river and the air was "remarkably salutary and bracing". About 1785 Providence Row, in the neighbourhood of present Cobourg Street, is described as a fashionable and an "entirely sylvan" suburb, "a favourite location for young ladies' boarding schools".

Beyond the town to the north lay Woodhouse Moor, with its tiny villages of Woodhouse and Little Woodhouse. Hunts were held on the Moor in the eighteenth century and hounds kennelled in the locality of the University's western campus. Adjoining Woodhouse Moor was Chapeltown Moor where the first recorded cricket match in Yorkshire was played in August 1765 between Leeds and Sheffield.

No real segregation of land uses was evident in the Leeds of the eighteenth century. Merchants did not spurn a residence in the very heart of the town. Even elaborate townhouses were nearly all in the central streets with warehouses and counting houses at the rear. For a merchant, his home and the place of work coincided, as they did on a lesser scale for the retail butchers of the Shambles and Back Shambles or for a family weaving-enterprise with the looms in the upper chamber.

The system of land tenure was based on medieval burgage. The lands of the town came under three manors: Kirkgate, Whitkirk and Duchy, and were leased as small plots, burgages, comprising a house, yard and garden (garth). These burgages ran the full length from Briggate to Lands Lane. As the population of the town grew, commercial and residential accommodation was provided in the gardens of these burgages with access facilitated often by tunnels from the main street beneath existing houses. By the mid-nineteenth century these burgages became notorious for overcrowding, cholera epidemics and a high birth rate. Sanitary reformers of the late nineteenth century gave national publicity to these crowded tenement yards, and conditions in the Boot and Shoe Yard (near Kirkgate market) were often cited. In 1795 this Yard contained 22 cottages, but in 1839 there were 34, sheltering 340 people. Pressure also built up behind the houses of the Upper Head Row.

This overcrowding spawned the development of better quality residential areas beginning with the fashionable streets of Park Row, South Parade and East Parade forming the elegant Park Square. However, these early fashionable areas were short lived as the pressure of land values brought about the invasion by other land uses, beginning with the Magistrates Court in 1811, and other areas towards the north were sought after for high-class housing. In many cases what were elegant neighbourhoods in the eighteenth century had, by the beginning of the nineteenth century, been either taken over by industry or degenerated into slums. It is, in fact, the rapid expansion of the

nineteenth century which laid the foundations for the pattern of land use observed in Leeds today and it is this period which we turn to next.

Leeds in the Nineteenth Century: The City Takes Shape

The nineteenth century saw the most extensive expansion of Leeds in its history, for Leeds was a boom town of the Industrial Revolution. It was a period of great wealth for the city, but unfortunately it was also a period of great poverty for many of the workers who flocked to its growing industries. Dickens once called Leeds, in 1847, "the beastliest place, one of the nastiest I know". As early as 1756 Horace Walpole described the town as "dingy" and in 1770 Thomas Gray described it as "smoky and ugly".

These are the penalties nearly every town had to pay when it grew too quickly as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Almost every town and city in the north of England which mushroomed during the Victorian era left a heritage of dirt and filth for its population of the twentieth century to put right and Leeds was by no means exceptional in this respect.

The discovery of steam power and the development of the locomotive in Leeds by Matthew Murray, certainly did much to alter the size of the town. The first journey of a locomotive to haul coal from the Middleton colliery took place on 24 June, 1812. The first railway network in the Leeds area was begun in 1825 with the opening of the Leeds-Selby line and by the mid-nineteenth century other lines had opened to Bradford, Dewsbury, Thirsk and Manchester. There were three stations: Wellington, opened in 1848; Central Station, opened in 1854; and New Station, opened in 1869.

New roads in the town and bridges over the river were made. Wellington bridge was built in 1818. The old blocks of houses, the Shambles and Back Shambles, in the middle of Briggate were demolished to widen the road in 1825, and gas lighting was introduced to the streets in 1819. The new road to Otley was constructed in 1841 in order to facilitate traffic going to Kendal by road, for stage-coaches still plied their trade despite competition from the railways, particularly to the north as the relief of the dales mitigated against railway construction.

Building accelerated rapidly and Hunslet Lane and Meadow Lane, in the south of the city, became well-to-do areas. Master and worker were now seeking separate areas in which to live, in contrast with the practice of the townsfolk of the eighteenth century, when merchants and workers lived side by side. By 1818 there were more than a hundred woollen mills employing ten thousand workers. John Marshall opened his famous flax mill in 1840 with a mill chimney disguised as Cleopatra's Needle.

In the 1840s there was a decline in the number of textile workers, but a rise in the number of workers in the other new industries, especially the engineering trades, which were being introduced to the town.

As its commercial buildings began to grow, so the civic buildings of Leeds were altered and added to. In 1813 a new Court House and prison was built at Mill Hill. The current Town Hall was built on the site of Park House and completed in 1858. When Armley Gaol was finished in 1847, the old Court House at Mill Hill became the Post Office and remained so until a new Post Office was built on the site of the coloured cloth hall in 1896. The old Court House was finally demolished on completion of City Square. A new Corn Exchange was built in Call Lane in 1857.

The market was eventually banned from Briggate in 1857 and moved to purpose built accommodation in Kirkgate following the demolition of the vicarage. Further markets were introduced: a leather market in 1824 and cattle market in 1855.

The area east of Briggate was developed tremendously and covered by houses and factories by the time Leeds Parish Church was rebuilt by Hook on its former site in 1841. Sheepscar Beck, seen

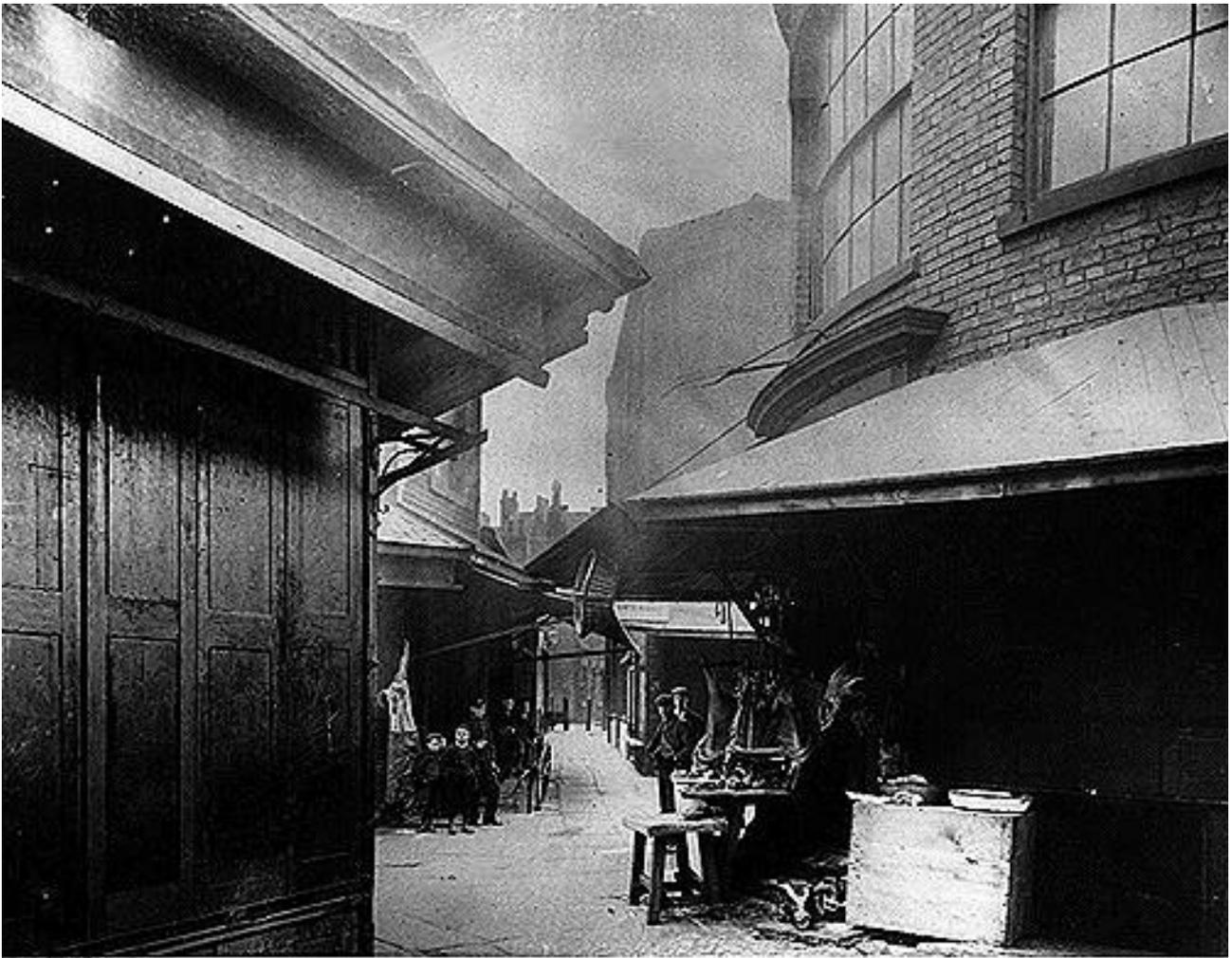
clearly on maps of eighteenth century Leeds, was paved and piped away to provide building land for houses, which had become notorious slums in the Quarry Hill area even before the close of the century. Briggate itself was extended to New Briggate in 1868 and opened into North Street.

In 1816 Boar Lane was still a residential area, but fifty years later had become one of the main shopping centres in the town and altered considerably in 1867.

By 1834 the city had developed westwards as far as Hanover Square. Commercial Street was extended to Park Row between 1821 and 1826, and Bond Street, between Park Row and East Parade, was built about 1821 and originally called Russell Street. Trinity Street was up by 1806. A new Grammar School was built on the edge of Woodhouse Moor in 1859 and the reservoir on the Moor was completed and covered in during 1863. The oldest buildings in the present University, including the Great Hall and Baines Wing, were built when the University of Leeds was still the Yorkshire College in 1885. The old cemetery on Woodhouse Moor, which has now been largely built over by the new University extensions and named St George's Fields, was consecrated in 1835. By 1839 Victoria Road on the far side of the Moor had been constructed and at the Cardigan Road end of it was a zoo and botanical gardens.

Directly eastwards from Woodhouse Moor, just over a mile away, was the village of Sheepscar, which, even as late as 1831, was still a separate hamlet away from the main town. Several parks were also bought by the Corporation to provide some open spaces in the rapidly expanding town. Woodhouse Moor was bought in 1855, Roundhay Park in 1871, Woodhouse Ridge in 1877 and Hunslet Moor in 1878.

Other innovations which took place in the town during this century included the introduction of a tramway system in 1871 by a private company. The drainage system was vastly overhauled in 1850, a good twenty years after a serious outbreak of cholera in 1831. So bad had been the sewage system before that date, that when the town was cleaned up after an outbreak of cholera, seventy-five cartloads of sewage were removed from a cul-de-sac known as Boot and Shoe Yard in Kirkgate which housed a collection of slum cottage property. In 1795 this Yard contained twenty-two cottages, but in 1839 there were thirty-four, sheltering 340 persons.



The Shambles, Briggate

There was a bitter meeting in 1833 called by such eminent Leeds doctors as Charles Thackrah and Robert Baker to campaign vigorously for a proper sewage system, which in 1850 was eventually channelled into the River Aire near Temple Newsam. In 1870, the Corporation were directed to forbid sewage to pass into the river until it had been properly purified. It was not until about the same time that the courses of the many open becks below Swinegate were paved in and covered to prevent their use as open drains and tipping places. Water supplies to the town were very incompetent and unhealthy until the reservoir was constructed on Woodhouse Moor. However, by 1869 this reservoir had become inadequate and additional water supplies were sought from the Washburn valley near Blubberhouses and the high dales.

Poor working conditions in many of the mills, bad housing accommodation and the intense pollution of the air all contributed to a very high death rate which rose considerably with the increase in population. New cemeteries sprang up which became the targets for a highly organised group of body-snatchers who became known locally as the "resurrectionists". The cases of body-snatching are well documented and include an account of a box deposited "at the Bull and Mouth Hotel by the Duke of Leeds coach from Manchester in November 1831, the box being addressed to 'The Revd Mr Geneste, Hull. To be left until called for. Glass. Keep this side up.'" When opened by a curious servant the box was found to contain two corpses.

Body-snatching was so prevalent in some areas of Leeds that the townsfolk organised societies ("Grave Clubs") to cater for the relatives of the deceased persons and to devise measures to beat the body-snatchers. These measures include guarding newly interred bodies for five weeks and burying corpses twelve feet down with iron staves set into the earth at fixed intervals immediately above the coffin.

Education provision in the town gradually improved during the nineteenth century. In 1826 tertiary

education began with Thackrah's private medical school which eventually was incorporated with the Leeds Medical School in 1831. The Wesleyan College at Headingley was founded in 1868 and a Roman Catholic seminary was established in the city in 1876.



The University of Leeds: Parkinson Building

The University of Leeds, which was given its charter in 1904, had its origins in the founding of the Yorkshire College of Science in 1874. Merger with the Leeds Medical School followed in 1884 and the combined college became part of the Victoria University in 1887. In 1904 the Yorkshire College became a university in its own right and today has an enviable international reputation for the high quality of its teaching and research. Rapid expansion of the campus occurred during the 1970s and continues today to provide accommodation for a student population fast approaching 20 000. Yet despite its position internationally, the University remains an integral part of Leeds and Leeds life, receiving civic benefits and contributing culturally and economically to the life of the city.

Social tensions came to the fore in the mid-nineteenth century fuelled by the atrocious living and working conditions. Richard Oastler became a notable campaigner for slum clearance and for the passing of the Ten Hours Act (1847) which restricted the number of hours children could work in the factories and mills. Rioting was a notable feature of Leeds life in the 1830s and 1840s. Reports of police armed with bayonets taking on the citizens of Leeds in the city centre were regular features in the local newspapers.

Yet high levels of unemployment were never a problem for nineteenth century Leeds on account of the great variety of trades which were founded. This was in contrast to many neighbouring towns who suffered following the declining fortunes of the textile trade. In addition to the woollen mills, the first of which were Benjamin Gott's Bean Ing Mills (1792), flax-spinning machinery was being produced by 1828 and railway engines were being made in James Kitson's Airedale factory in the 1840s. Other industries included machine-tool manufacturing, armament production for the Crimean War, clothing manufacture, the production of steam and hydraulic pumps and the manufacture of printing machinery. These industries brought great wealth to Leeds in the nineteenth century and it is not surprising that a plethora of banking establishments developed at this time too, the first to open being the Leeds, Skyrack and Morley Savings Bank in 1813.

The nineteenth century was undoubtedly the starting point of modern Leeds. It was the period in which Leeds grew to importance as a significant regional centre specialising in a diverse range of industries and one in which the urban morphology took shape. Mention has already been made as to the growing segregation of workplace and home, but distinct residential zones had started to

emerge: separate areas for poorer and wealthier townfolk and it is these changes which are examined next.

The Emergence of Functional Zones

Two historical developments can be viewed as having the most profound effect on the development of segregated land use in Leeds during the nineteenth century: the desire of the wealthy to live separately from the working classes and the rapidly expanding industrial areas, and the advances in urban passenger transport which allowed the city to expand freely and eliminate the need for congested residential and commercial accommodation in the town centre.

The segregation of residential areas began when the merchants' houses started to reject the town centre in favour of slightly detached sites. One of the first of these was Bischoff House, still standing at the foot of Hartley Hill in North Street. Although it still combined a home with a counting house, it was separated from its neighbours and from old Leeds by an open space and ornamental gardens.



Artisan housing of 19th century Leeds

For the less well-off it was still necessary to live in the central streets, where room for the expanding population was found by building both residential and commercial accommodation in what had been the gardens or backsides of the long, narrow thirteenth-century burgage plots, access being obtained by tunnels such as those which lead to some of the inn-yards that occupy these plots today in Briggate and Vicar Lane. The resulting problems of overcrowding, poor sanitation and health have already been discussed.

It was unlikely that good-class residential building would move east, for that way lay the mills of Sheepscar Beck, the riverside wharves and the marsh, while towards Quarry Hill and Richmond Hill the sprawl of working class cottages had already begun. Westwards the prospect was brighter.

By 1725 two roads westwards were already built: Swinegate, near the river bank, with less elegant properties; and Boar Lane, fit for houses of aldermen who gardens ran all the way up to back on to those of the Head Row forming a green belt that came as far as the very western edge of the burgage plots in Briggate. This green belt remained intact until Albion Street was cut through in 1795, and the first development of fashionable new streets in the mode of Bath, Bristol and Bloomsbury took place a little further west.

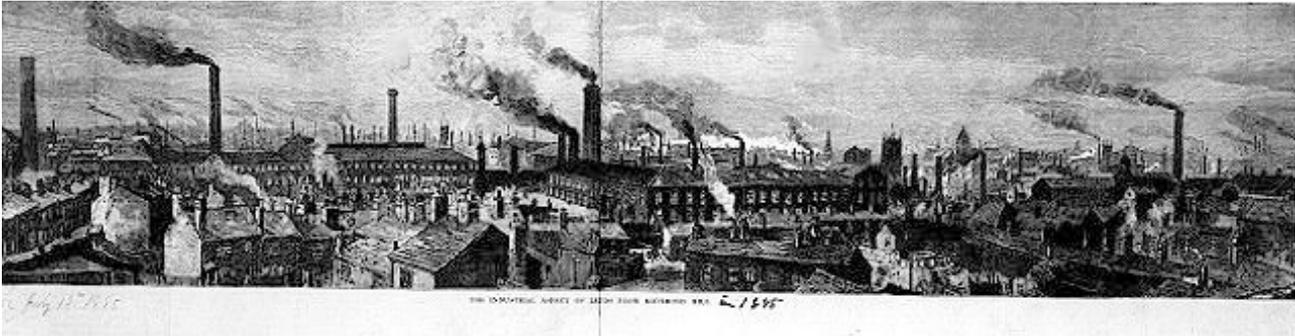


Park Square, early 20th century

However, Leeds had been extremely unfortunate in the attempts to develop good-class open residential squares. The first, bounded by Park Row, East Parade and South Parade, was sacrificed under the pressure of land values, and its green interior began to be filled in, the first intruder being the new Magistrates Court House of 1811. Further north, Queen's Square was begun in 1806 but never completed to the original design; Hanover Square (projected in 1827), Woodhouse Square (1830) and Blenheim Square (1831) suffered the same fate. St Peter's Square, in the East End, did achieve completion (before 1815) but it was ill-placed, degenerated into slums, and has long since been obliterated.

Two types of ill-fortune dogged such enterprises as squares and terraces, more ambitious than single house building. They might be ill-timed, coinciding with slack periods of trade; or they might be ill-placed and their situation soon cease to be elegant. Mills arrived on their doorstep, and the southward vista became quite unlike what it had been when the windows of Park Place and South Parade were first curtained. The arrival of industry and eventually industrial streets, in what might otherwise have been the West End of Leeds, is of crucial significance in the nineteenth century. The fate of the West End was finally sealed when one of Leeds' large landowners, the Wilsons, sold land to the cloth manufacturers, Wormald and Gott, who then built the Bean Ing Mill. This mill, rather than gaining its power via a river goit, was to be a modern factory with a steam-engine and chimneys and a gas works of its own.

The workshops of the industrial belt of Leeds had always emitted smoke, but they did not use coal on the scale of a steam-engine, and they were located east and south of the town, so that the prevailing winds coming from the south-west took the smoke away from Briggate and the properties west of it. Gott's mill had a new technology but also a new position, west of the best residences of the day and it spilled its smoke on their doorstep. As Gott's machines multiplied the exodus began. In 1798 eleven of the thirty-eight members of the Corporation had addresses in the streets of the Park estate, seven of them in East Parade. After 1815 their addresses were more likely to be found in Headingley or Potternewton or the detached villas which they had built on the fields of Woodhouse, on a hill-slope and safely to the north. Surviving houses of this exodus include Beech Grove House, now the School of Education at Leeds University.



The industrial districts of Leeds, c.1895

With the exodus, some building plots in the Park estate remained empty. Park Square has the best remaining Georgian houses in Leeds but they do not form a complete unit. Later buildings simply fill the gaps left by the failure of the Georgian enterprise. The remainder of the estate met a worse fate. By 1824 the area had become packed with narrow streets, housing Gott's workers, and other mill building was permitted, even nearer to Park Square than Gott's. A few of these houses were built around courtyards, but the majority were back-to-backs. Back-to-back houses were a response to the need for cheap housing. They are found in a limited number of nineteenth century northern industrial towns, a distribution pattern not yet fully explained. Thirty thousand were built in Leeds by 1844. The price paid for this kind of development was frequent outbreaks of cholera. In a report presented to the House of Commons in 1842, death-rates were highest, not in the older houses but in houses no more than twenty years old, and in many cases less than a decade old.

By the time the first large-scale Ordnance Survey plan was released in 1847, streets of back-to-back housing had proliferated in Holbeck and Hunslet. They were found not only in the older area of working class housing east of the town on Richmond Hill and Quarry Hill, but along North Street and Camp Road almost as far as Sheepscar and Woodhouse Carr. Significantly, the same march of narrow streets and back-to-backs accompanied the multiplication of mills and engineering works on the north side of the river immediately west of the Park estate, along what is now Kirkstall Road and Burley Road.

The westward extension of industry and working-class housing must have been a principal factor in limiting the period of time during which a villa in Little Woodhouse provided a sufficient refuge from noise and pollution. It was a remarkably short period before the owners sold off their villas and the surrounding fields to speculative builders and then took refuge in the out-townships, on Woodhouse Ridge or in Headingley, Meanwood or Chapel Allerton.

As the wealthy retreated, the streets of artisan housing spread themselves. By the 1860s, the new streets had reached Woodhouse Moor, and by the 1880s they surrounded it. Thus, the social pattern of Leeds housing had been radically transformed. The better residential properties became concentrated on the northern heights and along the turnpike roads that came in from Otley via Headingley, from Meanwood and from Harrogate. On the other hand the areas served by Kirkstall Road, Burley Road and York Road became covered with low-grade back-to-back properties; and, of course, south of the river, industrial building and working class housing went in every direction.

Superficially, the pattern of land-use had become sectoral almost fitting into the model of urban land use proposed by Hector Hoyt in 1939: distinct sectors of industrial land use with low and high-class residential areas radiating out from the old town centre. However, Hoyt's model stressed the role of radial transport routes in determining the pattern of land use and as yet the development of transport, particularly public transport, in Leeds has not been considered. It is to the role of the railways, trams, buses and ultimately the private car in shaping the new functional zones that is examined next.

The Role of Passenger Transport in Leeds' Urban Geography

Around Leeds a well-integrated network of stage-coach services was providing a useful and efficient system of inter-urban and regional passenger transport from the late eighteenth century onwards, but the first really serious attempt to institute urban transport, operating at more intensive frequencies over shorter distances and at relatively cheaper fares, does not appear until the establishment of the horse-bus service to Far Headingley some time between 1837 and 1839. This route was soon joined by similar services to Chapeltown, Kirkstall (via Burley Road) and Hunslet. Regular use of these services was, however, inhibited by the fairly high fares and starting times which precluded their use for commuting by all save the managerial classes. Nevertheless, for middle-class families not yet able to afford their own transport, the horse-bus opened up new opportunities for suburban living, and the building during the mid-nineteenth century of substantial terrace houses in areas such as that around the present University or in New Leeds, east of Chapeltown Road, must surely be connected with the utilisation of this facility.



Example of an early horse tram in Leeds

The age of the horse-bus came to a close in 1870 with the construction, by a private company, of five horse-tramway routes to Far Headingley, Chapeltown, Hunslet, Kirkstall (via Kirkstall Road) and Marsh Lane. The last three routes served artisan areas whose custom the company hoped to encourage. The existing horse-bus services moved outwards to outlying villages such as Armley and Roundhay and into the newly developing areas at Beeston Hill and along the Dewsbury Road. The reduction in fares in the 1890s saw the increased use of urban passenger transport by the working

classes and its further expansion into inner city areas such as Little London and Burmantofts.

The climax to this twenty-year period of almost continual expansion of urban passenger transport in Leeds came in 1894 when the tramways were taken over by the Corporation and electrified. Horse-trams had become obsolete by 1901 and steam-trams by 1902. More important than electrification, however, was the attitude of new owners to services and fares. Special workmen's fares were introduced shortly after the take-over. Half-penny fares appeared in 1905, and between 1894 and 1906 a penny stage increased (on average) from 1563 yards to 2 miles. It is therefore likely that in Leeds really large-scale use of urban transport by the masses probably dates from around the turn of the century during the early period of Corporation tramway ownership.

Another major factor which greatly increased tramway patronage at this time was the construction of further important extensions to the system, both in the inner areas on old bus routes and also to outlying villages and towns. Between 1900 and 1911 the routes which were opened to Morley, Stanningley, Pudsey, Horsforth, Guiseley, Rothwell and Wakefield offered not only urban transport but inter-urban transport, and with the usual very reasonable fares these services heralded the onset of the modern conurbation characterised by considerable daily passenger movements over distances of several miles. Tramlines had become the very skeleton of most of Britain's conurbations and it is worth remembering in this context that the Leeds routes were merely one end of a system which ultimately extended to Liverpool and Blackburn.

The development of the tramway networks of Leeds had a marked impact on the physical and social structure of the city. Initial developments in tram transport encouraged new suburban development on land immediately adjacent to routes running between established middle-class traffic sources, such as Headingley and Chapeltown, and the city. After 1870 as routes increased and fares cheapened there was so much of this new land available that factors other than transport, e.g. the willingness of an owner to sell or develop his land, were more likely to dominate the result. The American practice of tramway construction into undeveloped areas specifically to encourage building has no parallel in Leeds, although the Corporation did attempt extensions to Halton Dial, from West Park to Lawnwood, and from Moortown to Roundhay, to encourage some development, perhaps to prevent uncontrolled ribbon development along the tramway radials.

Although attention here has focused on the tramways, railways had been developing since the 1830s. However, the railways played a relatively small role in the shaping of Leeds and its region. In London the great attraction which the railways had to offer over other forms of city transport was speed, but in Leeds, which was only 4 miles across in 1908, this advantage was reduced. Furthermore, within and around Leeds, the terrain precluded the even development of railway networks, and by far the most serious consequence of this was found in north Leeds, where no railway enters the city through a great arc from north-west to east, the very sector which contains all the traditional residential suburbs. Hilly terrain, and in particular, the great east-west scarp forming the southern side of Wharfedale eight miles to the north, forced the early rail link northward (1849) to take a circuitous north-westerly alignment, and since the much later Wetherby line (1876) also took an easterly course the 'good' suburbs of Leeds were never served by rail. To make matters worse, short-distance middle-class commuting was not likely to develop on other railways which approached the city, since they usually did so through the less attractive industrialised districts. The only exception was the Selby line which soon passed into open countryside to the rural station of Cross Gates where a rather lower-middle class community initiated a commuting tradition which persisted even after the area was engulfed by the local authority developments of the 1960s.

With regard to longer-distance rail commuting, nineteenth-century Leeds was rather more normal. The tendency of the upper middle-class to utilise the railway to enable them to live at considerable distance from the city is manifested in the late-Victorian stone villas and terraces of Menston, Burley, Ben Rhydding, Ilkley and Harrogate; the latter two had been seasonal resorts for Leeds folk, even in the stage-coach era, and this characteristic merely became full-time and permanent after the coming of the railway. However, unlike the trams, no cheap fare policy existed for the railways and

this precluded the development of other middle-class commuter towns until competition from the motor buses after the 1920s stimulus a price war.

Ironically the initial impact of the bus within the city was probably less marked than elsewhere for tram services at reasonable fares were already established on a close network which the Corporation was happy to extend if necessary. Furthermore, the hilly terrain may have prevented the adoption of buses until the new technology had enabled capacities comparative to the trams to be carried up the steep hills of the northern suburbs. The early bus routes developed to serve most of the Corporation estates which were built behind or between the tramway radials. However, more significant from the standpoint of city growth were the routes which ran to rather insignificant rural termini, such as Cookridge and Alwoodley, and the new round-the-city routes. However, buses were not carrying the lion's share of the traffic until 1959 after which the trams were eliminated completely. The buses early function as tramway feeders was gradually superseded by a complete urban transport network in direct competition not only with the trams, but the railways as well.

Unlike the early tram networks, the first bus services were run by many small operators which initially encouraged fierce rivalry and so ensured frequent services and cheap fares. The Road Traffic Act, 1930, precipitated take-overs and amalgamations amongst the bus operators and the resultant bigger entities were rather better equipped than the smaller ones to reply to the railways new pricing policy. The large revenue generated on highly profitable routes was able to offset the cost of routes where competition with the railway was intense.

The new system of widespread and cheap public transport offered an opportunity for people to keep their job in the city but to move out and live in the country. On the more attractive side of Leeds, where the rail network was sparsest, miles of new bus-side land became available for development and 'semis' rapidly appeared in sporadic or ribbon fashion along many roads. A classic example of ribbon development around Leeds is found along the A65 to Burley-in-Wharfedale, based on trams to Guiseley (1909), trolley-buses thence to Burley (1915) and later buses all the way to Ilkley. The railwayless area along the Leeds-Otley road showed a rather tidier pattern with building at Weetwood, Adel, Bramhope and Old Pool Bank; so to did the Leeds-Wetherby road at Wellington Hill, Scarcroft, Bardsey and Collingham. In contrast the Harrogate road, which ran through land forming part of the Harewood Estate, remained almost completely undeveloped for miles beyond the city boundary.

There is therefore no simple key to understanding the distribution of commuter-development in and around Leeds. Existing settlement, land availability, transport availability and fare structures all affect the result but, in total, the new building implied a much increased and more complex linkage between Leeds and the area around it than had existed in 1920. Furthermore, since the 1970s the acceleration in private car ownership has progressively blurred any relationship between transport and the physical/social structure of Leeds that had developed previously. New private housing developments can be found in many locations across the city and beyond, including the relatively commuter-free belt to the north. The phenomenon of suburbanisation is slowly creeping into many dales villages as the private car has increased their accessibility to Leeds and Bradford. Were it not for the Yorkshire Dales National Park Authority, the large scale suburbanisation of villages typical of the home counties of south-east England, would be largely uncontrollable. As yet, suburbanisation has been confined to the main trunk roads such as the A65 Kendal road and A61 Ripon road and adjacent villages which border the National Park.

A further comment may be made on the relationship between transport and suburban development around Leeds. It is very noticeable that in several of the new developments the earliest houses are of relatively small size and cheap construction compared with those added later, suggesting that one of the functions of the new transport services was that they allowed the less wealthy to emulate fashionable trends, provided they did so in areas which were as yet undeveloped and hence unaffected by fashionable land prices. Once established, however, the advantages of these new localities were soon more widely appreciated, and the formerly pioneer developments almost

inevitably moved up the social scale. Tinshill, Lawnswood and Old Pool Bank all show early development (usually bungalows) of this cheaper sort now being surrounded by some very expensive housing.

Leeds in the Twentieth Century: Urban Renewal

The nineteenth century saw the establishment of Leeds primarily as a commercial city, built haphazardly and at a speed to keep pace with the ever expanding industries. Social and living conditions deteriorated rapidly, being sacrificed to promote the new industrial growth that brought great affluence to a few and indescribable poverty to many. For a long time the pleas for better living conditions by individuals such as Edward Baines, a journalist, and Robert Baker, a physician, went unheard. Cottage property with cellar dwellings was the most popular type of housing thrown up in this period, because it was cheap and because more houses per acre could be crammed together. Sanitation and general hygiene were often non-existent, shared privies being the norm; neither was there any proper drainage or piped water. There were terrible cholera epidemics in 1832 and 1848, and a bad attack of typhus in 1847. In 1834 34.9 per thousand were dying in Leeds, compared with a figure of 11.5 just a century earlier.

Despite the 1842 Leeds Improvement Act, inferior dwellings continued to be built. Cellar dwellings still existed until well into the twentieth century, a century which has tried valiantly to catch up with the removal of a back-log of slum property. Even so, back-to-back houses were still being built in the late 1930s.

As the town spread in the last century, there was a re-assessment of site values, and the main land-use zones, as they exist in essence today, began to take shape. The area covered by the late-eighteenth century town gradually emerged as a compact shopping and market area. Industry had started to concentrate in three main areas: heavy engineering predominated along the banks of the river and canal and near the railways, from Kirkstall in the west to Stourton in the east; in the Meanwood valley, tanneries, dyeworks and clothing factories developed; and heavy and light engineering sprang up in Hunslet and Holbeck with textile mills in Armley and Wortley. Finally, working class housing spread westwards through Burley and Kirkstall, eastwards into Sheepscar, Burmantofts, Meanwood, Harehills and along the York Road, and southwards into numerous areas of south Leeds. In contrast, better class residential areas tended to spread more on the higher ground to the north, for example in Headingley, Chapeltown and Roundhay. Later suburban development completed the encirclement of districts of old neighbouring villages.

Until the Town Planning Act of 1909 there was no official control over the siting of new houses. The result was that Leeds was left a legacy of many squalid housing areas interwoven with factories and warehouses. The back-to-backs were crowded some 80-90 per acre. The worst of these consisted only to two rooms, a living-cum-kitchen room and one bedroom; later types often had two rooms on each floor. Through ventilation was impossible. Before 1844 some 30 000 back-to-backs were built, 28 000 between 1844 and 1874 and another 12 000 by 1909. Within a radius of 2 1/2 miles from the centre of the city, there still remains extensive housing areas more than 100 years old.

The magnitude of the problem which faced the civic authorities after 1918 is apparent. The intensity of effort in clearing land has varied locally but much has been accomplished in re-housing population, in providing new sites for industry and in re-developing the central area in an effort to modernise its general character and to alleviate traffic congestion.

In the early inter-war period, there was an urgent need to provide for a general housing shortage, and council estates began to be developed in Meanwood, Middleton and elsewhere, just as in most large towns and cities. The replacement of extensive areas of crowded buildings had to wait, but between 1934 and 1939 a bold slum clearance scheme was set in motion and 30 000 of the poorest type of houses were scheduled for demolition. The clearance of a large area east of the markets,

extending along York Road into Burmantofts, was begun and displaced householders rehoused in Middleton and Gipton. The scheme culminated in the building of Quarry Hill flats, a revolutionary high density scheme, on the cleared area. There, in blocks ranging from 4 to 8 storeys high, 938 dwellings, together with a shopping parade, communal laundry and other amenities, were built on 23 acres and 82% of the area was left as open space. Other schemes were started in Marsh Lane and also in Holbeck. However, due to the changed conditions after the war, most of the Holbeck site was re-zoned for industrial purposes.

It was estimated that in 1948 that Leeds still possessed 90 000 houses, out of a total of 154 000, which were substandard and fit only for demolition; the 90 000 included 56 000 back-to-backs. The problem of replacing this slum property was aggravated by the housing shortage and to meet the overwhelming demand, major building developments took place on cleared land near the city centre and in the outer ring. Council estates were sited at Spen Hill, Moor Grange, Armley Heights, Tinshill, Brackenwood and Cross Gates; and large-scale private building began in Cookridge, Adel, Alwoodley Park and Moortown. Extensions were also made to some earlier council estates such as Belle Isle and Seacroft, and many blocks of flats were added to increase the low density of some of those estates on the outskirts.

The most ambitious post-war housing development has taken place in the Seacroft area which, embracing the Seacroft, Swarcliffe and Whinmoor Estates, has now an estimated population of 90 000. It is practically a separate town with its own industrial estates; the Seacroft Town Centre, opened by HM the Queen in 1965, has an extensive pedestrian shopping centre and underground parking facilities.

Nearer the city centre, slum clearance has progressed and the land made available has been redeveloped in various ways. Later housing focused on individual designs and environmental improvements such as the estates of Ebor Gardens. The rate of slum clearance often outpaced the rate of redevelopment with the result that large tracts of wasteland, criss-crossed with paved streets, remained an eyesore for many years. Many such areas still exist in the southern Meanwood valley area, where derelict ramshackle industrial premises worsen the already bleak scene.

The urban revolution is not confined to rehousing the population. Leeds is very important industrially. Many old premises, especially the textile-mills in south-west Leeds, are still used but not always for their original purpose; in other areas, blocks of housing have been converted for small-scale manufacturing. In all too many cases the external appearance of many industrial premises is dirty and dilapidated and although internal modifications have enabled many buildings to function satisfactorily, they can only be described as industrial slums. Their clearance rate has been slow, although is now increasing as modern firms increasingly favour greenfield sites on the city outskirts, particularly close to the motorway network to the south. However, the civic authorities are reluctant to allow much of the open, often good, agricultural land to be swallowed up by light industry and much money has been spent on making more attractive the existing industrial areas, particularly along the Kirkstall Valley and in Hunslet and Holbeck. Where industrial development has been permitted in greenfield areas, industrialists have often been required to erect buildings of at least three storeys to prevent unnecessary expansion, a policy which often has not been easily accepted given the cheaper land values compared to inner city locations.

Leeds' central business district has also seen extensive redevelopment, although great care has been taken in preserving the ornate Victorian facades of the main thoroughfares of Briggate, Vicar Lane, Boar Lane and East Parade.

Twentieth century office needs of local government led to the opening of the Civic Hall in 1933; empty land behind, now used as a car park, remains available for further expansion. Near the Civic Hall are the multi-storey buildings of Leeds Metropolitan University (formerly Leeds Polytechnic) and the Brotherton Wing and Out-Patients Department of Leeds General Infirmary. To the north-west of this area lies one of the largest single comprehensive development sites in Leeds. It

stretches as a wide arc from the Inner Ring Road underpass towards the southern end of Woodhouse Moor and embraces the rapidly expanding University of Leeds, including the Medical School and numerous departmental and residential accommodation, the General Infirmary, West Yorkshire Playhouse and Leisure complexes.

Leeds now possesses the finest shopping centre in the region and every effort is being made to maintain this superiority. In the inter-war years a few new stores, several cinemas and the Queens Hotel, incorporating the entrance to the City Station from City Square, made their appearance. The most significant transformation began in 1924 with the construction of the Headrow, by widening the Upper and Lower Head Rows, to link Eastgate with Westgate and so create a new east-west route through the centre of the city. Previously all traffic in this direction had to pass through Boar Lane and City Square, and in the early 1920s the congestion was already becoming serious. The electric tramways began to be superseded by buses and to meet their needs the Central Bus Station was built on cleared land adjacent to Kirkgate Market.

The modern demand for more shops and office space has been met by building higher blocks and everywhere evidence of this new growth is apparent. The Merrion Centre was the first of the new shopping malls to open in the late 1960s, followed by the St Johns Centre and recently Victoria Court each one attempting to out-style its predecessor. Re-styling of the older Victorian arcades, pedestrianisation of some of the smaller central streets and the creation of a cosmopolitan atmosphere with street cafes and elaborate street architecture has been a recent phenomenon, but one which reflects Leeds' aims at ridding its tarnished image of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Central Leeds, like other city centres, still has a big traffic problem despite the construction of the inner and outer ring roads and the introduction of one-way systems on Briggate, Vicar Lane and Park Row. The M1 motorway terminus south of Leeds has been the focus of a redevelopment scheme to ease traffic flow into the city centre for several years. There has been a rapid expansion of the bus network in Leeds and provision of combined bus/train travelcards via the Metro system to encourage greater use of public transport. Rapid transit schemes, including the re-introduction of trams and/or trolley-buses, have been considered and their success in other cities where they have been introduced is awaited. Traffic entering Leeds via the main radial routes at rush hour times now often stands gridlocked, making a location in the central area undesirable for many firms. In order to prevent further intrusion into the surrounding greenfield area, improvements in the urban transport system are urgently needed. It may be only a matter of time before the American phenomenon of exploded cities such as Los Angeles and Detroit, where traffic congestion and associated pollution of the central area have led to rapid migration of people and jobs to the 'edge-cities' of the outer suburbs, becomes impossible to contain.

Socio-Economic and Ethnic Segregation in Leeds

The development of public and private transport in Leeds since the turn of the century has caused a marked expansion of residential districts. Professional classes and others who could afford the fares of public transport and/or own cars moved progressively outwards towards the suburbs, particularly those on the northern perimeter. This resulted in the concentration of the working classes in the inner suburbs and inner city areas. The rapid expansion of local authority housing, particularly in the eastern districts of Leeds (Seacroft and Cross Gates), caused a further concentration of semi-skilled and manual workers in these areas. The net effect of these movements has been the emergence of city wards where the effects of social deprivation are clearly evident.

The worst effects of social deprivation are found in wards immediately to the south of Leeds city centre in the Hunslet/Holbeck districts; to the east of the centre in a broad sector running from Burmantofts, Harehills, Cross Gates and Seacroft; and westwards through Armley, Burley and Wortley. These areas are characterised by high crime rates (burglaries, drug addiction, car crime), high levels of unemployment, low standards of education, poor health and poor self-motivation.

These are also areas with high concentrations of ethnic minorities. Understanding why these areas experience so many problems clearly lies in their development as areas of working class housing and predominantly industrial areas in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and the slow rate at which urban redevelopment schemes have progressed in replacing the virtually derelict housing stock.

The concentration of ethnic minorities in inner city wards is a common feature of most large industrial cities. Such concentrations are attributed to many factors, but principal among them are the desire to find cheap rented accommodation upon arrival in the host country, the inability to afford expensive public transport, the ready availability of low-paid manual jobs in the inner city and CBD (e.g. late-night office/shop/street cleaning) and the desire to live close to friends and relatives. Concentration tends to be strongest amongst the most recent immigrants, whereas dispersal and assimilation are trends amongst second and third generation immigrants who are increasingly mobile benefiting from good education, better work and career prospects and access to transport.

Ethnic concentrations in Leeds are particularly marked amongst West Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshis; although it is the Scots and Irish who form the largest ethnic groups. This pattern reflects both the strong pull which Leeds had during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as the early textile and engineering industries developed and provided opportunity to escape the poverty prevalent in rural parts of Scotland and Ireland and which has been maintained into the 1990s marked by a steady stream of new Irish and Scottish arrivals, and the shortage of manual workers which existed following the Second World War and which saw a tide of immigrants from outside the British Isles to fill the low-paid jobs which were becoming unpopular with British workers.

The greater social mobility of new Irish and especially Scottish immigrants thus allows their greater dispersal throughout the city, although the historical dependence of West Indians and other New Commonwealth immigrants on manual work has tended to cause concentration in wards where there is work. However, this tendency is broken by the Welsh who tend to form notable concentrations in the wealthier northern suburbs, e.g. Adel and Alwoodley. This, in part, may be attributed to the higher socio-economic status of the Welsh, in contrast to the Irish and Scots who may be coming from socially-deprived backgrounds. Nevertheless, the general pattern is for the outer suburbs, particularly the northern wards, to have higher proportions of immigrants from outside the Leeds region, whereas the outer suburbs of west and south Leeds (Pudsey, Morley and Rothwell) are favoured by Leeds folk. Explaining this pattern is not easy without drawing assumptions about socio-economic status and the quality of residential environments. It is conceivable that many factors are at work here including strong community identities which dissuade others from invading, the greater cosmopolitan atmosphere of the northern suburbs and the greater likelihood of meeting compatriots, and the predominance of higher education institutions, e.g. Leeds University, and their residential areas in the northern suburbs, e.g. Woodhouse, Headingley and Burley. Yet the bastions of Yorkshire life tend to be found in the southern districts including Elland Road, the hallowed turf of Leeds United Football Club!

The central wards of Leeds are shunned by all who have the means to move out to better residential environments. Despite the ambitious regeneration schemes, the central area, including the University ward, tends to have the worst in housing standards, conditions which are only tolerated in the short-term by students and in the longer term by ethnic minorities, particularly those from the Far East and East Africa. The plethora of Chinese and Malaysian take-aways and corner-shops in these central wards is testament to the entrepreneurial flair of the inhabitants and is nowhere more notable, apart from Bradford and Leicester. Other ethnic minorities have tended to concentrate in other wards and particularly notable are Chapeltown, a focus for Caribbean immigrants, Harehills, where Pakistanis far outnumber any other social group, and Headingley, where Indians are in significant numbers.

Studying trends in dispersal and concentration of ethnic groups may give an indication as to the

growing economic status and mobility and cultural assimilation of immigrant groups. Since the census of 1961 there is little evidence for the increasing segregation of non-British ethnic groups as has been observed in the United States where ethnic ghettos are a characteristic feature of the larger cities such as Los Angeles and New York. If anything the concentration of New Commonwealth immigrants in Leeds has decreased, despite a slight rise in the concentration of Indians between 1961 and 1971. However, the patterns of social segregation have remained broadly similar, although a sharper separation between West Indians and Irish groups has emerged. Indeed it is the increasing social segregation of the Irish and the formation of a distinctive Irish community in Leeds which is the most significant ethnic development and one which is mirrored in other cities with similarly high numbers of Irish nationals, e.g. Manchester and Liverpool. This segregation is by no means recent and has its roots in the immigrant waves of the eighteenth century.

By 1851, Irish-born people, made up 7.2% of the population of Scotland and 2.9% in England and Wales. Practically every county and urban area had an Irish element in its population. A marked increase in Irish emigration occurred during the closing decades of the eighteenth century, occasioned by the rapid increase in employment opportunities in Leeds, and by the failure of the Irish economy to keep pace with a rapidly rising Irish population. Yet even from the earliest days of Irish immigration, this particular ethnic group has remained staunchly segregated and stem from a response to an historically hostile environment.

Popular attitudes towards the Irish migrant stem from the campaigns of the mid-nineteenth century to improve the living and working conditions of the working classes and to be rid of the notorious cholera and typhus epidemics. James Kay, a Manchester doctor, published a pamphlet intended to rouse local and national authorities to improve the conditions of the urban working class in order to prevent an upsurge of social and political anarchy. However, the paper unfortunately lacked definite proposals and concentrating on the existing problems with vivid descriptions of the Irish and their living conditions, helped to broadcast a stereotypical image of the Irish: they were to be always to be found crowded into densely populated, distinctively Irish quarters characterised by poverty, poor housing, crime and drunkenness.

However, such concentrations had become the norm largely through changes in employment structure from predominantly textile manufacture to engineering rather than through the public perception of inadequacy and fecklessness on the part of the Irish: later migrants tended to lack the skills necessary for the more sophisticated jobs in engineering following the demise of the mills and they tended to gravitate towards employment where only sheer physical strength and stamina were needed, chiefly in poorly paid labouring jobs, and where housing was cheapest. This, together with the growing tide of anti-Catholic xenophobia, forced an Irish response of residential segregation. The cultural shock and dislocation which many Irish immigrants faced in late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century Leeds would have been profound and ranged from poor public perception to language barriers.

A detailed account of the nature of Irish segregation in Manchester has recently been published by Busted and Hodgson (*Geographical Journal*, July 1996) and the following points emerge which can undoubtedly be applied to Leeds, given that the two cities are virtually synchronous in the development of their urban geographies. A notable feature was the residential clustering of Irish migrants in the nineteenth century. This provided a basis for various forms of mutual support, especially in the initial phases of the migration process. Clustering also enabled the rapid mobilisation of community resources in the face of external threat, e.g. in response to police or other provocation. Furthermore, clustering in the form of multiple occupancy was one way to reduce rent, and ethnic compatibility an obvious criterion in the selection of tenants and accommodation.

The Catholic Church in both Manchester and Leeds would have had a significant role in sustaining Irish communal life. Originally, the Catholic population would have worshipped in private houses, but by the beginning the nineteenth century small Catholic churches had been founded in the main

Irish districts and their establishment served to reinforce these communities. Such was the strength of Catholic support in Leeds, that Leeds is now the seat of a Roman Catholic diocese marked by the fine cathedral church of St Ann in Cookridge Street.

Finally, the marked tendency towards drunkenness and violence, even between immigrants from different parts of Ireland was notable in Manchester. Between 1845 and 1854, 47.7% of all cases of creating a breach of the peace while sober; 31.8% of cases of drunkenness, 42.8% of all cases of illicit distillation and 29.4% of all murders were attributed to the Irish. Similar figures for Leeds are not available, yet given that notices such as "No swaddy Irishmen or soldiers wanted here" appeared in many Leeds drinking establishments, violence was undoubtedly equally prevalent on the other side of the Pennines.

The perturbation of Irish segregation into the twentieth century given the disappearance of traditional antagonisms is difficult to interpret. It is true that the Protestant Irish have and continue to be capable of greater assimilation than the Catholics and this may be a reflection of renewed hostilities which stem from The Troubles of the past 25 years. Clearly, the deep-seated and unwarranted antagonism between Leeds folk and their Irish visitors has been one which has been difficult to eliminate. Research into the reasons behind this is needed, although unlikely to be undertaken given the current political sensitivities.

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