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From Roscrea to Leeds: an emigrant community

By Helen and Danny Kennally

With the spread of industrialisation in Britain in the early 19th century, the population of the West Yorkshire town of Leeds jumped from 30,609 in 1775 to 53,276 in 1801 and then to 123,548 in 1831.¹ Most of this increase was due to migration from the Yorkshire Dales; but for several decades there had been some immigration from Ireland. Then in the early 1830s a new group of Irish immigrants began to arrive.

Many of the new arrivals were handloom weavers. The Act of Union in 1800 had provided for a gradual dismantling of protective tariffs on trade between Britain and Ireland. However, the tariff on textiles which was not due to disappear until 1840 was abruptly abolished in 1824 and the Irish market had to face the full force of competition from cheap factory-made imports from Lancashire and Yorkshire.

Because there was no Irish equivalent to the English poor-law system, the poverty and distress of Irish weavers was worse than in England. Members of a Royal Commission into the Condition of the Poorer Classes in Ireland visited many parts of this country taking evidence. At Roscrea Thomas Crotty, a local woollen manufacturer who had been forced to close his mill when the tariff was abolished, told the Commissioners;

"There were about 300 weavers employed in Roscrea and its neighbourhood six years ago... nearly a third of them have gone to Leeds and Bradford . . They have in many instances written . . expressing themselves contented with the change . . and some have sent . . money. There are still in Roscrea about 200 weavers . . nearly all in a state of destitution . . they are only wanted in the fields at hay-making. They are as correct a body of men as can be met . . they stand higher than the



Bunkers Hill, Roscrea, circa 1895.

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labouring classes and though many are forced to go out begging, or to send their wives and children, yet their pride always makes them go at a distance of at least three or four miles from town."²

One of these weavers was a man called Patrick Lowrey. There is a story that the Lowreys came to Roscrea after the Battle of Vinegar Hill in 1798. Patrick found employment at Buckley's Mill and Daniel, his first child, was born in 1823. On the closure of the mill Patrick took the only road open to him — the one to Dublin and then the boat to England, and finally to Leeds.

When Irish families arrived in Leeds they joined a settled community of weavers on The Bank, a district on the east bank of the River Aire which had become the poorest and most densely populated part of the town. Patrick Lowrey and his family obtained accommodation in Wheeler Street along with many other Roscrea families, and found work in one of the many flax mills.

Here young Daniel grew up. At 17 he married Hannah Eltringham, the daughter of a local miner, leaving Leeds shortly afterwards to pursue a new career as an entertainer. Many years later he returned to Ireland and in Dublin he established the famous Dan Lowrey's Music Hall, now the Olympia Theatre.³

Life in Leeds was grim for most of the Roscrea weavers. By 1830, out of 900 weavers in the Leeds township, 600 were Irish. A particularly distressing winter the previous year had brought about a reduction in wages. In June a strike for better rates of pay resulted in two-thirds of the Irish weavers being out of work until the dispute was settled.

The *Leeds Mercury* reported that many Irish families were suffering great poverty. There was considerable hostility towards the Irish weavers — first because they were frequently in the forefront of the fight for better conditions, and secondly because of their desperate situation they were often used by unscrupulous employers to keep down wage levels.

One "advantage" of Leeds over Roscrea was that women and children could also find employment. A high proportion of the workers in the mills were women, and children between 9 and 10. The buildings were unpleasant to work in and hazardous. In his *Annals of Yorkshire* Mayhall records several outbreaks of fire resulting in extensive damage and loss of life.

As the numbers of Irish families in Leeds increased, they were often regarded with suspicion and hostility. A letter in the *Leeds Mercury* in 1832 from James Harris and John Mahoney on behalf of the Irish weavers claimed that over 100 men, women and children had been discharged from their work because they were Irish.⁴

Hostility was again reported in 1840 in the *Leeds Times*. Edward Hayes wrote a letter on behalf of 27 Catholic children employed at Hives and Atkinsons. Until the opening of the National School (the Anglican school) they had attended the Methodist School, where no particular religious doctrine was taught. At the National School they were compelled to learn the catechism of the Church of England or be punished for neglect.

They were also threatened with dismissal from their employment. Other children at the school were ordered to call them Papists. On Saturday 16 May they were asked how many Catholic children were present; there were seven. They were ordered home if they would not say the catechism; so they went home.

Michael Kilmartin was sent home because he would not read the Protestant New Testament. The master refused to give him his wages or pass-note, without which no other firm would employ him. After being threatened with a summons, the master complied.

Ann Conroy was frequently flogged. John Wall had been flogged five times in one week for not saying his Catechism. The final comment from Edward Hayes in his letter to the press was: "what an outcry there would be if a Catholic master compelled Protestant children to read the Douay Bible."⁵

Soon there was another problem in 1832 for the Roscrea community in Leeds, when cholera

struck. The first to die was a 2-year-old Irish boy. The virulence of the disease and the speed with which it spread took everyone by surprise. Hundreds died; figures are unreliable because strict records were not kept.

Letters to the newspapers made assumptions about the cause of cholera. Most put it down to excessive drinking; one writer blamed the potato which (he said) contained a poison which also included typhus fever. "This accounts for its prevalence with our Irish brethren." Today these ideas seem ludicrous; but then they had a fearsome logic. The poor were excessive drinkers; the Irish drank *and* ate potatoes! The conclusions only strengthened middle-class opinion about the poor, Irish poor in particular.

The Victorians were great collectors of facts and figures, and their parliamentary papers provide us with an insight into the whole structure of Victorian society. Nowhere is this better illustrated than in the Report of the State of the Irish Poor in Great Britain, published in 1836.⁶ This Report describes the lifestyle of the Irish families, and here one can sense the suspicion and hostility with which they were often regarded.

We are told that they were usually in a state of destitution; did not live as well as their English neighbours who were earning the same wages; were bad managers and spent too much money on drink. They were content with potatoes and stirabout, and inhabited the cheapest dwellings. They rented rooms, took in lodgers and crowded into lodging houses. "They are satisfied to thrive on the lowest kind of food and to spend all the overplus of their wages in drinking."

The Irish women also came in for their share of chastisement. They were regarded as unthrifty, dissolute, wasteful and averse to labour. They knew little about sewing and cooking and (like their husbands) drank too much.

A few comments reveal more sympathy with the Irish. One writer commented on the fact that they showed great charity to one another and frequently helped wanderers or newly-arrived friends or relatives by giving them food or lodgings. They were more charitable to one another than the English. "If an Irishman has a penny, he will give a halfpenny to another Irishman in distress."

Some of the evidence for this report was collected by sending out a questionnaire to Catholic clergymen. Rev. Charles Lefevbre of Lady Lane Chapel supplied information for Leeds. He reported that most of the people who came to Leeds were either weavers or labourers; they were extremely poor and often found it difficult to find work. They married young and were very miserable.

A noticeable feature of this report is that, unlike that on the Irish poor in Ireland, it is remarkable for its lack of Irish comment. Most of its evidence reflects the opinion of employers, magistrates and policemen, who had seemingly little contact with the communities in question. Nowhere do we hear the opinions of the Irish people themselves; no one bothered to ask them.

By the mid-1840s a new generation of Irish children was growing up, who had never seen the rolling green hills of their parents' birthplace, but knew only the cramped, airless courts and alleys of their new homeland. Soon, however, they would have to share even these places with relatives and friends from Ireland. For emigration from Roscrea to Leeds continued for many years as brothers and sisters, cousins and parents joined families already settled on the Bank. At the time of the Famine emigration became a flood; with it came the "famine fever", typhus.

Local newspapers carried details of the epidemic. Among those prepared to penetrate the worst-stricken areas were Catholic priests from St. Anne's and St. Patrick's, five of whom died of the disease. Others came from the Anglican Parish Church and from St. James'. Rev. Edward Jackson of St. James' left a graphic account of the time;

"Tall men, with long coats and hats without crowns, and women, wild and haggard, with numbers of unearthly-looking children — strange beings that ran alongside of the men and women,

and looked at you out of the corner of their eyes, with a sort of half-frightened half savage expression... In a very short time the frightful Irish fever was epidemic in all the lower parts of the town. It was a dreadful time... I well remember that, on one afternoon, twenty-three bodies were lying side by side as I entered the church... The low howls of the women were terrible. They sat at the grave sides, crouching in their peculiar way and rocking themselves to and fro, as they looked down into the dark cavities where the dead were lowered, five and six deep, one upon the other.”⁷

The response for appeals for financial help for victims of the epidemic was grudging in some quarters. The Queen appealed by letter for collections to be taken up in churches for her distressed “Irish and Scots... subjects.” At one Anglican church in Leeds, however, the vicar ordered the collectors not to go round with boxes but to stand at the doors. As a result the “door collection” yielded over £7 for the Irish and Scots poor, while the collection inside the church produced over £26 for the English poor.⁸

In the middle of October 1848, when the typhus epidemic seemed to be on the decline, the newspapers began to report the appearance of cholera in Russia. The disease spread into Germany and reached England at the end of 1848. On 16 June 1849 the newspapers reported the first case in Leeds. The victim was the young son of an Irish weaver, John McCarthy aged 9, of Brass Street in the Bank area. John died on 14 June and his brother Edward (aged 7) died the following day. The *Leeds Mercury* described the situation of the family:

“This family were by their circumstances every way predisposed for the reception of the disease... all are located in a miserable cellar dwelling with only a single bed for the living and the dead, and subsisting up to this principally upon a vegetable diet, not having the means of procuring more substantial food.”⁹

The health authorities seem to have been complacent at first, but were shaken by the death of a wealthy mill-owner — a timely reminder that the disease could not distinguish between the social classes. A clergyman at the church of St. Saviour’s on the Bank later recalled the event:

“The mill-owner who had refused to allow off the drainage was carried off by the pest; and the vast mass of the window-pierced brickwork was shut for the half day he was buried; the work people were dismissed with actually half day wages. The overseer also died. He was a hard man; and the poor rejoiced.”¹⁰

The situation on the Bank was one of panic. Tar barrels were burnt in the streets to ward off a disease that could kill a strong person in hours. Whole families were wiped out, and the majority of victims did not recover. In the second week of September 1849 the number of recorded deaths from cholera was 203. Towards the end of September the number of deaths slowly declined.

How many died in the epidemic will never be known for certain. The official figure published was 1,383; most of these were in the East Ward, which included the Bank. There had been an earlier cholera epidemic in 1832, and there were to be epidemics of typhus, scarlatina and diphtheria in later years; but none could be so terrible as the cholera epidemic of 1849.¹¹

The middle years of the century were particularly hard for working-class families in England. Trade was depressed and as a result there was great distress everywhere. The workhouse population was growing and the numbers applying for outdoor relief increased substantially. In 1842 it was reported that “At Leeds the pauper stone heap amounted to 150,000 tons and the Guardians offered the paupers 6s (30p) per week for doing nothing, rather than 7s 6p (37½p) per week for stone-breaking.”¹²

Many Irish families in Leeds were desperate. If they could not find work and applied for poor relief, they became liable for deportation. Unless they could prove five years’ residence in the Poor Law Union concerned, the Guardians could order their removal to their parish of origin in Ireland. The Leeds records reveal many such cases; some people were even removed illegally.



Mrs. Anne Fitzpatrick was 31 in 1855 and about 1845 she married an Irishman, William Fitzpatrick. Two years after their marriage when trade worsened he took a job in Bradford where he used to remain for five days each week. He died at Easter 1853 and Anne went to live with an aunt in Bradford, where she had to apply to the workhouse for relief.

In November 1855 she was told by the relieving officer that she was to be moved to Ireland with her son, now 9. She was put on board a steamer at Liverpool for Dublin, from where she went to Mountmellick, where her husband had been born. She could find none of his relatives there, returned to Dublin and was admitted to the South Dublin Workhouse. She had never been to Ireland before and had not been taken (as required by law) before any magistrate in England to consent to her transfer to Dublin.¹³

Even when people were eligible for relief, they were often subjected to discrimination and abuse before they received it. In 1847 James Kilmartin of 3 Holdsworth Fold, Bank, asked the Poor Law Commissioners to enquire into his case. He had married in Leeds in 1824 and since then had been a resident householder, with a wife and seven children. As a result of the depression in trade, he became unemployed and the family's only income was 3s 9p earned by one of his daughters. He applied for relief but was refused on several occasions by the relieving officer, who told him he could earn 10d a day in the stone yard if he wished. The Poor Law Commissioners suggested that a relieving officer other than Moore should sort out his case.¹⁴

Some charitable bodies also administered to the poor. One was the Leeds Benevolent and Strangers Friend Society, which in 1840 gave an average of 8s 8p (about 42p in decimal terms) per person each week. However, even this society was under the impression that an Irish family would be satisfied with a lower standard of living than their English neighbours. "In the case of an Irish family they might give 5s (25p), whereas to an English family they might give more. This was not to punish a family for being Irish, but really because 5s would be worth more to them than to an English family!"¹⁵

Petitions by the handloom weavers to Parliament had little effect on Government policy. The manufacturing districts of the north of England suffered great hardship during the "Hungry Forties" due to the high price of corn and widespread unemployment. In 1843, 9,000 Leeds weavers again petitioned Parliament, but they were fighting a losing battle, as the power loom and the factory system were here to stay.

In order to survive, occupations had to change. Many weavers became factory workers or labourers; their wives and children became flax spinners. By the end of the century, as a group of craftsmen, they were almost forgotten. In 1897 an article in a Leeds newspaper described handloom-weaving as a "Lost Leeds Industry".¹⁶

Despite discrimination and hardship, the Irish families on the Bank evolved into a settled community, which contributed much to the social and economic development of the city. Life was a struggle, particularly for the women who often had to bring up their families alone after the early death of a husband. As a community they were hardworking and, although poor, were generous and warmhearted, retaining a freedom of spirit and a love for the country which many of them knew only through their grandparents' stories.

Long before the arrival of the first Irish immigrants, the Bank, (or Hillhouse Bank, as it was known in the 17th century) was a centre of religious and political dissent. The weavers and clothiers who lived there in what was still a largely rural setting were set apart from the merchants and gentry of the town. Whereas the latter attended services in the Parish Church or at the other churches in the town centre, the people of Hillhouse Bank preferred the dissenting chapel.

Some of the Hillhouse Bank families, the Musgraves and the Ingrams in particular, became quite wealthy through the cloth trade. In the 18th century the district, like much of the north of England,

came under the influence of the Methodists; but even in non conformity the residents of the Bank seem to find some cause for dissent.

At this time there were few Roman Catholics to be found, although the old faith had survived among a few landed families in East Yorkshire. The handful of Roman Catholics living in Leeds had to travel to the out-townships of Middleton or Roundhay in order to attend Mass. In the 1790s a mission was founded in Leeds by Father Albert Underhill Plunkett. With the assistance of the Holdforth family he was able to establish a chapel and a school. Fr. Plunkett was succeeded by Father Lefebvre, an emigré who had fled the revolution in France. The real growth in Roman Catholicism started with the arrival of the Irish in the 1820s. St. Patrick's Church was opened in 1832 and St. Ann's (now the cathedral) was opened in 1838.¹⁷

The Church of England at this time was badly in need of rejuvenation; it catered almost exclusively for the upper classes. Its fortunes were revived with the appointment in 1837 of Dr. Walter F. Hook as Vicar of Leeds. He divided the huge parish of Leeds into more than a score of smaller ones. He found Leeds "a stronghold of Dissent [and] . . . he left it a stronghold of the Church."¹⁸

Dr. Hook must, however have had regrets about one of his ventures.¹⁹ At Oxford he had been friendly with John Henry Newman and Edward Bouverie Pusey, who belonged to the Tractarians, the Anglo-Catholic party in the Church of England. They believed in a return to the rituals of the early church — which would be Catholic. Hook encouraged Pusey to erect in Leeds an experimental Tractarian church. The project was opposed by Bishop Longley of the Ripon diocese — who must have felt vindicated when on the day Pusey's new church was opened Newman (later a Cardinal) was received into the Catholic Church. The first seven clergy appointed to the new church (called St. Saviour's) also seceded to the Roman Catholic Church.²⁰

In the mid 1850s the Oblate Fathers, who under Fr. Robert Cook, O.M.I., had founded the Catholic Church of Mount St. Mary's, were joined by the Sisters of the Holy Family, who established a convent, an orphanage and schools. The church became a focal point in the lives of the people of the Bank in the decades that followed.²¹

Although sectarianism hardly existed in Leeds in the mid-1800s, there was some friction, between Irish and English — and between groups of Irish too! Faction fighting between Roscrea men and the men from Ballina in Mayo was a frequent Sunday afternoon spectacle. The police learned what to do in these occasions: call the clergy down from Mount St. Mary's! One priest in particular was long remembered as being particularly handy with a blackthorn when the need arose. In 1989 Mount St. Mary's was closed, largely because of the declining congregation.

Probably the first political movement which involved the Irish in Leeds was Chartism, a radical democratic movement of the 1830s and 1840s, which *inter alia* demanded annual parliaments and the payment of MPs. The Chartist movement had two wings, the physical force Chartists, who contemplated revolution in order to secure their demands, and the moral force Chartists, who preferred persuasion. Leeds was a stronghold of the latter.

However, a militant Chartist newspaper, established by Feargus O'Connor and edited by Bronterre O'Brien, was printed and published in Leeds. The Irish Chartist George White, who worked as a weaver in Leeds, moved to what was for him the more congenially militant town of Bradford nearby. John Mahoney was another leading Irish Chartist.

As stated above, there was tension over the arrival of the Irish weavers and their presumed effect on the supply of labour. Some employers made no bones about the use of immigrants to undercut wages; the Irish labourers were well aware of this, and in many instances had the tradition of agrarian militancy behind them. Certainly the authorities were worried about the existence of ribbonism in the north of England.²²

With the passing of the 1832 Reform Act and later the Municipal Reform Act, the Liberals were predominant in Leeds politics; but at that time few Irish residents qualified for the vote, although the Irish middle-classes did make some headway in this respect. A draper called John Derrick, a jeweller, Thomas McGuire and Owen Geenty, a wine and spirit merchant, were active in politics. Geenty served on Leeds City Council for many years as a Liberal representative for the East Ward in the 1860s and 1870s.²³

Despite the denial of the franchise, the question of Ireland was of prime importance to the Irish in Leeds, and was to give the town its biggest political scare in the middle of the 19th century — the Fenian scare. There were stories of secret drilling and an ex-sergeant of the British army was brought before the magistrates, accused of being a Fenian quartermaster.²⁴

When habeas corpus was suspended, among those arrested in Dublin were several Leeds Irishmen.²⁵ The local newspapers reported that a large number of Irishmen had left the town by train at the time of the projected assault on Chester Castle.²⁶ Other reports claimed that a parcel of ammunition had been found in a railway-tunnel just outside Leeds; it was assumed that it had been thrown out by Fenians returning after a raid was called off.²⁷

When in 1867 the Manchester Martyrs were executed placards appeared calling for a procession to St. Patrick's churchyard and a protest meeting. The Catholic clergy intervened and forbade such demonstration. However, the mayor asked for a detachment of soldiers and called out the militia and the special constabulary to make sure no protest took place.²⁸

The failure of the Fenian movement did not diminish the support of the Irish in Leeds for the cause of independence. The extension of the suffrage to the working class made possible the use of the ballot box. With the foundation of the Irish Party the Home Rule Association, which later became the United Irish League, organised the Irish vote in Britain.

The East Leeds Division was a constituency where the Irish vote was pivotal. In November 1879 Parnell told a meeting of Leeds Irish that "they held the balancing power ... They could return either two Tories or two Liberals". Both Liberals were returned. When in 1885 Parnell called on the Irish to vote against the Radicals and Liberals, the Irish in Leeds responded and the Liberals lost the East Division.²⁹

In 1886 the Irish again responded to Parnell and the Liberal candidate was again elected to the East Division. The fall of Parnell split the Irish community in two as it did in so many other places. Families on the Bank were divided for many years. The anti-Parnell faction even set up a separate Irish club.³⁰

The socialist movement began to influence Leeds in the 1880s mainly through the work of the Social Democratic Federation and William Morris's Socialist League.³¹ The man commonly credited with the foundation of the movement in Leeds was Tom Maguire, a photographer and poet. He took a leading part in helping to found the Bricklayer's Labourer's Union and the Gasworks Labourer's Union, in the movement to organise the unskilled and semi-skilled after the 1889 dock strike. Maguire died in 1895 aged 29.³² Wainwright in his study of East Leeds during the general election of 1892 argues that Labour representation was not the issue.³³ It was still Ireland and, despite the clergy's endorsement of the Tories, the Irish of East Leeds voted overwhelmingly for the Liberal candidate on the promise of Home Rule. In the 1897 municipal elections the Bank elected the first Labour candidate to Leeds City Council — Owen Connellan, a printer and secretary of the Leeds Trades Council.³⁴

The Parnell rift was healed in 1900 when John Redmond became leader of the Irish Party and in 1906 the East Leeds Division elected the first Labour MP for the city, James O'Grady. East Leeds was one of the constituencies affected by the agreement between the Liberals and the Labour Party; O'Grady's nomination had been proposed by the United Irish League and seconded by the Trades Council, thus combining the Irish and Labour vote.





Tab St., The Bank, Leeds, circa 1935, with Mount St. Mary's Church and Convent.

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Many years ago we were shown one of O'Grady's posters which had been kept as a souvenir; it was printed in green and read: "Vote O'Grady for Home Rule and Labour". O'Grady, a trade union official from Bristol, was a loyal supporter of John Redmond.³⁵ In 1914 he supported the Redmond Volunteers, was given the honorary commission of captain in the army and went on recruiting tours.

He was on such a trip to Dublin in 1917 when he was shouted down by anti-conscription campaigners. In the 1920s he resigned from Parliament and accepted the post of Governor of Tasmania. Later he was appointed Governor of the Falkland Isles, but died before he could take up the post.³⁶

In 1912 the Home Rule Bill caused great excitement. Carson toured Britain addressing Conservative rallies in opposition to the Bill; one such meeting was held in Leeds Town Hall. T. A. Jackson, the author of a well-known Marxist history of Ireland, was then living in Leeds. In his autobiography he recounted how he organised a counter-demonstration outside the Town Hall because, he claimed, the United Irish League had failed to do so.³⁷

The year 1913 was one of general industrial conflict. In Leeds a gasworks strike, in many ways paralled to the Dublin tramway lock-out, was long and bitter. The leader of the council Charles Wilson was determined to break the Gasworkers' Union, many members of which were Irish. A number of the strikers lived on the Bank, and when "blacklegs" were brought in to empty the middens, the womenfolk chased them off. A sectarian element was introduced when police were drafted in from outside the city, mainly from Liverpool; many of them were Orangemen.³⁸

At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 the Bank provided its share of young men — and some not so young — to the British army, particularly to the "Leeds Pals" and the Royal Leinster Regiment. There was some dissent about this, the more politically-conscious taking the view that fighting for the independence of small nations ought not be regarded as a selective principle.³⁹ The Rising in 1916 mobilised support among many families on the Bank. One of the people we interviewed described how she accompanied her mother, who with other women went to Wakefield Prison where a number of internees were being held. They took with them food, clothing and tobacco.

Another lady we interviewed told us that the two men who broke out of Lincoln Jail with Eamonn de Valera, Sean Milroy and Sean McGarry, stayed on the Bank for several days. After the escape, de Valera and his companions split up. Her mother, she told us, was a first cousin of McGarry. She recounted that when the two reached Leeds they stopped an old man and asked him for directions to the shop of a United Irish League man.

The two stayed with her mother for several days before moving on and eventually back to Ireland. She remembered her mother asking McGarry: "Why did you do it?", meaning the Rising. "We had no choice; we had to do something," he replied. McGarry was later elected to the Dail and supported the Treaty.⁴⁰

With the establishment in 1922 of the Irish Free State the Irish dimension became less important in the politics of the Bank, and the Labour Party became the main expression of political interest, though the uneasy relationship with the church and the party over the question of Catholic education persisted. However one of the priests at Mount St. Mary's, a Fr. Ryan, who seems to have drawn his inspiration from *Rerum Novarum*, made common cause with the Labour Party on the issue of housing and slum clearance, and addressed the City Council on the subject.⁴¹

An issue which again caused deep divisions among the families of the district was the Spanish Civil War in the 1930s. In some cases it caused people to leave the Catholic Church, while others distributed leaflets defending General Franco. Joe Roche, a young man who was born and grew up on the Bank and attended Mount St. Mary's School, was killed fighting for the International Brigade.

In the late 1920s and early 1930s some of the houses on the Bank were closed down, as no longer deemed suitable for human habitation. Some in fact were falling down. In the mid-1930s a comprehensive slum clearance scheme, initiated by the Labour Party under the leadership of an Anglican priest, Rev. Charles Jenkinson, was commenced. By the outbreak of the Second World War the old Bank had completely disappeared, and, almost as if it were marking the end of a chapter, bombs fell on the cleared land during the Blitz of 1941.

FOOTNOTES

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