

Who Saved York Walls? The Roles of William Etty and the Corporation of York

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Summary Popular legend has attributed to the York artist, William Etty, the preservation of the city's medieval walls in opposition to the wishes of the Corporation. In fact many of its members played a significant part in the achievement. Winner of the 1980 Sheldon Memorial Trust Essay prize.

Due to the vigilance and persistence of many individuals and groups in the nineteenth century City, York alone amongst Britain's cities, remains girdled by most of its medieval wall. The majority of those responsible were members of the Corporation of York, though oddly, the true role of that body in preserving the City walls is little understood today. Partly this is because the walls were initially threatened with demolition by a Corporation Committee in 1799. Fifty years later another Corporation Committee nearly razed Walmgate walls. These initiatives provoked general condemnation of Corporation members as progress-at-any-price 'vandals' anxious to bury York's antiquities beneath indiscriminate redevelopment. Respected local historians and antiquarians like William Hargrove, William Camidge and T. P. Cooper all fostered this view and the stigma has been considerably elaborated since. This legend needs re-examination to allow better understanding of urban change and the way so much of 'old York' was saved. After all, the work of restoration and preservation goes on and it is as well to appreciate the reasons for past success.

As for the legend — writing about the walls early this century, Camidge and Cooper agree these were rescued by leading town and county citizens after being 'shamefully neglected' by the Corporation.¹ This was consistent with Hargrove's call for York citizens to save the walls in 1818,² but their conclusions were highly coloured by the biography of York born artist William Etty, published six years after his death by Alexander Gilchrist in 1855.³ Gilchrist, then aged twenty-seven, passionately identified with Etty's Gothic taste, dismissing Georgian architecture as 'stuccoed neatness and prim monotony', and Victorian as 'sordid and Babylonian gibberish'. Etty's 'heroic' defence of York's antiquities between 1825 and 1829 demonstrated, according to Gilchrist, a vision and

taste much superior to York's 'torpid local life and intelligence'. Without sympathy or understanding for Corporation difficulties as the population outgrew existing institutions and boundaries, Gilchrist dismissed councillors as a 'builders faction', their street improvements as 'architectural jobbing', and their attitude to Etty as 'stolid and mercenary indifference'. Despite lamenting that 'It was Etty's lot through life to act the part of a more or less ineffectual remonstrant against civic innovation', he gives Etty most of the credit for saving Bootham bar, and all the credit for preserving Walmgate barbican.

Gilchrist was a southerner whose aspersions were vigorously rejected by the *York Herald*. But they became weapons for enthusiastic restorers (particularly after the rash of 1880s street improvements) and were used even by some councillors to goad their fellows into supporting some restoration project. As the Corporation's reputation grew progressively more tarnished, that of Etty, as the rescuing hero, grew brighter. When his statue was unveiled in 1911, the preservation of all York's walls and bars was described as 'largely due to him'. The secretary of the Yorkshire Architectural and York Archaeological Society, Dr. W. A. Evelyn, saw himself as the battle scarred successor to Etty in his fight 'to stay the sinister hand of the Corporation'.⁵ By 1974, Etty was described as 'the man who saved York', but for whom 'virtually the only piece of medieval architecture left in York would be the Minster itself — and even that would have been sadly maltreated'.⁶

Like Gilchrist, these admirers of Etty ignored the plight of councillors responsible for adjusting York to a population growing from 16,846 to 75,521 between 1801 and 1901, and facing many conflicting pressures when considering restoration. The early industrial revolution largely by-passed York, leaving it with an unusually rich Gothic inheritance. But this meant

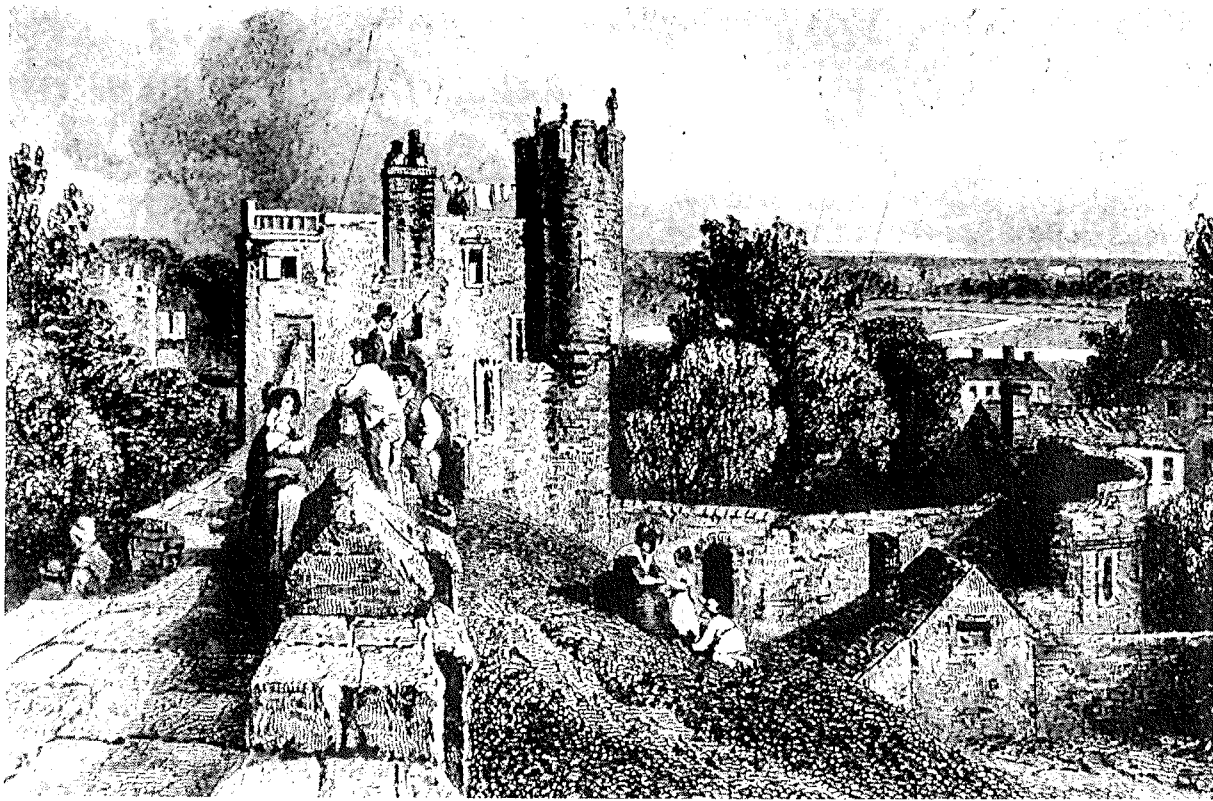


Plate 1

Monk Bar. Part of the barbican of Monk Bar was removed in 1815 and the remainder in 1825. This engraving by W. Backwell of a painting by William Havell (1782-1857) shows its dilapidated state which must have encouraged the Corporation to remove it rather than restore it.

that when the need for change did arise, it coincided with the revived interest in Gothic architecture. Street re-development, the like of which attracted much praise in other cities twenty years earlier, provoked extreme criticism in early nineteenth century York. Even necessary change was often condemned as 'vandalism' and street improvement dismissed as an 'excuse' for demolition. Having chief responsibility for the streets, the Corporation naturally attracted most criticism.

But significantly, Hargrove, Camidge and Cooper, despite their criticism, were all either members of the Corporation or closely associated with it, which illustrates the diversity within it. Also, nineteenth century York politics were extremely partisan. Hargrove conflicted with Whig allies by urging reform of the pre-1835 Corporation. Camidge and Cooper were Conservatives writing of events when Liberals controlled the Corporation. All three used restorers' resentments for political purposes, creating among other things, a local reading public well educated in restoration issues. With hindsight, the Corporation seems to have reflected confusion among York residents over what to do with the City walls. Between 1799 and 1889, when another Corporation committee

officially opened the now completely restored walls, opinion ranging from total demolition to complete preservation was represented on the Corporation. This is a study of their ninety year debate.

By 1799 York's leaders were suffering a crisis of confidence which was only alleviated by George Hudson and his railway schemes in the 1830s. Famed earlier in the eighteenth century as the 'Northern Capital' where Yorkshire gentry took townhouses for the Assizes, the Races, the Assemblies and opportunities to meet Earl Fitzwilliam and the Archbishop, its social elan had been eclipsed by the early 1800s. One young lady visitor in 1812 complained that the company was 'chiefly ladies', the streets 'too narrow to be handsome', and agreed 'This town [is] generally counted dull'.⁷ For a community with little industry, a wholesale and retail trade supplying the luxury end of the market, and relying heavily on domestic service as the largest employment source, this changing taste was alarming.⁸ While the size of the 1801 population only represented a return to that of the sixteenth century, its continued rise thereafter threatened unemployment while job opportunities stagnated. The Corporation, self-elected from the freemen, naturally reflected businessmen's and artisans'

concern, but its powers only covered the administration of Corporation property — the markets, bridges, city walls, charities and the Ouse Navigation. Its income was limited to property rents, sale of freedoms, fines for exoneration from office, and loans. During the early 1800s it sank deeply into debt.

One heavy drain on expenditure was maintenance of the City walls, executed with varying enthusiasm since their erection in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and continuing even after the 1745 rebellion despite being obviously outmoded as defences. In 1799 the Corporation was hardly reacting with indecent haste when it proposed the removal of this burden and its decision could be matched in several old cities in Europe. In 1800 it coupled wall demolition with plans to widen York's Ouse and Foss bridges and their approaches. Petitioning for the necessary Act of Parliament, the Corporation argued the gates and posterns damaged trade by disrupting traffic and causing accidents. They were increasingly ruinous, served no public purpose, yet were costly to maintain. Demolition would release land for re-development and materials for street widening, erecting a gaol and workhouse, and rebuilding the bridges. This would improve York's appearance, benefiting the residents and assisting 'all persons resorting thereto'.⁹

This was an attempt to refurbish York's reputation as a fashionable resort. Committee members' occupations predisposed them to this solution and were typical of the Corporation. All depended on the wealthier social groups for business. Three were booksellers and newspaper proprietors; two were partners in a hat, hosiery and glove business. There was a spirits dealer, an engraver (Joseph Halfpenny), a draper, a confectioner and tea dealer, as well as a timber merchant and an architect. The last, John Carr, had retired comfortably to Askham Hall through providing the aristocracy and gentry with new mansions and modernisations in fashionable Anglo-Palladian style, though he remained an alderman until his death in 1807. Throughout the eighteenth century this new building overshadowed or caused the demolition of ancestral timber-framed halls, and successful town businessmen followed suit. The richest, like the Thompsons of Micklegate during the 1730s, built handsomely in the brick Georgian style. Less well-off tradesmen enhanced their status by disguising timber-framed premises behind Georgian façades.

The Corporation plan extended this private activity. In 1799 York was only superficially crowded — behind the packed rows of houses lay

long narrow gardens with a depth of 30-50 feet. Timber-framed dwellings were easily demolished, releasing land for street widening and leaving garden space available for new brick terraces. Once the city walls were removed and the bridges widened, opportunities would exist for spacious urban re-development in the formal Georgian manner — perhaps nothing to rival Bath, but Corporation members might reasonably hope for a modest version of Carr's Royal Crescent at Buxton. It would encourage a fashionable revival, or as one jaundiced antiquarian suggested, allow 'Speculation and Folly, Dissipation and Cant to ride four abreast' between York's 'raceground and execution yard'.¹⁰

York's three newspapers welcomed the change. The proprietors of the *Chronicle*, *Courant*, and *Herald* all sat in the Corporation, but their indifference to the walls' fate reflected local opinion. The general principles of the parliamentary petition were approved by public meetings in early 1801. It appealed to a middle class worried by the Napoleonic War's inflationary effects on building and repair costs. Without alternative industry their funds were more than usually dependent on local building activity for an outlet.¹¹ Even York solicitor William Gray, contributor of antiquarian observations to the *Gentleman's Magazine* at this period, apparently did not protest about the walls.¹² Yet this magazine was a major vehicle for protestors represented by the county families who had formerly been patrons in York, and by antiquarians like John Carter.

As Napoleon appropriated classical trappings from the countries he overran to add to the Imperial image, John Bull's patriotism focussed on 'native Gothic'. This intensified revived upper-class interest in gothic evident for some decades.¹³ The more that re-developments displaced Gothic building, the stronger became the attachment to surviving examples. Since fewer gentry remained inconvenienced by living in such dwellings, they could enthuse about the picturesque in Gothic York while remaining oblivious to the disadvantages aged building stock imposed upon York residents. Most gentry now visited York only as sightseers, and emphasised to a confused Corporation their displeasure at plans for modern avenues sweeping through that cherished huddle. The more alarmist perceived political implications. 'Thus are the good citizens intent on destroying their aristocratic trophies and proofs of ancient art; they being more desirous to be thought good 'levellers' than good 'supporters', old embattled walls to them having less charms than new bridewells and county gaols'.¹⁴

This opposition's natural voice within York was

the Cathedral establishment. The Archbishop, Dean and many of the Canons were from county families. The Archbishop was a social arbiter, enjoying one of England's richest livings; at York races, his barouche, drawn by six matched horses with servants and outriders, was eclipsed only by the display of Earl Fitzwilliam. William Markham and his son George were appointed Archbishop and Dean respectively at George III's insistence, William having been an affectionately regarded Preceptor to the Prince of Wales, and the King was godfather to George Markham. The Markhams remained in contact with members of the Royal family, so that when the Corporation's petition failed to appear as a formal Bill, perhaps because of the expense, there were rumours that the Markhams had persuaded George III to intervene.

Certainly both Markhams implacably opposed the walls' removal. As head of the Liberty of St. Peter, entitled to separate magistrates courts, parish officials and toll collection rights at the gates during Lammas Fair, the Archbishop publicly saved the walls in 1807. York Corporation were removing Skeldergate postern after

declaring it a nuisance under the 1763 Act for the Improvement of York Streets. It was a test of difficulties caused by failure to secure an Act resolving questions of ownership and the Corporation's right to remove the defences. This fortified gate between Baile Hill and the river was not only dilapidated, but structurally weakened by an early seventeenth century widening of the gateway. This was done by a former Corporation and Archbishop to allow episcopal coaches to travel unimpeded between the Cathedral and Bishopthorpe Palace. The Archbishop, Dean and Chapter now filed suit in Chancery asserting their rights to the walls and seeking an injunction against the Corporation, who argued their sole right and title to the walls. But the new Lord Chancellor hearing the case was Baron Erskine, the London solicitor from whom the Corporation had sought clarification of their right to demolish the walls in 1801, and who then warned against acting without an Act of Parliament. He now found for the Archbishop.¹⁵

Though the Markhams saved York's walls, questions of ownership apart from the Archbishop's interest, and of whether the walls



Plate 2

Walmgate Bar. In 1840, with the aid of £500 paid to the Corporation by the Great North of England Railway for rights to enlarge North Street postern, Walmgate Bar was completely restored and the barbican, the only one surviving, saved. In this anonymous water-colour a cottage has been built into one side of it.

should be repaired in part or whole, and if so by whom, still remained unresolved. In 1812, when the Corporation attempted to demolish Micklegate barbican, Archbishop Harcourt and Dean Markham took legal action prompting the Attorney General to declare the Crown's interest in the walls' preservation. They did not obtain a court order requiring the Corporation to repair them 'as they anciently and accustomly have been maintained'. The implications for walled towns throughout Britain were too frightening. Instead they were advised to restrain the Corporation by injunction.¹⁶

By 1812 the Cathedral was backed by a powerful group within the Corporation. An Act for the improvement of the Ouse and Foss bridges then being enacted, allowed consideration of the walls' fate on their own merits. When Micklegate barbican partially collapsed in April 1810, the attempt of the Aldermen and Gentlemen of the Twenty Four (the ex-Sheriffs who, together with the Aldermen, made the decisions which were then sent down to the Commoners representing the wards for ratification) to remove it was blocked by the Commons, who agreed only to a 'tidying' of the ruinous parts of each barbican. A York correspondent to the *Gentleman's Magazine* argued that renewal of the walls was inexpedient but that they should be repaired as an elevated promenade, providing relief from close-packed streets. While necessity must displace most of London's and some of York's antiquities, in general York's 'real reputation as the second city of the kingdom' demanded recognition that 'the air of grandeur which proudly tells us this is York, is the grandeur of ages long ago'. Modern improvements might be 'judiciously introduced', but proper appreciation of York's 'greatest glory', the Minster, required preservation of its ancient setting. Otherwise, 'the association of ideas . . . which so greatly adds to the contemplation of the Minster itself, would then be wanting to complete the pleasing picture'.¹⁷ These ideas were decisive in shaping local patriotism and saving York's walls, and they were already working within the Corporation by 1810. Threatened by the Archbishop, and without reliable support in the Commons, wall demolishers on the Corporation did not renew their attacks until the 1820s.

By then co-operation between the county families, cathedral establishment and leading professionals and businessmen was encouraged by formation of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society during 1822. Many professionals and businessmen were also Corporation members, fostering a healthy interchange of antiquarian concerns with awareness of the problems of civic administration. This led the Corporation in 1823 to give the Dean

a forty year lease of the walls north of the Minster, which he restored as a picturesque boundary to the Deanery grounds. He was permitted to drain these by deepening the moat in Lord Mayor's Walk. In return the public gained access to the Minster gardens — an important consideration in a city with very little public garden space. The Corporation and Archbishop agreed upon demolition of Monk barbican and Castlegate postern in 1825, Micklegate barbican in 1826, and Layerthorpe bridge and postern in 1829. Significant public approval was demonstrated by petitions urging the Monk barbican and Layerthorpe demolition, and also removal of Bootham barbican in 1831.

But by the 1820s all three York newspapers preached restoration of the walls. The *Yorkshire Gazette* was politically conservative and controlled by solicitor Jonathan Gray, a City Commissioner representing Bootham 1825-37. The *York Herald*, which absorbed the *Courant*, was controlled from 1813 by William Hargrove, too liberal for the Whig Corporation in which he intermittently represented Bootham 1818-35. He was also a Micklegate City Commissioner 1828-36. William Blanshard controlled the *York Chronicle* and from 1818-34 was a Gentleman of the Twenty Four. Gray and Blanshard were also members of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. All three had more influence in generating wall repair than William Etty, who wrote from London in 1825, primarily in defence of Clifford's Tower.

In 1823 the *York Herald* repeated Hargrove's pleas, made in his book published in 1818, for restoration of the walls as a promenade. In 1824 the *Gazette* published a 'Whig Member of Corporation's' argument that the Corporation should pay a 'respectable committee' to do this. In 1825 when wine merchant William Oldfield, an avowed wall restorer, was Lord Mayor, the Archbishop offered £500 to any such committee. In 1827 lead manufacturer Charles Liddell, Sheriff, Gentleman of the Twenty Four and City Commissioner, rebuked inactivity by somewhat ineptly repairing sixty yards of wall on his leasehold. Finally, in 1829, the Footpath Association, a group formed by Yorkshire Philosophical Society members in 1824 to preserve public walkways around York, established a Wall Restoration Committee which included Hargrove and Gray.¹⁸ Opening a public subscription, they petitioned Corporation assistance in repairing the section south of the Ouse from North Street postern to Skeldergate ferry. The thirty signatories included the Archbishop and Dean, Earl Fitzwilliam and his heir, Lord Grantham and the future Lord Wenlock, four Anglican clergy and the

Archbishop's secretary. Seven were past or present Corporation members or City Commissioners. Sheriff Thomas Rayson, a builder, provided cost estimates. There were six lawyers, five doctors, four bankers and two merchants. Nonconformists were represented by Samuel Tuke and the Rev. Charles Wellbeloved. Over two-thirds (24) were Yorkshire Philosophical Society members, emphasising its importance in mobilising opinion.

Unhappily a subscription was delayed by restoration of the Minster after the disastrous 1829 fire, but this catastrophe created intense local interest in restoration. When the subscription was revived in 1831, at least eighteen Corporation members and Commissioners actively supported it, and more were subscribers. The eighteen included seven professionals, nine businessmen and only two gentlemen. Significant numbers of York's middle class now wanted the City's Gothic character preserved. Many, including nine of the eighteen Corporation members, were Conservatives embarrassing the Whig majority by arguing they were morally obliged to maintain the walls with revenue gained from moats' and ramparts' leases. Their leader, Jonathan Gray provoked local ill feeling by raising this point during the 1833 Commission of Inquiry into the State of York Corporation.¹⁹ Like Etty's letter, this disturbed citizens concerned about outsiders' opinions of them. John Britton upset them with the same point in his 1819 volume on York Minster.²⁰ But many shared William Blanshard's view that in exciting respect and admiration for tradition, York's antiquities 'were perhaps the best guarantee for the preservation of everything sacred and valuable'.²¹

Another sizeable faction vilified such apparently 'wasteful' expenditure and they clashed decisively over whether to remove Bootham bar. In July 1831, backed by the Archbishop and a memorial from Clifton residents, the Corporation demolished Bootham barbican. In August, Bootham residents subscribed to widen York's northern approach by demolishing houses between the bar and Gillygate. This activity expressed re-awakening confidence in York's commercial importance, the population now being 26,260, much of it in thriving suburbs. Between 1821 and 1831 there was a 45.1% increase in the City's housing stock.²² Four new banks opened between 1810 and 1830, and a gasworks in 1823. Overall, York markets thrived — the cattle market by so much that it was moved outside Walmgate walls in 1826, pens for 616 cattle and 6,750 sheep being erected. After 1830, 4000 extra pens were built.²³ Extra market animals from north, south and west funnelled



Plate 3

Bootham Bar. The entrance to the city in 1827 from the north-west was through the narrow arches of Bootham Bar. In that year William Henry Bartlett (1809-54) recorded the barbican totally surrounded by houses. On 1 August 1828 an engraved copy of it by J. Redaway was published, four years before the barbican was removed during the construction of St. Leonards Place.

through the barbicans. Increased building brought more heavy drays and suburban growth brought more carriages, creating queues as vehicles negotiated barbicans single file. Pedestrians dodged these, market animals and their droppings, though some paused to use the barbicans as urinals. According to Clifton petitioners, Bootham barbican was not only a great nuisance, it was 'not fit for any female of respectability to pass through'.²⁴

But the Corporation then decided to continue enhancement of the northern approach and revive derelict Mint Yard property by driving a road from Gillygate to Blake Street. Frontages of 'genteel' private residences would 'most materially improve the annual revenue of the Corporation' — very attractive, since public works were again being financed by loans.²⁵ Necessary clearances revealed the decrepit state of Bootham bar, so in February 1832 a Corporation majority decided to avoid repair costs and increase building lots by demolishing it. The Archbishop agreed upon condition that public opinion was favourable. However the 1831 wall subscription attracted over

3000 donations mostly from York citizens now hurriedly petitioning for the retention of Bootham bar. Signatories included many who had previously requested the barbican's removal. This was an early example of that local desire to assimilate York's antiquities which, far more than indiscriminate antiquarianism, saved York's walls. A major leader was Canon W. V. V. Harcourt, President of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society and son of the Archbishop.²⁶ He argued that preserving the walls and bars was consistent with modernisation plans — the lost barbicans were the price paid to save the rest.²⁷

All three newspapers agreed. The Grays, James Richardson and John Brook mobilised professional opinion, Charles Winn and James Walker that of the gentry.²⁸ Within the Corporation, Lord Mayor Oldfield, his predecessor Sir Lawrence Dundas (later Lord Zetland) and Sheriffs Hargrove, Rayson, Liddell, Hornby and Clarke strove to convert the majority.²⁹ Demolition would obviously discourage further subscriptions for wall repair. York natives called for preservation of 'a very old friend'. Non-native residents reminded everyone that York had a character peculiar to itself. It was a fortified town — surrounded with walls and entered by gates and bars. Deprive it of this character, reduce it to the importance it would derive from trade and commerce, and it would sink into a second rate place. As compared with Leeds, Liverpool and Manchester, what would be its claims? Possessed of its St. Mary's Abbey, its Clifford's Tower, its Royal Residence, its walls and bars, it stood on an eminence of which they might be justly proud; deprived of them, it would sink into insignificance'.³⁰

As often before and since, this powerful sense of local identity proved invaluable to the preservers. Decisions of the divided Corporation veered erratically between contenders. Under Lord Mayor Dundas (MP for York 1802-24) the Corporation coupled plans for removing Bootham bar with a £100 grant and permission for the private restoration committee to proceed on the walls south of the Ouse. The majority argued their inability to bind successors with agreements to maintain restored sections, but then did agree to protect them and appointed two wall keepers in December. The same month shoemaker Sheriff Hornby offered £5 for a subscription to save Bootham bar, but in February 1832 the General Purposes Committee again advised its removal. At a furious public protest meeting a letter was read from Etty adding £50 to Hornby's subscription, and his friend Sydney Taylor denounced the Corporation in the *London Morning Herald*. But the promise of a

subscription to meet restoration costs led the General Purposes Committee to recommend repair in June. Leather merchant James Meek,³¹ a leading Methodist and dedicated wall restorer, did most to engineer the committee's turnaround. Pro-demolishers delayed action, and the committee repeated its recommendation in February 1833. By then half the committee, including Meek, were Yorkshire Philosophical Society members and they persuaded a Corporation majority to accept that Society's restoration scheme. In June opponents retaliated by persuading a poorly attended meeting of Aldermen and Gentlemen of the Twenty Four to recommend removing the bar, but the Commons immediately dissented. This rout signalled a Corporation majority's acceptance that the bars and significant sections of the wall should be preserved. At the Archbishop's request, Walmgate barbican was also spared as York's only remaining specimen, and already a rarity anywhere.³²

Whether to restore additional wall lengths was debated in 1837-42, almost entirely within the Corporation. Many 1831 subscribers reserved their contributions for restoring Walmgate walls, responding to demolishers who conceded the fight over Micklegate walls but argued that stone for their restoration and land for city expansion could be gained by razing the rest. Restorers therefore hurriedly began at the Fishergate end of Walmgate walls after completing the section south of the Ouse, repairing several hundred feet before exhausting funds in 1836. Over £3185 had been spent and another £1000 was needed to complete to Walmgate bar. Reflecting Walmgate's poor and neglected character, long stretches were plundered to ground level for neighbouring houses, pigsties, garden walls and sheds. Frost action had parted the inner and outer faces of remaining sections which were near collapse, particularly where market cattle had eroded the rampart. Inside this wall, stinking manure heaps buried the ramparts facing Navigation Road. Restorers conceded the area was unfashionable but argued the 'ruinous and unsightly spectacle' should not greet the London Mail and others from that direction. Wall restoration would help rehabilitate Walmgate, further ornament York, extend the anticipated 'beautiful and healthful' wall promenade and be 'creditable to the taste of those who contribute to its accomplishment'.³³

A fund-raising fancy dress ball graced the Assembly Rooms, emulating successful balls held in 1833 and 1834 by Lady Mayoresses Oldfield and Barber. But this time only £40 was raised from the 250 present. The *Gazette* regretted that the county families had so outnumbered townfolk. James

Meek, now Lord Mayor, chided the Corporation by arguing that townsfolk like himself would not subscribe until Corporation commitment to restoration was more tangible. He suggested using Corporation rampart rent revenue for wall repair, arguing extra money derived from visitors attracted by the antiquities would compensate. Increasing visitors was especially interesting to Meek and other Corporation members similarly associated with Hudson's York and North Midland Railway Company. By 1838 George Hudson was Lord Mayor, having engineered a Conservative majority on the reformed Corporation in less than three years. This brutally swift take-over hardened opinion that if Hudson wanted to benefit his company by attracting visitors then his Corporation or company could pay for it.³⁴

Hudson disagreed and, despite ETTY's letter in January 1838 repeating Meek's arguments the Corporation only approved further wall repair in principle. In September 1838, when Hudson's company paid £5000 for an arch at Toft Green bringing passengers inside the walls, the Corporation majority declined spending any of it on wall restoration despite Meek's entreaties. Hudson backed arguments that their first duty was liquidation of Corporation debts, convincing even

many wall restorers. Current Spurriergate 'improvement' was also considered burden enough on ratepayers. A committee was established to consider fund-raising schemes for wall restoration.³⁵

In May 1839 Hudson was startled when all six Walmgate councillors formally demanded that the Corporation restore their walls. In Walmgate Hudsonians had been most successful in buying votes and five of these councillors belonged to his conservative party. But on this issue ward loyalties proved stronger than those of party — they wanted Walmgate walls restored as those in other wards had been, in order to share similar benefits. Most other councillors sympathised but would not authorise increased rates for what they described as an 'ornamental' work. Neither Walmgate councillors, Meek nor corn merchant Sir John Simpson (also a liberal and a Director in Hudson's company), could swing the majority against Hudson. Instead another committee was to seek the necessary cash.³⁶

Hudson sat on this committee, but the majority, including solicitors James Richardson and William Gray, supported Meek and Simpson. In March 1840, Hudson adopted their view. The Great North of England Railway Company, whose Directors included his municipal rival

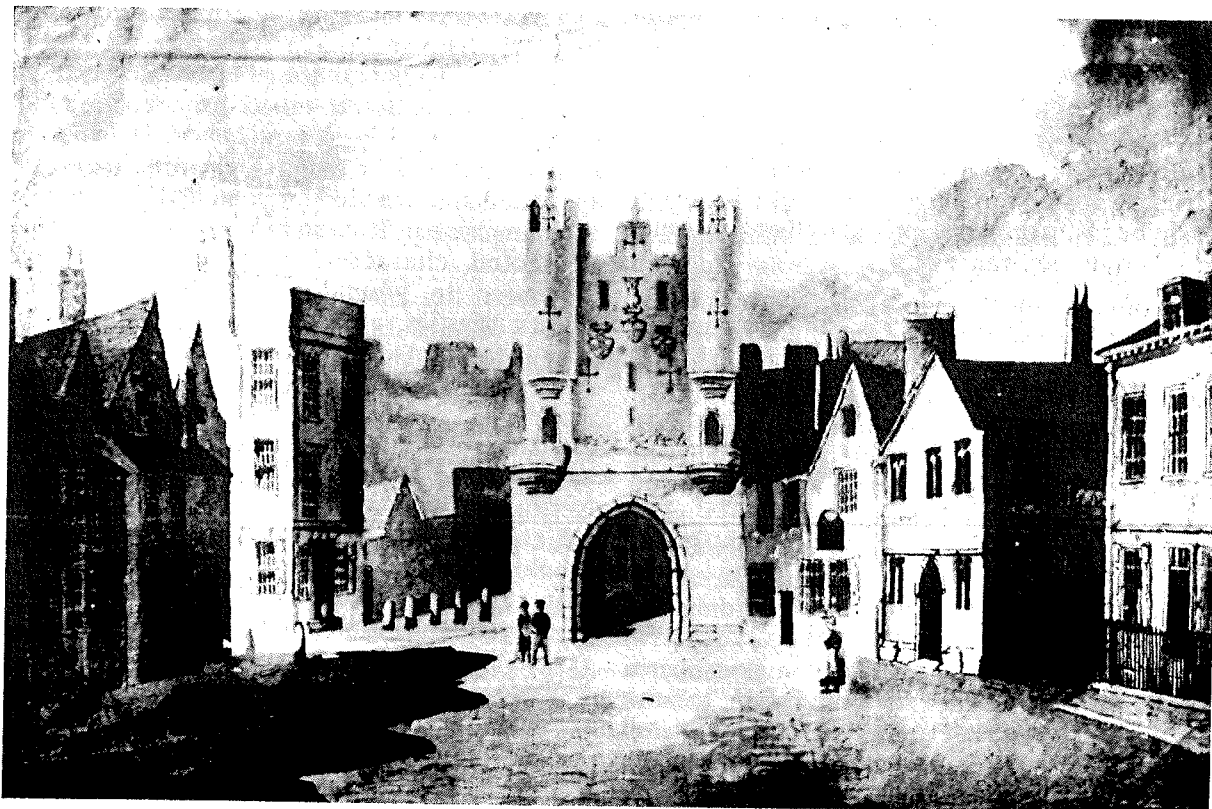


Plate 4

Micklegate Bar. Traces of the partial collapse in 1810 of the barbican of Micklegate Bar can be seen in this anonymous wash drawing dated 1822. This resulted in the parapet walls and bartizans being reduced in height. The barbican was completely removed in 1826.

George Leeman, offered £250 for an arch beside North Street postern. Hudson forced this up to £500 and encouraged demands for more by arguing it could be spent restoring Walmgate walls. The majority accepted £500, with which Walmgate bar and barbican was repaired. The restoration committee, enlarged by Walmgate councillors and Aldermen, then called a public subscription for Walmgate walls to which the Corporation added £150 to the residue of the £500 as an example. They raised £244 1s.0d. in 1842 and the Corporation paid an outstanding £44 10s.1d. in 1843. In 1844 it settled £180 in debts incurred on the Fishergate end of the walls in 1836.³⁷

As examination of the 1842 subscription list emphasises, this flush of Corporation funds indicated increased middle class attachment to the walls as an enduring symbol of York. Even Hudson's devotion to minimum rates could not distract this growing sentiment. Among eighty-two subscribers, fifty-six were Corporation members during the 1840s. Forty-five were Yorkshire Philosophical Society members, and significantly, forty-seven — over half — were York natives. Most were middle range businessmen with some professionals, mostly lawyers, resident in all parts of York rather than just Walmgate. There were no gentry, aristocracy or clergy, though nonconformist families were well represented. Compare this with the thirty signatories of the 1829 petition when over half (seventeen) were not York natives, and over one-third (eleven) were from the gentry, aristocracy and cathedral establishment. By 1842 expanded support for wall restoration was ably led by Corporation members. They collected most subscriptions, and that list was meant to rebuff criticism for their social 'betters' that they were indifferent to York's antiquities.³⁸

Railway expansion had strengthened local confidence in a great future, therefore residents were more eager to display York's trophies of a great past. Etty's growing reputation was also attributable to the increased self assurance of his middle class patrons. His views on preservation were heard with affectionate respect, though by the late 1830s he had nothing further to offer this debate, and was hampered by his reputation as 'Poor Etty' from whom 'even necessary demolition' would provoke remonstrance.³⁹ But he did inspire others; as Sir William Stephenson Clark boasted, in a paraphrase of Etty, 'they had . . . the finest belt of stonework which could be found in this country, and their bars were the four noble clasps which connected the bulwarks of this ancient city. They were the glory of our ancestors . . . and the pride and pleasure of the

present generation' . . . (applause)!⁴⁰ Some were critical that railway arches so quickly punctured the restored walls. In 1839 Etty mourned replacement of birdsong in Toft Green back gardens by noise and smoke from coal trains, but York had never been conventionally pretty. As one Corporation wall restorer argued — extending Harcourt's comment on the barbicans — admitting the trains encouraged antiquarian interests by proving preservation was not a barrier to progress. Accepting this, the Corporation spent several hundred more pounds in the 1840s restoring Bootham, Monk and Micklegate bars as police residences with new pedestrian arches at their side.⁴¹

This municipal consensus was threatened in the 1850s when Joseph Rowntree three times secured Board of Health support for removing large stretches of wall between Monk and Walmgate bars. He appealed to the middle class social conscience that was increasingly disturbed by the squalid overcrowding accompanying urbanisation throughout Britain. Between 1801 and 1861 York's population grew two and a half times, and by much more in some districts. St. Michael-le-Belfrey parish, York's biggest in 1801, lost one-quarter of its residents by 1861. By contrast parish populations immediately outside the Walls had mushroomed. St. Lawrence and St. Nicholas grew from 342 in 1801 to 2149 in 1861, St. Maurice-in-the-suburbs from 567 to 4,327. On the opposite side of the Walls, St. Margaret's, Walmgate, grew from 552 to 1704 and St. Dennis and St. George from 699 to 3681. But whereas St. Maurice covered 98 acres and St. Lawrence and St. Nicholas 243, St. Dennis and St. George covered only 28 acres and St. Margaret's sixteen. The extra-mural parishes housed workers from thriving railway and confectionery industries bringing York new prosperity; those inside represented the unemployed and the unemployable, including the Irish refugees of the 1840s. Walmgate became notorious for drunkenness, brawling street gangs and brothels. The respectable fled to the suburbs leaving homes converted to tenements. Sanitary arrangements were hopelessly inadequate; the 1847 typhus epidemic and the 1848 cholera outbreak originated in Walmgate. The area's appalling death and infant mortality rates kept York's average well above the national until the 1900s.⁴²

York Corporation, dominated by George Leeman's Liberals since Hudson's disgrace in 1849, applied the 1848 Public Health Act to York in 1850. The new Board of Health immediately began street, sewerage and drainage improvements, including drainage of the Foss Islands area, once part of the medieval defences.

A new road could now connect Walmgate Bar to Layerthorpe, obviously beneficial to cross suburban traffic and the cattle market. Two Corporation members were the largest landholders along the new road — Michael Charlton, a retired tailor, outside the Wall, and solicitor R. H. Anderson inside around Waterhouse Yard and Britannia Place. Both envisaged profitable building re-development along new road frontages enhanced by removal of Walmgate bar to Red Tower walls. Anderson was a Board of Health member and secured Rowntree's enthusiastic support.⁴³

Rowntree had represented Walmgate both as councillor and city commissioner, and saw the plan dramatically improving that ward's prospects. He argued this wall was already partially demolished — approximately one hundred tons of stone being removed during the last two years. The inner rampart was infested with dunghills and cesspits oozing into neighbouring slums, making it useless as an elevated walk, whereas all might be cleared with the walls. Properly redeveloped, healthy respectable accommodation would boost rate revenue. Conversely he believed it wrong to repair antiquities with Corporation funds urgently needed for drainage and street improvement. Rowntree contributed to the 1842 subscription and preferred retaining York's distinctive character, but only 'so far as is consistent with maintaining the health of its citizens and adapting the City to its increased population'. Without this discrimination, he warned, 'the continually increasing wants of an increasing population will sweep those remains of antiquity away, as they have done in other places.'⁴⁴

Several Poor Law Guardians backed Rowntree. Other Liberal colleagues approved because, 'our perpetual boasting of our city's peculiarities has become a byword amongst commercial men, who look upon our conservative spirit (falsely so called) as a characteristic feature of the very City itself'.⁴⁵ But by 1855 other councillors were proud of, and had vested interests in York's increasing tourist traffic. The usefulness of retaining aristocratic interest was still mentioned, but more general affluence and better communications encouraged more international visitors. For the first time it was considered important that 'the Americans were especially delighted with these antiquities'.⁴⁶ The walls were now considered second only to the Minster in importance, destroying parts of which put the rest at risk along with profits derived from tourism. Many considered Walmgate's squalor as the price of progress, which since unavoidable was better hidden behind restored medieval walls.

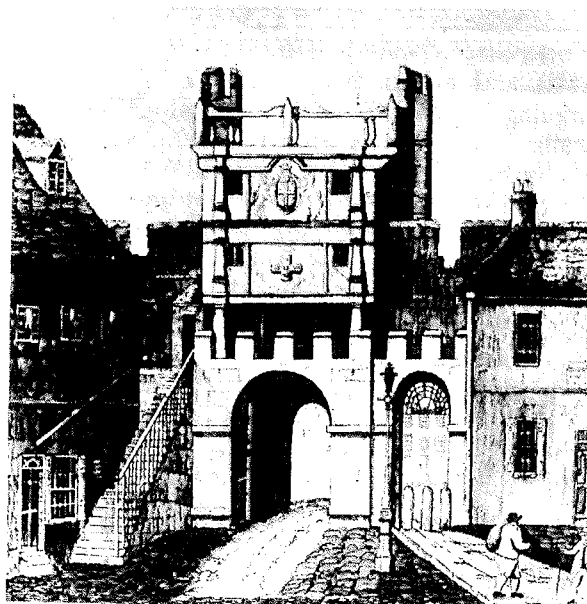


Plate 5

Micklegate Bar. Until 1827 the interior of Micklegate Bar had a seventeenth century lath and plaster addition, similar to that still in existence on Walmgate Bar. In March that year, shortly before its removal this feature was recorded in a pencil drawing by Richard Douglas, Junior, a local artist who lived at 3 Rosemary Lane near Skeldergate postern.

They joined the newspaper chorus against Rowntree's 'utilitarian spirit' and defeated him 29-7 in the Corporation. Within a month twenty Corporation members led by the Lord Mayor, Sheriff and Recorder co-operated with the Yorkshire Antiquarian Society and York Antiquarian Club in raising over £800 to repair these walls in a subscription also including eight Yorkshire peers and York's parliamentary representatives.⁴⁷

Rowntree renewed the attack with George Leeman's approval in 1858. The Board of Health now proposed linking Goodramgate to Monkgate by a wall breach (cheaper than an arch) on Monk Bar's Layerthorpe side. Sacrificing three hundred feet allowed a broad thoroughfare linking both roads to Foss Islands Road at Layerthorpe Bridge, present links being only eighteen and thirteen feet wide. Rowntree argued 150 feet of this wall had already collapsed and the remainder was so out of perpendicular as to invite demolition. Its removal let light and air into the City centre and encouraged drovers to keep stock out. The value of the Corporation's twenty acres in Foss Islands were enhanced. It also eased York's formidable traffic problems exacerbated by prosperity and suburban growth.⁴⁸

One distressed resident in the 1860s described York streets as filled with 'slow moving heavy laden carts and wagons . . . taking up when meeting both sides of the street and putting a

complete stop to the progress of lighter carriages. Towering high above this moving mass, conspicuous at once for gayer colours and variety of build, is a multitude of omnibuses, vans and wagonettes drawn by two, three or four horses and conducted by a noisy appellant for passengers . . . Besides these . . . are the private carriages of the wealthy with one, two or four horses, struggling and prancing onwards, jostling their way side by side or in and out, now before now behind the humble trap . . . borne by a worn-out pony or wretched ass . . . But there are yet other travellers . . . sheep by the score or hundred, with horned cattle, bewildered and terror struck, rushing headlong between the wheels, amongst the horses legs, starting back from one carriage only to rush against another . . . communicating their own wild dismay to ladies and timid persons whose feelings are further outraged by the fearful blows and savage conduct of the drovers'.⁴⁹ Rowntree argued the Bars were not built for this traffic flow, and urged by-passing them before a more harassed generation swept them aside.

The Yorkshire Philosophical Society and Yorkshire Archaeological Society prepared for battle, but though agreeing Monk Bar was constantly blocked on market days, the Corporation declined expending over £1000 in ratepayers' funds when so many opposed the scheme.⁵⁰ But who formed this opposition? Rowntree peevishly condemned them as 'a very limited class . . . from the vast population of the City', and he challenged them again in 1859.⁵¹ The board of Health now wanted Walmgate linked to Lawrence Street by a breach on the Red Tower side of the bar, and the barbican removed to allow the new Foss Islands Road to sweep unimpeded to the cattle market. Only twelve feet separated Walmgate barbican from the corner of Councillor Michael Charlton's premises. Charlton firmly told the Yorkshire Philosophical Society of which he was a member, that the public only supported retention of monuments not interfering with public convenience, and Walmgate bar's appearance would be rather 'improved' than otherwise without the barbican. He was pained, but not silenced, by moves to truncate his premises.⁵²

Rowntree criticised residents in richer wards for removing their barbicans to avoid dangerous disruption to increased traffic, while expecting Walmgate to retain theirs and suffer accordingly. He rejected arguments that since Major Yarburgh from nearby Heslington Hall had given £100 towards repairing Walmgate barbican on condition that it be kept forever, the Corporation were obliged to respect this. But attempts to

isolate opponents as a privileged minority divorced from York's everyday problems failed because it was manifestly untrue. More had vested interests in tourist traffic and were now aware of their building heritage. Much credit must go to York's newspapers, still unanimously advocating preservation after three decades. W. W. Hargrove, son of William at the *Herald*, and the *Gazette's* James Lancelot Foster were dedicated restorers fiercely rebutting what they saw as 'the fallacious principles of utilitarianism'. Readers readily sympathised with the present Lord Mayor's irate declaration that he would not have his Lord Mayoralty 'disgraced' by demolition of a uniquely surviving barbican of considerable antiquarian value. William Dalla Husband had been on the Walmgate Walls Restoration Committee and represented many not anxious to see earlier work nullified.⁵³ Rejecting jibes about minority taste, George Leeman noted petitions opposing the Board of Health received from the Society of Antiquaries, the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society of Antiquaries, the Lincoln Diocesan Architectural Society and the Oxford Architectural Society; also from the Yorkshire Philosophical Society, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, York School of Art, the York Institute of Popular Science and Literature and the York Mechanics Institute. There were no petitions supporting Rowntree. Initially the Corporation majority were unsure about popular support for preservation and some members had vacillated like George Leeman. By March 1859 the conflict with Rowntree had clarified the personal support of most for wall restoration, and convinced these councillors of general public support. The Board of Health was defeated 28-8.⁵⁴

Supported by public opinion the pro-restoration majority took the offensive. In 1863 Leeman and Meek led a finance Committee investigation of outstanding wall restoration and of how to fund it. The committee comprised six businessmen and two lawyers; seven were Yorkshire Philosophical Society members. They unanimously recommended restoration of all York's remaining wall circuit, beginning immediately near the Red Tower and financed by rampart rents up to £250 per annum. This vindicated Meek's long struggle to secure rampart rents for wall repair just a few months after his death. Praising the decision, the *Herald* argued York's walls now had greater antiquarian interest than the Minster, being unique in England for completeness. Social concern prompting Rowntree's attacks were now, after his death, appropriated in the walls' defence - Bedern and Walmgate children, without other playgrounds, could use the restored walls.⁵⁵ By late 1864 the

Corporation had committed £1000 to repairing the last section of Walmgate walls, the wall near Lendal Bridge and to face-lifting Micklegate and Bootham bars and Fishergate postern.

In 1870, backed by the *Herald*, for whom wall restoration was now 'a duty enforced upon us alike by feelings of attachment and self interest', the Corporation began restoration of the Layerthorpe – Monk bar walls.⁵⁶ Even Charlton was reconciled, the only disagreement, not along party lines, concerning whether they should anticipate rampart rents or proceed only as funds permitted. Fiscal caution triumphed, and work continued until late 1878, costing about £2000. The Corporation then ended leases of the inner ramparts, cleared them and laid turf – an important extension of wall protection no previous Corporation would attempt. When opened 'this addition to our mural promenades' was a popular success, particularly with tourists and youthful Bedernites.⁵⁷ Only Bootham walls remained, with the *Herald* and some councillors urging their restoration as even more convenient and attractive to tourists given their splendid Minster views.

Unfortunately the Gray family and the Dean claimed rights to this section, which had persuaded earlier Corporations to leave them undisturbed. The 1884 Corporation dropped restoration plans due to the Dean's opposition. Dean Purey-Cust, otherwise a keen fighter for restoration, argued the 1823 Corporation agreed not to maintain this public walkway in consideration for access to the Minster Gardens. But successive Deans had paid annual rampart rents even after expiry of the original forty year lease and including the 1876 increases, so his objections remained those of a lessee. Edwin Gray's claims were firmer: his family had enjoyed undisturbed rights to the wall and inner rampart behind Gray's Court for over 100 years. This alone secured title, but his father William Gray junior, purchased the area in fee simple from the Master of Hemsworth Hospital in 1847. It was part of a 1550s grant, up to the crenellations, given the Master of Hemsworth Hospital by Archbishop Holgate, whose ownership derived indisputably from a grant of Henry II.⁵⁸

Nevertheless in September 1886, the Corporation unanimously resolved to restore this wall promenade from accumulated rampart rents, serving six-month notices to quit on present occupiers including Gray and the Dean. This was consistent with the 1863 Finance Committee's advice that the Corporation owned Bootham walls, and that no difficulties were expected from 'such a lover of antiquities as Mr. Gray'.⁵⁹ The Dean replied that the Deanery and the Rectory of

St. Michael-le-Belfrey were built near the walls in expectation of their privacy being respected, and threatened closure of the Minster Gardens if the Corporation persisted. Edwin Gray, who inherited from his father in 1880, threatened to sue councillors for trespass. Both the Dean and Gray were Conservatives. The conservative Lord Mayor Joseph Terry, also a wall lessee under notice to quit, suggested indefinitely postponing the scheme, and was backed by the Conservative minority.⁶⁰

It was the late autumn of the Liberal hegemony in York. Older members of both parties were close enough to elect Terry Lord Mayor, but tolerance was somewhat shaken by the national Liberal split in 1886. By early 1887 Councillors Thomas Clayton and George Mansfield led a Liberal group, none elected before 1884, demanding immediate restoration as 'the walls belonged to the city and the citizens claimed them as a right'. This group of eight were all small businessmen, including a butcher, baker and surgical instrument maker. None was a member of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society. Several were Non-conformists like Clayton and Mansfield. They considered the working men of York as their constituents and called a protest meeting on their behalf in March 1887. Their boisterous audience was reminded the walls attracted many visitors 'and when visitors came they spent money'. The Dean was ridiculed as one 'who did not wish any of the working classes to look into his back garden', and who must understand his garden parties were of less importance to York than the summer tourist trade. As for his threats, Purey-Cust was advised 'to practise that charity and generosity which he preached in those beautiful sermons he composed especially for working men'. The Conservative minority split with Alderman Brown arguing in the press, as he had done since the 1860s that complete restoration was a duty to York citizens, antiquarians, international visitors and the nation itself. Attempts within the Corporation for a two year delay were beaten 28–9.⁶¹

The Dean retreated and Gray eventually gave the Corporation his rights to the wall.⁶² Restoration cost £3531 9s. 4d., the Corporation accepting advice from antiquarian George T. Clarke to rebuild the crenellations and the corner tower which had disappeared. An insecure section near Bootham bar was entirely rebuilt and the height of the bastions raised, with merlons copied from the earlier restoration near Fishergate.⁶³

In June 1889 the completely restored walls were opened by the Corporation assembled in full regalia, preceded by the Chief Constable and

sword and mace bearers. The Minster bells were rung as a gesture of conciliation by the Dean. Municipal speakers congratulated themselves for preserving evidence of York's association 'with the earliest developments in English civilisation'. The Town Clerk expressed general incredulity that their grandparents considered demolition of the walls. Alderman Brown had just died and none repeated his ironic observation that whereas the Corporation began the century attempting demolition of the walls against cathedral opposition, ninety years later it completed wall restoration despite cathedral opposition. The Lord Mayor welcomed their new Minster views, the great structure 'like a gem reset'.⁶⁴ Unfortunately the west front was soon obscured by the Purey-Cust nursing home.

When Etty died in 1849, less than half of the existing City walls were restored, and the Corporation had neither agreed to restore nor support restoration of the remainder. No binding commitment existed even to maintain what was restored. Credit for committing the Corporation to these lies with many men, most of them Corporation members. While Etty was still a young apprentice in Hull, the Markhams saved York's walls, and as early as 1810 a Corporation majority temporarily saved Micklegate Barbican. Etty's correspondence in protest at the threat to Bootham bar would have been ineffectual but for the successful organisation of wall restorers within the Corporation. Municipal behaviour towards the walls over the ninety year period charts the evolution of middle class opinion and influence. A minority interest of the early 1800s had spread even to York's recently enfranchised artisan class by the 1880s. The old consensus was reversed and Democracy flexed its muscles by elbowing the

socially exclusive gentry and cathedral establishment. Patriotism, Victorian romanticism, the Gothic revival and honest self interest were principal influences, the latter increasingly significant as profits from the tourist trade expanded. To organising local restorers Etty was a symbol, a worthier example set against crude appeals for progress at the expense of York's architectural heritage. At no time did Etty either create or organise this enthusiasm for restoration. York was lucky that those sharing his views were so often Corporation members and well placed to protect antiquities. The lesson of their efforts was that successful restoration required adaptation to contemporary urban usage. Etty never conceded this.

The point was taken by one of the country's most successful amenity organisations, the York Civic Trust formed in 1946. Much of their success stems from recognising the Corporation's difficulties in achieving a balance between restoration and other modern pressures, and co-operating with them towards that balance rather than acting as combatants. This is in the local tradition whereby the walls and bars were saved, while several well designed arches were provided for trains, trams and other traffic. The co-operation of many men inside and outside the Corporation successfully assimilated the old to the new. Inaccurately attributing the success of the restoration to the work of one or two men like Etty is dangerous as it obscures the means by which past gains were made and may continue to be made. Of course York's expansion has never been unmanageably rapid. Restorers have always had time to marshal arguments and resources, to demonstrate restoration served local self interest. That too helped save old York and its walls.

NOTES

1. William Camidge, *York: Its Ramparts Bars and Walls* (York, 1901), 27; T. P. Cooper, *York: The Story of its Walls and Castles* (London, 1904), ch. XII
2. William Hargrove, *The History and Description of the Ancient City of York* (York, 1818)
3. Alexander Gilchrist, *The Life of William Etty R.A.* (London, 1855) Vol. 1, 341-3; Vol. 2, 105.
4. *York Herald* 28/4/1855.
5. *York Herald* 2/3/1911.
6. G. Ragland Phillips, 'The Man Who Saved York', *Dalesman* Vol. 36, no. 1 (April 1974), 35.
7. Part of the 'Diary of a Young Lady Visiting York 1812-13', Dr. W. A. Evelyn Collection Box 1, York Library Archives.
8. B. F. Duckman, 'York in the 1830s: an Ancient City on the Threshold of Change', *University of Leeds Review* Vol. 10, no. 1 (June 1966).
9. Geoffrey G. Curr, 'The Struggle to Preserve the Town Defences of York 1800-1835', Diploma of Conservation Studies thesis, Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York (1976), ch. 2.
10. John Carter, *Gentleman's Magazine* Vol. 76 (November 1806), 1187.
11. C. W. Chalkin, *The Provincial Towns of Georgian England: A Study of the Building Process 1740-1820* (1974), esp. ch. 2 and 12.
12. See Gray Papers, York Library Archives, Acc. 5 and 6 Y/L Gray M2 — booklet of handwritten notes and cuttings by William Gray on Gothic Churches.
13. *The Gentleman's Magazine* Vol. 76, part 2 (September 1806), 818. For an account of the Gothic Revival see K. Clark, *The Gothic Revival* (1962).
14. Geoffrey G. Curr, *op. cit.* in note 9, p. 25.
15. *Ibid.*, ch. 3.

16. *Ibid.*
17. *The Gentleman's Magazine* (October 1810), 299-301.
18. Geoffrey G. Curr *op.cit.* in note 9, p. 42.
Contrary to repeated claims by the York Civic Trust — eg. Annual Report 1973/4 — William Etty had nothing whatsoever to do with the founding of the Footpath Association in 1824. Nor was this Society formed for the purpose of preserving the City Walls as claimed by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments (*City of York: Vol. 2 The Defences* (1972), 32).
19. William Hargrove, *Report of the Inquiry by the Government Commissioners into the Existing State of the Corporation of York* (York, 1833), 70-71.
20. John Britton, *The History and Antiquities of the Metropolitan Church of York* (London, 1819).
21. *Yorkshire Gazette* 18/2/1832
22. *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: The City of York* University of London Institute of Historical Research (1961), 260.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 261.
24. W. Giles, *York: City Walls, Gates, Posterns, Ramparts and Ditches* Mss. collection, York Library Archives, Vol. 2.
25. *Op.cit.* in note 22, p 264.
26. Archbishop Vernon adopted the name Harcourt as a condition of inheriting a large estate in 1830. His son followed suit in the same year. To avoid confusion I refer to both as Harcourt throughout.
27. *Yorkshire Gazette* 18/2/1832.
28. James Richardson — solicitor, secretary to York Footpath Association, Alderman 1847-54, Conservative; York native, b.1797, d.1860. John Brook — solicitor, undersheriff to seven High Sheriffs of York, Conservative; York native, b.1770, d.1851. Charles Winn — Nostell Priory, J.P. & DL. co. York, High Sheriff for Lincolnshire in 1828; b. 1795, d. . . . James Walker — Sand Hutton, Sheriff of Yorkshire 1846, knighted 1868; b.1803, d.1883.
29. William Stephenson Clark — surgeon, member of York Corporation 1813-49, Conservative, knighted 1840; York native, b.1781, d.1851. See Geoffrey G. Curr, *op.cit.* in note 9, Ch.5.
30. *Yorkshire Gazette* 18/2/1832.
31. James Meek — currier, member of Corporation of York 1826-54, Sheriff 1826/7, Lord Mayor 1836/7,48/9,50/1, Liberal, Trustee Centenary Chapel St. Saviourgate, Director York and North Midlands Railway Co. 1836-b.1790,d.1862.
32. See Geoffrey G. Curr *op.cit.* in note 9, ch.5.
33. *York Herald* 21/1/1837.
34. *Yorkshire Gazette* 28/1/1837; 29/9/1838; 13/10/1838.
35. *Yorkshire Gazette* 20/10/1838.
36. *Yorkshireman* 18/5/1839
37. *Yorkshire Gazette* 31/3/1840; York Corporation Minute Books, for the period, York City Archives.
38. *Yorkshire Gazette* 5/3/1842.
39. *York Herald* 28/4/1855.
40. *York Herald* 18/5/1844.
41. see W. D. Husband's comments, Corporation meeting, *Yorkshire Gazette* 15/11/1845. William Dalla Husband — surgeon, member Corporation of York 1842-64, Lord Mayor and Deputy Lieutenant 1858/9, President of York Conservative Association; York native, b.1816, d.1892, York Corporation Minute Books 1840s, York City Archives.
42. *op.cit.* in note 22, Table of Population & pp.282-5.
43. *York Herald* 13/1/1855 editorial, also 17/2/1855 editorial. *Plans of Property Belonging to the Corporation of the City of York: Walmgate Ward 1850*, York City Archives.
44. *York Herald*, 17/2/1855 report of Corporation meeting; *ibid.* 19/6/1858, report of Corporation meeting.
45. *York Herald* 3/2/1855, letter from 'A Citizen'.
46. *York Herald* 3/2/1855.
47. *York Herald* 3/2/1855; 3/3/1855.
48. *York Herald* 19/6/1858, p 5.
49. *Yorkshire Gazette* 29/8/1868, letter from 'K'.
50. *York Herald* 19/6/1858, p. 5.
51. *York Herald* 19/3/1859, report of Corporation Meeting.
52. *York Herald* 5/2/1859.
53. *York Herald* 5/2/1859.
54. *York Herald* 19/3/1859.
55. *York Herald* 14/11/1863; 21/11/1863, letter from 'Medicus'.
56. *York Herald* 7/5/1870, editorial.
57. *York Herald* 10/2/1879, p. 7.
58. Corporation Minute Book, Vol. 1887/8, p. 120.
59. *York Herald* 14/11/1863, report of Corporation meeting
60. *York Herald* 8/3/1887, report of Corporation meeting.
61. *York Herald* 4/3/1887; 15/3/1887, p. 3.
62. Corporation Minute Book, Vol. 1887/8, pp.120, 164.
63. Corporation Minute Book, Vol. 1886/7, p. 162/3.
64. *York Herald* 13/6/1889.