

HM Government

LANCASTER HiSTREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE

MILL RACE CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN STAGE 1 (DRAFT)

Historic England

LANCASTER CITY COUNCIL
Promoting City, Coast & Countryside

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Produced on behalf of Lancaster City Council by Old North (2021)

OLD NORTH HISTORIC BUILDING CONSULTANCY

1. Introduction

The High Streets Heritage Action Zone (HSHAZ) programme is a nationwide initiative designed to secure lasting improvements to our historic high streets for the communities that use them. The programme is funded by the Ministry of Housing, Communities and Local Government and run by Historic England.

Lancaster was selected as one of 69 successful towns and cities across the country to be awarded a HSHAZ.

Lancaster's HSHAZ is being delivered by Lancaster City Council in partnership with Historic England, with Lancashire County Council, Lancaster Business Improvement District (BID) and Lancaster University as key partners. It is a four-year programme, which commenced in April 2020, with a focus on capital works, community engagement and cultural programming.

The Lancaster HSHAZ is centred around the Mill Race area, which is to the north-east of the city centre, and includes some of centre's main routes, such as Lower Church Street, St Leonard's Gate and North Road.

1.1. Policy background

The HSHAZ area forms part of the Lancaster Conservation Area, as designated in 2011, which,

…covers the historic core of the city, as well as peripheral areas of 19th century urban expansion for housing and industry. The archaeologically sensitive Roman and Medieval heart of the city has been overlaid with phases of 18th and 19th century development which have created a city of great richness, character and diversity.[1]

The Conservation Area is divided into eleven character areas and the HSHAZ area sits within two of these character areas: City Centre and Canal Corridor North (see map below).

The HSHAZ boundary encapsulates 19 listed buildings, including one grade II* listed building (St John's Church). Most of the other buildings, as can be seen on the map below, have been identified as 'positive buildings'; that is, they are considered to make a positive contribution to the character and appearance of the area. Most of these are also considered to be non-designated heritage assets (see HSHAZ boundary map below).

The area is also recognised within the Local Plan for Lancaster District, as the Mill Race Heritage Priority Area - Policy EN1 within the *Strategic Policies and Land Allocations Development Plan Document* (DPD), adopted July 2020:

[1] Lancaster Conservation Area Appraisal , Lancaster City Council, 2013, para. 1.3

POLICY EN1: MILL RACE HERITAGE PRIORITY AREA

The Council has identified the Mill Race area in Central Lancaster as the priority for a Heritage Action Zone with the aim to deliver a heritage-led regeneration of this area and specifically shape a sustainable future for a key part of the city centre. This will be achieved by improving investment conditions to grow economic activity and supporting development proposals that address the following issues:

I. *Ensuring that the area's heritage assets are in good condition and able to find sustainable and beneficial uses that secure their long-term future;*

II. *Transforming the setting of key heritage assets in this area to provide space and opportunity for appreciation and enjoyment;*

III. *Increasing the levels of business occupation within premises and particularly through the creation of active ground floor spaces;*

IV. *Improving environmental conditions for residents, building occupiers and pedestrians through reducing the impact of traffic;*

V. *Improving pedestrian safety and perceptions of safety to encourage dwell times, business viability and vitality within the city centre; and*

VI. *Improving pedestrian connectivity to better relate to the city centre, Canal Quarter and the River Lune.*

Any proposals for development in these areas should have due regard to all relevant policies within the Development Management DPD, particular Policies DM37 – DM42 relating to the historic environment.

The HSHAZ scheme programme directly supports the delivery of this policy but also aligns well with the Canal Quarter redevelopment, the Lancaster District Highways and Transport Masterplan, Lancaster Square Routes programme, Lancaster Business Improvement District (BID) and the flood defence works on the River Lune.

1.2. Existing information

This Conservation Management Plan (CMP) builds upon the 2013 Conservation Area Appraisal, looking at this discreet area in further detail.

A detailed study of the Canal Quarter area was carried out in July 2011[2] , which included the south-east side of St Leonard's Gate and Stonewell. This research has been drawn upon for the CMP.

Lancashire's Historic Environment Record (HER) contains a wealth of information about the area,

[2] *Lancaster: Canal Corridor North - Assessment of Heritage Values & Significance*, The Conservation Studio & The Architectural History Practice, July 2011

which is managed by the archaeology specialists within the Lancashire County Council's Historic Environment Team. Special thanks must go to Peter Iles for his help and valuable insights.

Lancaster is very fortunate to benefit from an Urban Archaeological Database (UAD); selected as one England's 30 most important historic towns and cities to receive funding from English Heritage (now Historic England) for one. It brings together all the archaeological and historical data for Lancaster, presented as an interactive map. The UAD was compiled by Oxford Archeology North (OAN). It has recently been made publicly accessible as part of the *Beyond the Castle* project, with funding from the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF).[3]

Lancaster's evolution has very helpfully been recorded in an extensive collection of maps, beginning with Speed's 1610 map. Most of these have been made accessible on Lancaster University's Library website.

Lancaster's history has been established in remarkable detail. Much of this is due to the presence of archaeological units based in the city since 1979, which for the past 20 years has operated as Oxford Archaeology North.

In addition to the archaeological units, the University's Centre for North West Regional Studies has resulted the publication of much research. Dr Andrew White must be mentioned for his extensive research and published writing on the history of Lancaster, and in bringing it to a wider audience. Without his work, we would be in the dark on many aspects of Lancaster's past. Keith Horsfield's detailed research into the Mill Race, published as a book and articles, is also incredibly valuable for what it reveals about the little known hidden watercourse which has had such a big impact on the city.

Lancaster benefits from a number of very knowledgeable and proactive community interest groups, including the Lancaster Archaeological and History Society (LAHS), with its annual journal, *Contrebis*, Lancaster Civic Society, Lancaster and District Heritage Group (LDHG) and Lancaster Black History (LBH). All of these groups have, and continue to, shed much light on the city's past and raise awareness of its heritage.

1.3. Purpose of the CMP

A Conservation Management Plan is being prepared to understand what makes the area significant, in order to guide its future use and management.

Understanding why a place is significant is key to managing change. By understanding what makes it important, it is easier to understand what the potential threats to that significance are, as well as the opportunities to enhance it. All of these elements will combine to inform the future management of the area.

[3] http://lancasteruad.oxfordarchaeology.com

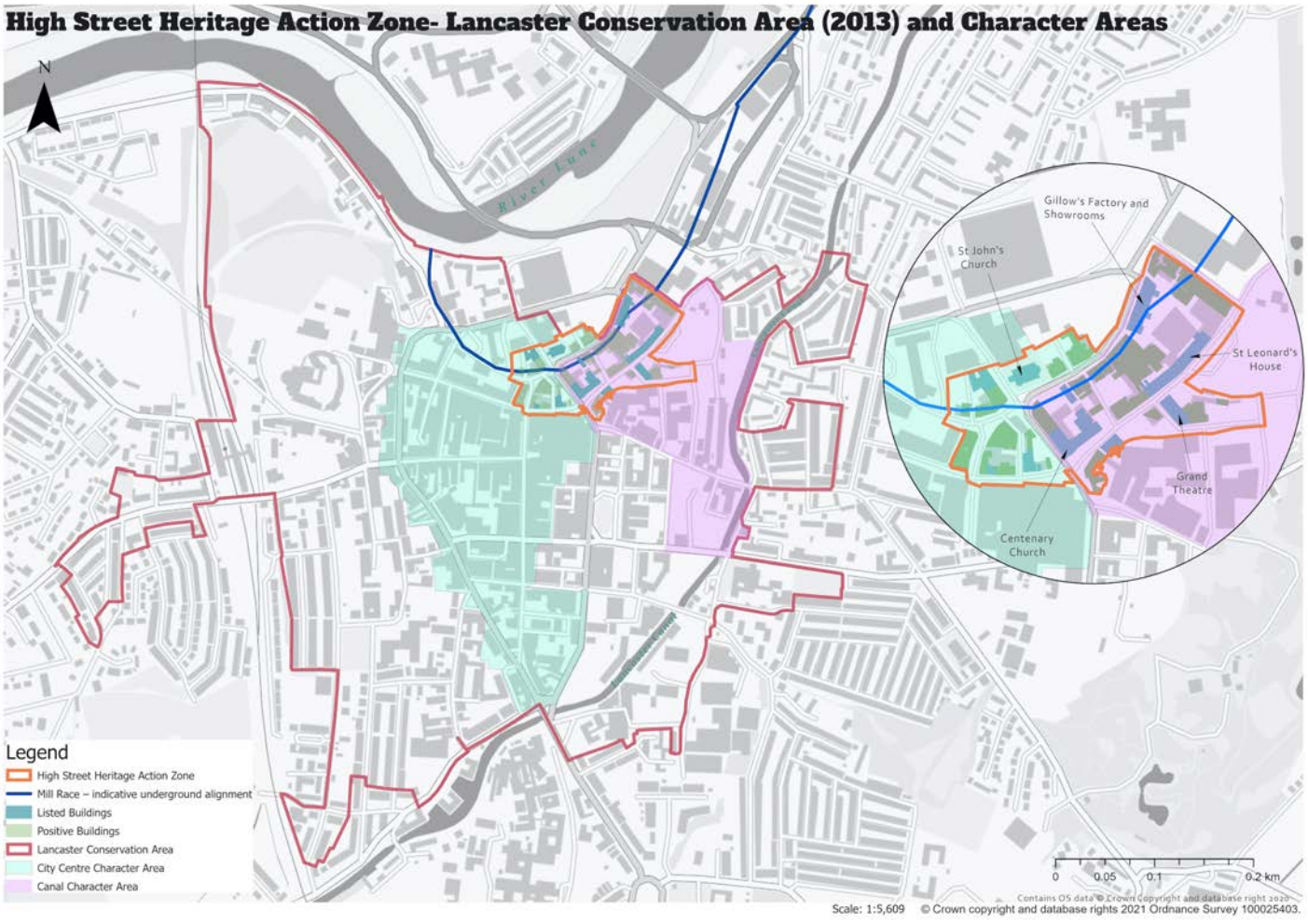
This draft document is Stage 1 of the CMP, which is intended to provide an overview of the historical development of the area (section 2), drawing out four key themes which are looked at in further detail: The Mill Race, Sugarhouses, Atlantic Trade and C19 Court, Yard and Alley Housing. These have been placed in section 4 at the end of this document.

The second part of Stage 1 involves assessing the significance of the site by looking at its heritage values (section 3). These are looked at by street, and then as an area as a whole.

We are inviting comment on Stage 1 ahead of the preparation of Stage 2, which will be informed by sections 2, 3 and 4.

Stage 2 of the CMP will look at the issues faced by the area, the way in which the area's significance is vulnerable and identify any opportunities (section 5).

The final part (section 6), informed by all the preceding stages, will provide a set of policies intended to guide future decision making within the area.



1.4. Abbreviations

CAA - Conservation Area Appraisal

CCN - Canal Corridor North (this is now known as the Canal Quarter, though older reports refer to it as the CCN)

CMP - Conservation Management Plan

HE - Historic England

HER - Historic Environment Record

HSHAZ - High Streets Heritage Action Zone

OAN - Oxford Archaeology North

UAD - Urban Archaeological Database

Lancaster High Street Heritage Action Zone- Listed & Positive Buildings

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE



Legend

- High Street Heritage Action Zone
- Mill Race – indicative underground alignment
- Listed Buildings
- Positive Buildings

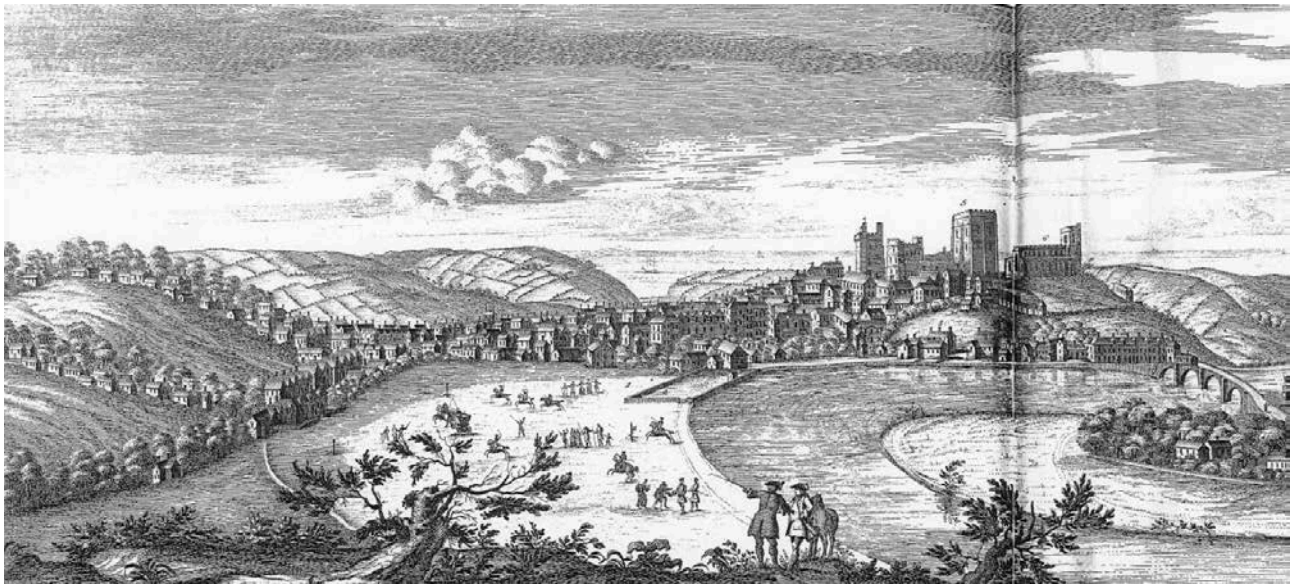
LANCASTER

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2. Understanding the area

2.1. Lancaster brief overview

The city of Lancaster has developed over a hilly terrain which drops down to the tidal River Lune, flattening to a plain at the Green Ayre. Its location at the lowest crossing point of the Lune is no coincidence, with the Castle and Priory commanding a position above the river and the town, able to guard the crossing.



Extract from The North East Prospect of Lancaster, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck, 1728 (showing the Green Ayre and the mill race on the left)

A C1 Roman auxiliary fort stood where the Castle and Priory now stand, and it is considered that the fort remained in use until the early C5, having seen rebuilding and re-alignment in that time. The civilian settlement ran down the hill from the east gate, which is preserved by the line of Church Street. It is unclear when Roman activity finally ceased in the town, but it is unlikely that there was a break in settlement of any length since the main street pattern that we see today barely deviates from the earlier Roman town, and the coincidence of property boundaries along Church Street is marked[4]. Evidence of these ancient boundaries was revealed in excavations on the former Mitchell's Brewery site in Church Street,[5] for example.

Little evidence of early medieval activity has been found in the city other than on Castle Hill, where numerous C8-C10 Anglo-Saxon cross fragments have been found, in and around the Priory church, which suggest an earlier Christian establishment on the site.[6] Northumbrian bronze

[4]OAN, *Lancaster Urban Archaeological Database: Project Design*, 2008, para. 2.1.20

[5] White, A, *Lancaster: A History,* 2003, p. 16

[6] OAN, op. cit., 2008, para. 2.1.21

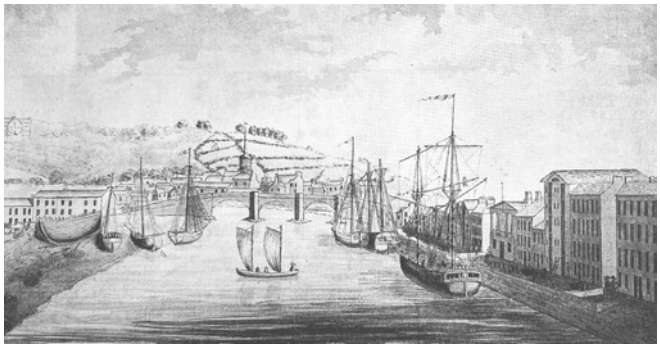
coins have also been found in the same area, dating from the C9.

The Domesday Book is the first known documentary source to refer to Lancaster.[7] However, the earliest surviving document specific to Lancaster is the foundation charter of the Priory of St Mary, dated 1094, which was endowed by Roger of Poitou as a daughter branch of the Benedictine Abbey of St Martin of Seez in Normandy.[8]

A medieval castle was established on the site of the fort, possibly by Roger of Poitou before his exile in 1102, but probably more likely by Stephen (as Count of Mortain or King of England, 1135-54) or David I of Scotland (who ruled Northern England 1135-53). The great stone keep dates from the mid-C12. The Castle remained in almost continuous use as a prison until 2011.

In 1351, Lancashire was made into a County Palatine, giving the Dukes of Lancaster rights and powers in the county usually held by the monarch. The then Earl, Henry of Grosmont, became the Duke of Lancaster. Under Henry IV, the Duchy became royal and has remained so ever since.[9] Shortly after, in 1362, the crown ordered that the county sessions must always be held in the town, and it was from that point that the twice-yearly assizes were held in Lancaster, and its role as the judicial capital of Lancashire was established.[10]

As a result of its royal connections, Lancaster enjoyed a high status, but economically was not hugely significant; its geographical location was not well placed for trade with Europe. In addition, the constant threat of invasion posed by its proximity to the Scottish border hampered material developments. It was in the C18 when trade with the West Indies and the American colonies opened up, that Lancaster experienced a period of great prosperity.[11]



St George's Quay towards the old bridge, c. 1790, Gideon Yates

However, Lancaster holds the unfortunate title of having been the fourth largest slave trading port in Britain, after London, Bristol and Liverpool during the 1750s. This decade saw great

[7] White in White, A ed., A History of Lancaster, 2001, p. 34

[8] OAN, op. cit., 2008, para. 2.1.24

[9] Hartwell, C & Pevsner, N, *The Buildings of England: North Lancashire*, 2009, p. 362

[10] Mullet, M. in White ed., op. cit., 2001, pp. 78-80

[11] White, op. cit., 2003, p. xi

improvements made to the port, with the building of St George's Quay, and later New Quay, in 1767, lined with warehouses alongside which ships could moor, and unload directly into the warehouses.

The prosperity resulting from the port, together with the bi-annual assizes bringing the town and country elites together for the spring and autumn social seasons, resulted in the building of many fine buildings in the town during the C18, including the Assembly Rooms (1759), the Custom House on St George's Quay (1762), the Old Town Hall (1781-2), the Grand Theatre (1782) and the new Crown Court and Shire Hall (from 1790s).



Extract from 1833 engraving by T. Higham after T. Allom of Lancaster Castle, Court House and Church, showing the arrival of the High Sheriff

By the early C19, Liverpool's port was the place to trade from and, rather than commerce, Lancaster was to become dependent on the manufacturing empires established by the Storey and Williamson families, specialising in table baize, oilcloth and linoleum[12]. These wealthy families were also very active in local politics and philanthropy, and were responsible for a number of the municipal buildings and facilities, including the Storey (the former Mechanics' Institute), the Town Hall in Dalton Square and Williamson Park.

The town also became the centre for large institutions, the largest of which specialised in the care of the sick, the poor and the mentally retarded. By 1911, inmates or resident staff in five institutions: the County Lunatic Asylum, Ripley Orphanage, the Royal Albert Asylum, the workhouse and the military barracks, constituted ten percent of the borough's population.[13]

The Storeys and Williamsons continued to dominate the town's manufacturing well into the C20, and Waring and Gillows too continued to be very successful. However, during the 1960s and 70s, there was a decline in manufacturing, as well as several national mergers, which saw the loss of large numbers of jobs in Lancaster.

Fortunately, the service sector and the University provided the answer. The local economy picked up with large employers, like the NHS, basing operations in Lancaster. As well as creating jobs, new uses were found for a number of the large industrial buildings in the city which were converted to office and student accommodation

[12] Winstanley, M., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 173

[13] Ibid, p. 185

uses, such as Moor Lane Mills, and White Cross Mills.

The University had, and continues to have, a hugely positive impact on many aspects of the city.

2.2. Regional context

Lancaster's size and apparent rural character belie its great heritage importance. Its location at the mouth of a tidal river, close to the long-disputed border resulted in its selection as a site for a Roman fort and settlement and, later, a significant royal castle.

Many agree that it can be listed alongside York, Chester, Newcastle and Carlisle as one of the dominant centres of the north in both the Roman and medieval periods.[14]

However, the Roman fort was an auxiliary one, unlike those of York and Chester which were legionary. Whilst York and Chester retain some of their original street patterns, it is much less common for a town based on a smaller fort, like Lancaster, to still have streets following ancient lines.[15]

Being a county town with royal connections, Lancaster enjoyed a higher status than Liverpool or Manchester throughout much of its history, but economically was not more significant, especially after the early C19.

Similar to many other west coast towns and cities during the C18, including Bristol, Liverpool, Whitehaven and Glasgow, Lancaster was able to take advantage of the trade opening up with America and the West Indies, and experienced a period of great prosperity. However, Lancaster can be seen to have followed a different trajectory during the C19, when its industrial fortunes did not generally reflect those of the North West region. As has been pointed out, whilst "Much of the scale and general nature of the industrial growth reflected the patterns of development elsewhere in the country…, the timing and speed of the many changes were peculiar to Lancaster."[16]

[14] OAN, op. cit., 2008, para. 2.1.2

[15] White, op. cit., 2003, p. 13

[16] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 173

2.3. Evolution of the site by period

Despite the HSHAZ area being a discreet area within the much larger Lancaster Conservation Area, it illustrates well the evolution and development of the city of Lancaster generally.

The area retains evidence of its early layout which has been dictated by the topography, and the mill race and river in particular. Despite, no longer being visible, the mill race's impact on the area has been great. There is perhaps more public awareness of the mill race today than for much of the C20, due to the significant flood events, which had such a devastating effect on buildings and businesses in the area, particularly during Storm Desmond in 2015 and again in 2017.

2.3.1. Early

The development of Lancaster can be traced back with certainty to the Roman occupation. However, earlier activity here is not well-understood.

The Roman fort's location on a high bluff above the tidal River Lune, and its orientation, with its east gate from which the civilian settlement, or *vicus*, lined the street down the hill (now Church Street), has determined the layout of central Lancaster. The rest of the street pattern developed organically over time, but was also dictated by the Lune and the mill race.

The plotting of the Roman finds, as Lancaster's UAD shows, reveals a settlement patten along Church Street, as well as Penny Street. Evidence of burials have been found at the southern end of Penny Street, suggesting this was the extent of the settlement to the south.

To the east, these routes converged at Stonewell, which is likely to have been the eastern extent of the settlement. There has been some evidence of burials noted here.[17] Stonewell is therefore thought to have high archaeological potential for prehistoric and Roman deposits.

Beyond Stonewell, heading north east, is St Leonard's Gate, which may have been used as a route out of the town during this period, alongside the river.[18]

Most of the Roman finds have been discovered in and around Upper Church Street, closest to the site of the fort, rather than in Lower Church Street, which falls within the HSHAZ boundary. However, close to the HSHAZ area, there have been finds on Cheapside, where amphora fragments, and other pottery, as well as querns and millstones have been found[19]

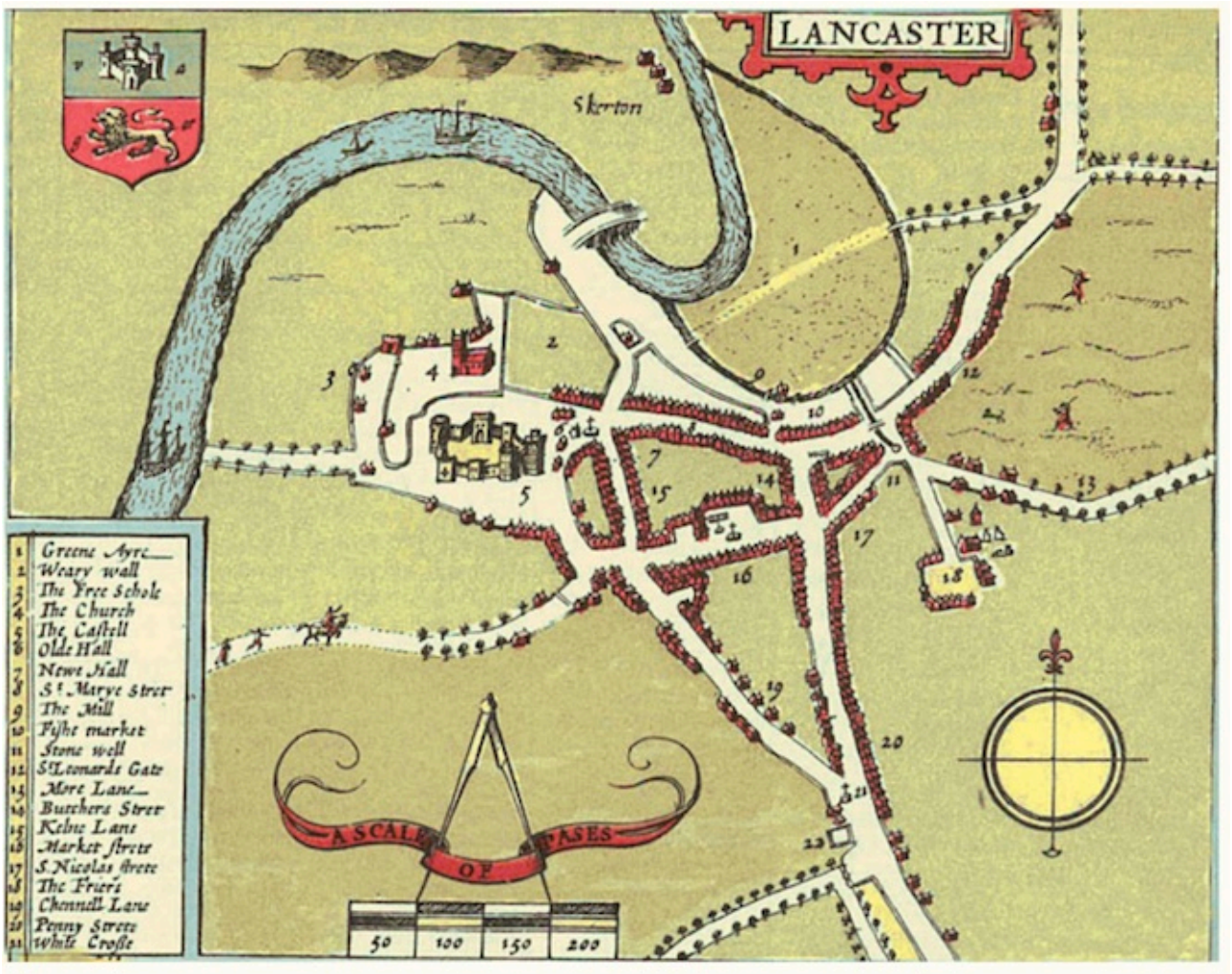
[17] Shotter, D., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 15

[18] Ibid, p. 20

[19] UAD ref. 96 and UAD ref. 415

It is generally considered that, in Roman times, the waterfront was just to the west of the area, around Fleet Square.

Access to the river would have been required, and an early route from Church Street can be seen on Speed's 1610 map in the location of Calkeld Lane. It is one of the oldest named streets in the town, meaning 'the cold spring' in Old Norse. This does not, of course, necessarily make it pre-Norman.[20]



Speed's 1610 map

[20] Ibid, p. 8

2.3.2. Medieval and post-medieval

The Roman street pattern survived into the early medieval period, as well as some plot boundaries, suggesting that some Roman structures and buildings remained. This indicates that the settlement was not abandoned at the end of the Roman occupation,[21] but perhaps did not expand much beyond the Roman settlement's confines, during the early medieval period.

St Leonard's Gate takes its name from the leprosarium or hospital for lepers, associated with the priory of St Leonard, and founded in 1189-94 by John, Earl of Mortain,[22] though it is likely to be an earlier route out of the town. The site of the hospital was outside the borough boundary, on what is today known as Factory Hill. Its site is marked on the 1845 OS survey.

The town's expansion, or densification, appears to have happened after the first borough charter was granted in 1193, and its first royal charter in 1199[23], which followed the establishment of a Medieval castle in the early 1100s.

The granting of the market charter too enabled the town to develop as an economic centre for the surrounding hinterland. Many of these streets which are first recorded in the C12 and C13, have largely survived alongside the Roman streets[24], as Speed's 1610 maps shows.

Whilst Speed's 1610 map does not record property boundaries, Docton's 1684 and Mackreth's 1778 maps do illustrate the medieval burgage plot pattern which characterised the town.

Docton's map suggests the frontages of St Leonard's Gate and Stonewell were only partly set out in burgage plots,[25] with fields behind the plots on the south east side of St Leonard's Gate. Whereas, those on Lower Church Street, being nearer the centre, were more densely developed.

The mill race forms a loop between Skerton Weir and Fleet Square, and between it and the river is land known as the Green Ayre. Speed's 1610 map and Docton's 1684 map illustrate this clearly. It is unknown when the mill race and Green Ayre were formed. One explanation for its existence is that the Lune formed an ox-bow loop, then rapidly cut a channel between the ends of the loop, leaving the loop behind and was later adapted as a channel for the mill race, but we do not know when this occurred.[26]

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[21] Shotter in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 33

[22] Farrer , W. and Brownbill, J. ed., *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 8*, 1914, *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol8 [accessed 2021]

[23] Hartwell & Pevsner, *op. cit.,* p. 362

[24] White, op. cit., 2003, p. 14

[25] Ibid, p. 49

[26] Horsfield, K., *The Lancaster Mill Race: With notes on the Green Ayre,* 2001, p. 4

Whilst we do not know when the mill race was formed, we know from written sources that several mills were present during the Middle Ages, though not where they were all located. Lancaster Mill is first mentioned in the C12. However, what we can say with certainty is that in 1574, Robert Dalton leased the Green Ayre from Lancaster Corporation, with permission to build mills. It is only from this point that we have a clear idea of where Lancaster Mill was situated.[27] The mill, which can be seen on both Speed's and Docton's 1684 maps, was the town's corn mill and was turned by the mill race. The mill was located at the foot of Calkeld Lane which can be identified on these two maps, though the lane is not named on Speed's map (see maps on p.13 and p.35).

St Mary's Well, which can be seen on Speed's 1610 map, named 'Stone Well', is first recorded in 1257 and remained an open stone-lined well or spring until at least C17.[28] On Speed's map, it discharges into the mill race via an open channel which follows the line of Rosemary Lane.

Many of of the fluctuations in the building line, such as the stepping forward of the building at no. 1 Stonewell, have survived.[29] In addition, Mackreth's 1778 plan shows where an historic plot boundary survives today in the walled curtilage of the former dance studio, to the east of the Grand Theatre.[30]

It was this medieval pattern of burgage plots which resulted in the building of smaller houses on the backland during the C18, and especially the C19, when when there was demand for small cottages to rent, which later became slums.[31] The rear land was used for small-scale industry, towards the end of the C17 and into the C18. Some evidence of this can be seen still within the HSHAZ area.

Stonewell is an example of where this was happening, such as in Swan Court during the 1640s (to the rear of no. 135 St Leonard's Gate). The name comes from the inn recorded on St Leonard's Gate/Stonewell in 1698/9, the Swan with Two Necks.[32] A collection of City Council deeds transcribed by Dr Andrew White show that there was tannery and a bark-house (tree bark was used in the tanning process) there in the 1640s. Stonewell House, the 1701 lintel of which can be found to the rear of no. 139 St Leonard's Gate, was built for a tanner, Thomas Gibson. Tanneries were usually built on the edges of towns due to the unpleasant smells and waste

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[27] Horsfield, op. cit., p. 10

[28] *Lancaster: Canal Corridor North - Assessment of Heritage Values & Significance*, The Conservation Studio & The Architectural History Practice, July 2011, para. 2.12

[29] Ibid, para. 2.51

[30] Ibid, para. 2.17

[31] White, op. cit., 2003, p. 33

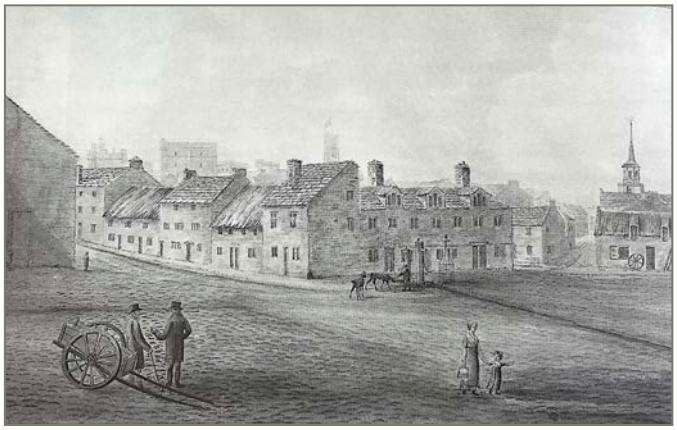
[32] White, A. *Lancaster's Historic Inns*, 2009, p.130

they created. Access to water was also required, and a deed of 1729 mentions a water course[33] (likely the Stone Well).



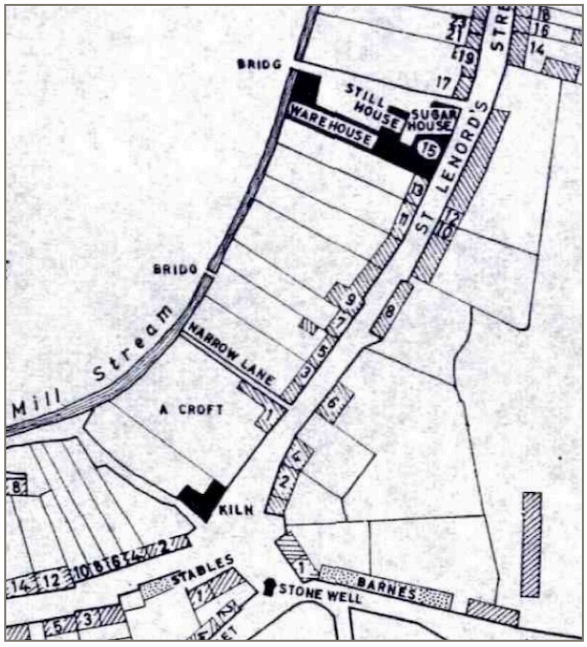
Stonewell House lintel of 1701, to the rear of 139 St Leonard's Gate

The Stonewell Tap (originally the White Horse) at no. 8 Church Street was once two houses. The right-hand earlier building is described as being early C18 in the listing, though is thought to be C17.[34] No. 6 Church Street, also a former house, now a restaurant/takeaway, is likely to be early C18.



Gideon Yates' View of Stonewell in 1810

Gideon Yates' 1810 view of Stonewell depicts this block of buildings at the bottom of Lower Church Street, showing the retention of these older buildings, some of which still have thatched roofs, when the more affluent areas had seen buildings replaced or updated with slate roofs. Another building on the right hand side of the watercolour, in front of St John's, is possibly the kiln or kelp house shown on Docton and Mackreth's maps.



Detail from Docton's 1684 map showing the Kiln and the first Sugarhouse

By 1684, the open channel from Stone Well appears to be in culvert, and a 'kiln' can be seen standing on the corner where the Centenary Church now stands. The kiln is thought to have been associated with a soapery and kelp house. A 1795 indenture, included in the UAD, describes a house, shop and yard, and soapery, with an associated yard at the corner of Chapel Street and

[33] CCN, op.cit., para. 2.52

[34] White, op.cit. 2009, p. 140

North Road, and a building described as a kelp house on the opposite side of the road. It may be significant that Docton's 1684 map shows a kiln (a kelp house is where seaweed would be processed in a kiln) in this location, and that particular building is also present on Mackreth's 1778 map of Lancaster[35]

John Lawson's Sugar House on St Leonard's Gate can be seen at the end of the C17, on Docton's map, with its warehouse and still house clearly shown, with Lawson's house next door (17) and a wharf to the north west of the sugar house (later known as Lawson's Quay) on Green Ayre. This is the earliest sign of Lancaster's trade with the West Indies.

The Green Ayre, the land which sits between the mill race and the river, had been open land, mainly used for recreational purposes, until it began to be developed by enterprising merchants in the late C17 for quays and warehouses.

2.3.3. Eighteenth century

2.3.3.1. Trade

The opening up of trade with the New World, proved extremely lucrative for Lancaster. The town could finally take international economic advantage of its position along a tidal river, close to the west coast. It was to offer great opportunities for many enterprising individuals, on a small and large scale.

This trade involved importing tropical raw materials, such as sugar, mahogany, dyewood, and cotton, and exporting new manufactured goods in demand in colonial markets, which included hats, candles, soap, furniture, pans and kettles. Much of these materials and goods were either processed or manufactured within the HSHAZ area. In addition, typical port industries could be found in this area, such as sail and rope making.

The rapid expansion and redevelopment of Lancaster during this period is neatly illustrated by the HSHAZ area. The building over of the mill race, to provide access to the river, and development of the Green Ayre, was a gradual process, but its most energetic phase was certainly during this period.

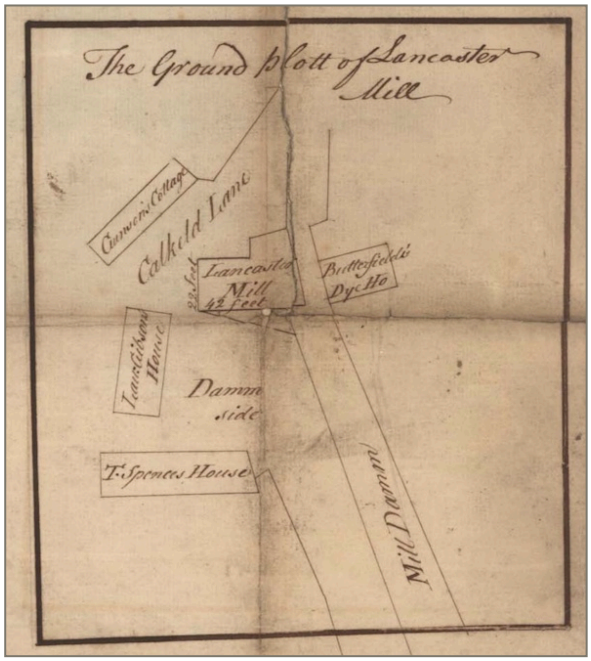
Whilst this new trade offered many opportunities, and resulted in much material wealth for the town, including fine Georgian architecture, it had a dark side too. Many Lancaster ships, though not all, were also engaged in the 'Triangular Trade', which involved the transportation of slaves (see Atlantic Trade).

St Leonard's Gate provides one of the first indications that Atlantic trade had commenced in Lancaster, being the site of Lancaster's first sugarhouse. The sugarhouse can be seen on Docton's 1684 map, at this point owned by John Lawson. Lancaster was to have two sugar houses

[35] UAD ref. 395

[see Sugarhouses]. The imported sugar brought to the sugar houses to be refined came from West Indian plantations.

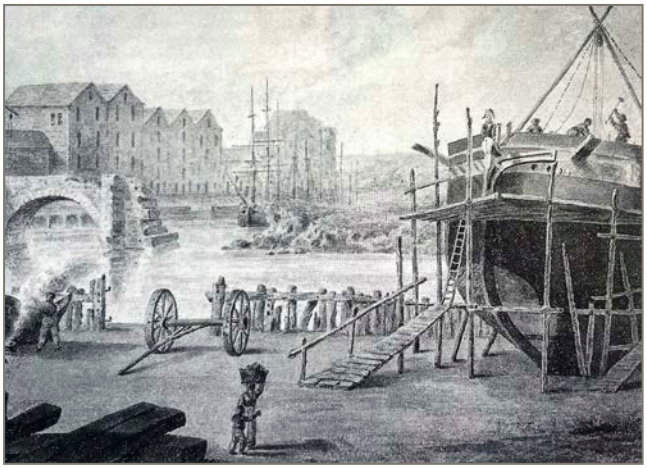
These imported raw materials fostered specialist manufacturing for which the HSHAZ area became a hub. Other imported raw materials included mahogany, which were used in cabinet making, for which Lancaster became internationally renowned due to the success of Gillows (See Atlantic Trade). By 1794, there were at least 11 other cabinet making workshops in the town.[36] Several were in the HSHAZ area.



Plan detail from a 1755 description of the mill (UAD 529)

As well as clear evidence of tanning taking place in this area, dyeing was another process found here, as suggested by Dye House Lane name. This lane is first seen on Mackreth's 1778 map, behind the new Chapel Street houses. Dye-making also used imported tropical woods, dyewood.[37]

The town's mill, which was sited very close to the dye house, was demolished in 1769. A plan of the site dated 1755, shows that the mill and dye house were adjacent, with 'Butterfield's Dye House' on the north side of the mill race.[38] No.s 10-14 Damside Street are located on the site of the mill.



Brockbanks yard on the Green Ayre looking towards St George;s Quay, c. 1806. Attributed to John Emery.

2.3.3.2. Expansion

The development of Green Ayre, which had previously been used largely for recreation, gathered pace during the C18. As well as shipbuilding, Brockbanks had their yard there (1730-1816), it was developed for housing by the Corporation from the 1740s, for the growing population.

[36] Dalziel, N., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 126

[37] Ibid

[38] UAD ref. 529

The row of town houses at 7-11 Chapel Street are the earliest surviving examples in the area of new housing developments on the Green Ayre. They were built by Thomas Butterfield, a merchant and slave trader, and brother of William Butterfield, on plots he acquired in 1742.[39] The three buildings are listed. No. 11 had a warehouse added in the late C18. They are now shops with accommodation above.

St John's Church was also developed on the Green Ayre in 1754-5. St John's is another product of Lancaster's success and expanding population in that area, built as a chapel of ease. It was needed to supplement the Priory Church (the Tower was added in the 1780s).

Further development towards the Lune on the Green Ayre, which was to fully embrace the river was the construction of the 'New Bridge' (Skerton Bridge) further upstream, in the 1780s, designed by Thomas Harrison. This formed part of a wider scheme to improve the approach to the town from the north, involving an elegant classical composition, of a toll house flanked by screens and pavilions, also by Harrison.[40]

Access to the new bridge through the town therefore needed to be improved, and the creation of North Road (though still called Damside Street until the 1880s) and Parliament Street took place in anticipation of the new bridge in the 1770s. Mackreth's map shows North Road in the early stages of development. No. 47 North Road, a listed former warehouse, can clearly be seen along with a small number of other buildings built on top of the mill race, including no. 41. The former Ship Inn (no. 31-33 North Road), is on the site of two former inns, which appear to be on the map. The current building dates from 1889.



No.s 31-33 North Road c.1889, Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection

Damside Street ran parallel to the mill race, initially located just north of it. The mill race can be seen still in open channel in sections on Mackreth's map. Damside then continues on the other side of the Chapel Street/Rosemary Lane junction, where the roads must have been joined by a bridge opposite St John's. This section runs parallel to the southern side of the mill race, though it appears fully covered from that point.

[39] https://www.theglassworksapartments.co.uk/history (accessed 8/5/21)

[40] Giles, C., *Discovering Historic Lancaster: a visitor's guide*, English Heritage, 2012, p. 8

2.3.3.3. Social Scene

Among the new buildings reflecting the town's prosperity, were the Town Hall on Market Street (1781-2) and the Custom House on the Quay (1764). Other buildings were associated with the social season, for which the twice-yearly Assizes, in spring and autumn, brought many into Lancaster. The Assembly Rooms date from 1759. The Assizes, coupled with establishment of horse racing on the Marsh and later on the Lancaster Moor, meant that the theatre and other social activities thrived.[41]



The Grand Theatre, built 1782

The Grand Theatre was built on St Leonard's Gate in 1782, funded by public subscription, and managed by Austin and Whitlock, who were responsible for a number of other northern theatres[42]. It had a number of owners, including Edmund Sharpe who bought it in 1843.

No. 96 St Leonard's Gate, The Shakespeare, is first recorded as a tavern in 1794, though may be slightly earlier. The name suggests a connection with the Grand Theatre, which is opposite.[43]

There was another inn close to the theatre, on the opposite side of St Leonard's Gate, called the Black Cat, later the Athenaeum Hotel, demolished in 1961. This was first recorded in 1789.[44]

2.3.3.4. Redevelopment

The town's prosperity and increasing population resulted in the redevelopment of earlier plots; the rebuilding of older streets in stone, together with the development of new areas, such as Dalton Square in the 1780s on the site of the Fryerage, and St George's Quay, but also out into the former fringes of the countryside.[45]

Elegant new town houses were appearing up the hill on Church St, High Street and Castle Park in mid-C18; the higher up the hill you were the better off you were likely to be.

However, other than these areas, it would seem that both rich and poor often lived alongside one another, though as Andrew White has pointed

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41 White A., *Life in Georgian Lancaster,* 2004, p. 16

42 CCN, op. cit., para. 2.61

43 White., op. cit.,2009, p. 123

44 Ibid, p. 63

45 White, op. cit., 2003, p. 33

out, “On the other hand, few wealthy people could be found in Stonewell or Rosemary (known as ‘Stinking’) Lane, where life expectancy was short.” [46] It would seem that the rebuilding of the pre-1700 buildings was not happening here yet, and accounts for some early survivals in Lower Church Street, such as no.8.

Nevertheless, St Leonard’s Gate was being partly redeveloped with town houses in the late C18, such as no.s 127 (later the Tramway), a high status merchant’s house, with a large garden, and no.s 108-114, which are set back from the street line behind railings. However, this street was also attractive to business due to access to the river, so its popularity may have been mixed.[47]



Late C18 houses facing each other on St Leonard’s Gate, with an C18 warehouse building beyond (no. 98)

With a population which had increased four-fold during the century, more housing was required. By the late C18, development was being intensified in the town centre, and gardens were being divided into building plots, including those to the rear of Church Street, which resulted in the Sun Street development, for example.[48]

2.3.4. Nineteenth century

Lancaster was still a thriving port at the beginning of the C19, though at the end of the C18, the slave trade had become focused around Liverpool and Bristol, and many of the Lancaster merchants had transferred their interests to Liverpool. After 1815, Lancaster’s maritime trade began to decline.[49] With the depression that followed the Napoleonic Wars, which included the collapse of Lancaster’s two banks, this century saw most of the industries which had been the product of the port’s trade, such as sailcloth manufacture, rope making, soap boiling, sugar refining disappear or become greatly reduced.[50] Many of these industries had been based in the mill race area, which now had to adapt.

Shipbuilding on the Lune ceased in 1830s and was never successfully re-established. Sales of timber

[46] White, op. cit., 2004, p. 18

[47] CCN, op. cit., para. 2.57

[48] Ibid, para. 2.24

[49] Winstanley, M., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 174

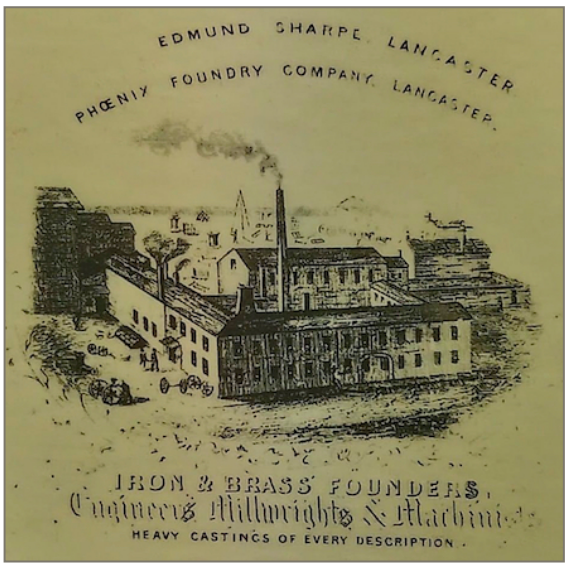
[50] Ibid

continued to take place on the Green Ayre into the 1840s.[51]

For a short time, cotton looked like it might be the answer, and a number of mills appeared close to the new canal, which opened in 1797. They provided some much needed employment, but it was to be short-lived as it became apparent that it was not sustainable in the long-term given that the coal supplies in Lancaster were more expensive and less reliable than those further south.[52]

From the mid-C19, cotton manufacturing was absorbed by the Storeys and Williamson's oilcloth businesses,[53] as Grey Cotton was to be used as the backing for oil cloth. This guaranteed the future of the canal-side mills[54] and their expanding empires were to dominate Lancaster employment in the late C19.

Joseph Storey set up Heron Chemical Works in 1860, which began by making pigments and dyes for table baize, not far from the HSHAZ area, alongside the Moor Lane Mills which his brothers purchased in 1861.[55]



An advert for Edmund Sharpe's Phoenix Foundry, mid-C19

2.3.4.1. Adapting businesses

Despite the arrival of the railway in 1840, and high hopes that it would create new economic opportunities, it was not to be so. Much of the industry remained on the east side of town or around the Quay.[56] The main impact of the railways was to be felt from the engineering and carriage building which thrived in Lancaster, within and just outside the HSHAZ area. Some local firms adapted in the 1840s and 50s, and started to manufacture and repair rolling stock. These included Jonathan Dunn and Company, a coach maker, who began making railway carriages on the old Sugar House site off St Leonard's Gate, and the Phoenix Foundry, just outside the HSHAZ area, built on the site of the

[51] Ibid, p. 175

[52] Ibid, p. 181

[53] Ibid, p. 182

[54] Price, J., 'Industry and Changes in its Location in Nineteenth Century Lancaster', *Contrebis* 1995, v20, p. 40

[55] Ibid, p. 41

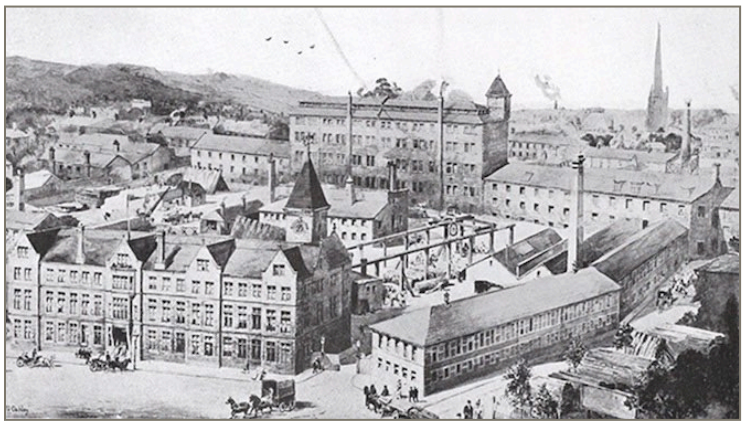
[56] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 176

second sugar house. It was owned by Edmund Sharpe for a time. [57] By the 1860s, the Lancaster Carriage and Wagon Works was established to the east of Green Ayre Station, which became a major employer in the area.[58]



William RIchmond's carriage showroom, dated 1899

Coach making continued in the area, however, and they could be found in and around North Road and St Leonard's Gate. William Gilchrist Coach Builder and Harness Maker was operating in Nile Street from 1856, having taken over Thomas Malley's coach building business, into the 1860s (Lancaster Guardian 25 October 1856 & 14 November 1857), Peter Jackson was also coach building in Damside Street, on the corner of Nile Street in 1856, and Colman and Townley, also making coaches and harnesses, is listed as operating in Spring Court (now Sugar House Alley) in Kelly's 1898 Directory. Also in the late C19, another coach making workshop was to be found just off St Leonard's Gate, a 2-storey gabled carriage workshop built on Lodge Street in 1883 and occupied by William Richmond, a coach builder, who is listed in Cook's 1899 Directory. This former workshop is located at the rear of the Grand Theatre. Associated with this is an 1899 carriage showroom at 113 St Leonard's Gate, with the initials 'WR' and '1899' carved on the capital.[59]



The Gillow Works and showrooms, 1898

2.3.4.2. Purpose-built premises

Whilst premises were often adapted for commercial uses, Richmond's buildings were examples of a purpose-built commercial premises. Gillow's factory and their Austin and Paley designed showrooms, occupying land between St Leonard's Gate and North Road, is another example of this, from 1881-2, though on a far greater scale. It was built on the site of the first sugarhouse, a later timber yard (owned by Gillows) and small-scale industries, including Dunn's carriage works. Furniture making was an important industry in Lancaster, and was to be

[57] Price, J., op. cit., p. 41

[58] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 178

[59] CCN, op. cit., para. 2.72

found elsewhere within this area, including in St Leonard's Place, in what is known as the former dance studio. This former workshop building also dates from the late C19, and a furniture maker is listed as the occupier in the 1891 Cook's Directory.[60]

2.3.4.3. Backland development

Development behind street frontages for commercial purposes, was becoming more common. Backland development was intensifying with workshops and worker housing appearing alongside one another. St Leonard's Place is an example of this, but also Dye House Lane. To the rear of no. 11 Chapel Street is a late C18 three-storey warehouse, which from 1860 was used as Abbotts Stained Glass Workshop.



A shop in a former house on St Leonard's Gate, no. 125, next to the Tramway hotel. Taken in 1927, since demolished. Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection

Mitchell's brewery expanded from late C19, acquiring properties in St Leonard's Gate which they adapted for their purposes. The former stables behind the Tramway (no. 127) were developed on the former garden of no. 127 in the 1890s. Mitchells also adapted no. 127 to hotel use and the ale house and house at 129 and 131 St Leonard's Gate for retail use, with new shops added at ground floor level.[61]

2.3.4.4. Retail

Retail uses were expanding beyond the old town centre, with the growth in population, which saw the adaptation of houses to shops and other businesses, like those on Lower Church Street, North Road, Chapel Street and St Leonard's Gate around the turn of the century. However, purpose-built shops can also be seen in the area. In the 1840s, Cheapside was extended across Church Street, linking it to Damside Street, to create North Road. This new road resulted in new frontage developments, a mix of housing and commercial premises.



Baxter's retail development on the corner of Stonewell and Moor Lane, c.1900, Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection

[60] CCN, op. cit., Gazetteer, p. 103

[61] Ibid, para. 2.85

New purpose-built retail premises were developed at no.s 3-5 Stonewell in c. 1883 by Richard Baxter a linen and woollen draper.[62]

The was a general movement out of the town centre at the end of the C19 by the middle classes, in preference for areas like Haverbreaks and Canon Hill. The former housing in the town centre slid down the social scale or was adapted for non-domestic uses.[63]

2.3.4.5. Worker housing

The growth of the town had slowed in the early C19, and Clark's 1807 plan from his *History of Lancaster* shows that many of the proposed streets and squares were never built. However, when domestic building did resume, "it was on a different scale and for a different market."[64]

The growth in manufacturing during the C19 resulted in the need for more worker housing. The population quadrupled during the course of the C19. However, "In stark contrast with the grandeur of the late eighteenth century, residential building in the first sixty years of the nineteenth century had been largely confined to piecemeal, low quality infill in the town centre, especially in the St Leonardgate area.".[65]

There were vast numbers of courts, yards and alleys filling spaces of all shapes and sizes, cramming in as much accommodation as possible, built by small-scale speculators [see C19 Court, Yard and Alley Housing].

Mr Richard Dunn was responsible for the Mason Street development after 1837,[66] which included some back-to-back housing, which was fairly unusual in Lancaster. This ran along the southern boundary of the Gillows site.

The site which was to become the busy Gillows complex was enclosed on three sides by worker housing. What we now know as Sugar House Alley was formerly Spring Court, in which thirteen households resided in 1841. Old Sugar House Alley was where the Gillows show room on North Road now sits, and contained sixteen households in 1851. Both Spring Court and Old Sugar House Alley were swept away for the Gillows factory and showroom development. Sugar House Alley last appears on the 1871 Census, and Spring Court on the 1881 Census. Both can be seen on Harrison & Hall's 1877 map. The occupations of those residents included cotton spinners, cabinet makers, coach builders, joiners, labourers, weavers, silk twisters, charwomen, blacksmiths,

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[62] Ibid, p. 109

[63] Ibid, para. 2.41

[64] White, op. cit., 2003, p.38

[65] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 194

[66] Oxford Archaeology North, *Gillows Building, 23-25 North Road, Lancaster* (Historic Building Survey Report), OA Reference No. L11062, February 2019, para. 3.2.9

paupers receiving parish relief, milliners and a school mistress.

Stonewell is an example of an area used intensively for both commercial and workers' housing as the population grew. Swan Court is a rare surviving example of this type of early urban workers' housing, built in the first quarter of the C19, but later altered for other uses and now partly collapsed



Swan Court, to the rear of 133-37 St Leonard' Gate

Edmund Sharpe built a pair of 3-storey cottages on north side of the Theatre in 1840, to raise revenue to support theatre, it is assumed. Audiences at the Theatre had dwindled in the late 1830s with Lancaster's monopoly over the county Assizes being removed in 1835[67]. Sharpe had acquired the theatre from John Lodge, who was responsible for developing the open space between St Leonard's Gate and the Canal after 1850, with Lodge Street being built in 1853. Only no.1 remains, attached to the Musicians' Co-op, the former Carriage Works.[68]

Whilst this was bylaw housing, it was laid out to minimum dimensions, with small rear yards and rear alleys for clearing night soil and domestic waste.



Sharpe's Theatre cottages

2.3.4.6. Health

In the 1840s, there was concern, especially amongst the physicians, including Edward de Vitre (chief physician at the county asylum), that the poor sanitary conditions in the town were causing damage to the health of the population, of all classes.[69]

Apart from there being no piped water supply, drainage was a major problem. The few surface sewers that there were drained into the mill race which was regularly blocked and would flood at high tide. The water would back up into the cellars of houses built nearby.

[67] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., pp. 184-5

[68] CCN, op. cit. para. 2.73

[69] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., p. 209

In a report written by Sir Richard Owen in 1845, who was asked to inspect Lancaster by the government's Health of Towns Commission, he stated that, "The entire contents of Lancaster's sewers, with the exception of Bridge Lane, are delivered into the mill race, which may be compared to a prolonged cess pool. With the tide, the flow is reversed…"[70]

There was known to be a high mortality rate in the Damside area, but still nothing was done to address the problem. It was not until 1891 that the issues with the mill race were resolved[71]

2.3.4.7. Leisure

The names of the some of the beerhouses which appeared in the area were testament to the sort of manufacturing going on there. However, their appearance also illustrates the emergence of the beerhouse during the second half of the C19, whilst inns were in decline. There were various reasons for this, including the arrival of the railways destroying many coaching inns, and the removal of soldiers from billets in inns to specialised barracks, as well as the Temperance Movement. The Beer Act of 1830 was designed to encourage beer sales in working class areas, in preference to the sales of cheap spirits.[72] The drinking habits of the working classes had clearly been an issue in Lancaster, as Dr de Vitre made clear in Edwin Chadwick's 1842 report, which involved a new practice of employers paying their workers' wages on a Friday evening, rather than a Saturday, enabling them to spend their money, "at Saturday's market, and obviating the great temptation which formerly existed of spending their earnings, or a large proportion of them, in the public-houses and beer-shops after the termination of the week's labour."[73]

The act made it very easy for licenses to be obtained. St Leonard's Gate had a Cabinet Makers' Arms at no. 129 St Leonard's Gate from 1865,[74] as well as a Coach Makers' Arms at 91 St Leonard's Gate from 1881. Both beer houses had ceased trading by the first decade of the C20, the Chief Constable having objected to the renewal of the licence at the latter in 1906.[75] Another beerhouse in the area which is thought to date from the mid-

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[70] Owen, R., *Report on the State of Lancaster,* Health of Town's Commission, 1845 (Royal College of Surgeons) [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/muzugf5g/items?canvas=1 accessed 15/5/21]

[71] Horsfield, op. cit., p. 46

[72] White, op. cit., 2009, pp. 41-2

[73] Chadwick, E., *Report to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department from the Poor Law Commissioners, on an inquiry into the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain* ; with appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty, July, 1842. London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/j23vgsgx/items?canvas=292 accessed 16/5/21], p. 250

[74] White, op. cit., 2009, p. 74

[75] White, op. cit., 2009, p. 76

C19, and did not go by any name initially, was the Station Inn (more recently the Lord Ashton and Juke Joint), at no. 36 North Road.[76]

The growing population brought other changes to the area, including a new Congregational church in the east of Lancaster. The Congregationalists or Independents decided to expand beyond their High Street presence, and opened a mission at a house on St Leonard's Gate in 1872.[77] By 1879-81, they had built the imposing early Gothic Centenary Congregational Church by JC Hetherington and GD Oliver of Carlisle,[78] on the corner of St Leonard's Gate.

They were evidently very active in the community, the minister establishing the popular Pleasant Sunday Afternoon or Brotherhood movement which offered 'Brief, bright and brotherly meetings' in 1893. By 1901, it had moved into the neighbouring Cromwell Hall on the corner of North Rd and was advertising a variety of evening and Sunday entertainments. By 1914, it had 1,000 members.[79] The Congregationalists were also responsible for building the Sunday School on St Leonard's Gate, at the corner of Phoenix Street. The date stone reads 1887. The building sits on the site of Robert Lawson's C18 town house, and the lower stories can be identified on the Phoenix Street elevation.



1887 Sunday School Building, St Leonard's Gate, with Phoenix Street beyond

2.3.5. Twentieth century

The historic centre remained largely in tact at the turn of the century, and the adaptation of town centre houses to commercial uses was a trend that continued into the C20. Fortunately, the town, which was given its City Charter, as part of King George VI's coronation celebrations, in 1937, did not suffer bomb damage during WWII. The greatest interventions in the area were seen in the 1960s, with the clearance of the workers' housing on the north east side of St Leonard's Gate for the planned eastern relief road, and the loss of St Nicholas Street in 1967-71 for a new retail development.

Although there was no substantial slum-clearance until between the wars, there was a decline in the no. of people living in central wards between 1901 and 1911, suggesting that some of the residents

[76] White, op. cit., 2009, p. 127

[77] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., p. 205

[78] Hartwell & Pevsner, *op. cit.,* p. 362

[79] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., p. 203

of the overcrowded courts and yards were also leaving.[80] However, many of the court and yard housing was clearly still in use in the 1920s, as Sam Thompson's photographic record shows. New council housing estates were being built on the edge of town in the 1920s and 30s, the first between Bowerham Road and Scotforth Road in 1920.[81]

Despite the loss of the Wagon Works on Caton Road in 1909,[82] key industries thrived until post-war years, and the Williamson and Storey products remained ever popular at home. Gillows continued to flourish, having merged with the Liverpool furniture makers, Waring, to become Waring & Gillows in 1903. A large reinforced concrete framed building extended the factory, St Leonard's House, along the St Leonard's Gate frontage in the 1920s. During both wars, the factory was used in the war effort, which included the production of ammunition chests for the Navy and propellers for De Havilland DH9 aircraft. The upholstery department was also involved, making kit-bags, tents and camouflage nets. Gillows had established a reputation for the outfitting of luxury yachts and liners, including the Royal Yacht *Victoria and Albert*, liners *Lusitania*, *Heliopolis* and *Cairo*, RMS *Queen Mary* (1934) and *Queen Elizabeth* (1946) for Cunard.[83]



The production and inspection of bi-plane wings at Waring and Gillows, Lancaster, 1917 [Historic England ref. BL23741/036]

The continuation of the HAZ area's relationship with transport can also be seen in its links with the motorcar. By 1901, the Lodge Street coachworks was also occupied by the Lancaster & Morecambe Motor Car Co. Ltd, alongside William Richard's coach building. In addition, one of the earliest purpose-built motorcar showrooms in the country was approved in 1902 to plans by Austin & Paley for William Atkinson.[84] It is located on the sweeping bend of North Road, facing down Damside Street.

2.3.5.1. Leisure

A leisure related activity which could be found in the area was the cinema. Before purpose-built cinemas appeared, film shows tended to take

[80] Ibid, p. 195

[81] Constantine, S. & Warde, A., in White ed., op. cit., p. 244

[82] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 178

[83] http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/dd5a752e-48b5-4eb4-ae01-56d69c93f81d accessed

[84] Hartwell & Pevsner, *op. cit.,* p. 395

place in existing halls in the early C20. One of those to engage in this was Cromwell Hall, from 1907. The hall was on the upper floor of the block of buildings designed by Robert Walker of Windermere in 1899 as an assembly hall for the Trustees of the attached Centenary Church. It comprised shops, offices, a billiard room and the assembly hall. It was rented by James Atroy of Preston for this purpose until 1912. It continued to be used for showing films until 1922.[85] The Grand Theatre was in use as a cinema after 1931, when the projection box was installed, until 1951, when it re-opened as a theatre.

Given the area's proximity to the workers' housing and industry, it is perhaps unsurprising that a working men's club was to be found in Phoenix Street, dating from the early C20.

2.3.5.2. Military

Lancaster has a long military tradition. Until the later C19 century, following the Cardwell Reforms, when Lancaster became the home to the King's Own Royal Regiment, and the new barracks were built at Bowerham, there had been a part-time volunteer force, the militia, in the town for many years. This was to continue in the town into the C20. The Drill Hall on Phoenix Street is an example of that, as the headquarters of the Lancaster Rifle Volunteers.



Two young soldiers of the 5th Battalion in 1914. Private Matthew Farrell is standing on the right, number 1440 *(King's Own Royal Regiment Museum Lancaster)*

The unit evolved into the 5th Battalion, the King's Own Royal Regiment in 1908 which was mobilised at the Drill Hall in August 1914, before being deployed to the Western Front.[86] It is very likely that many from the area were part of that Battalion. One such soldier was Private Matthew Farrell, who lived at Little John Street and worked for Storey Brothers. Prior to this his family were shown living at 13 Swan Court on the 1911 Census. He went to France on 14 February 1915 with the rest of the 1st/5th Battalion. He was killed in action on 14 April 1915 aged 16.[87]

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[85] Stansfield, C., 'The Earliest Cinemas in Lancaster', *Contrebis* 2017 v35, p. 66

[86]

[87] King's Own Royal Regiment Museum Lancaster, Accession Number KO1217/04 [http://www.kingsownmuseum.com/ko2139.htm accessed 14/5/21]

A digital memorial, *Streets of Mourning*, has been created by Lancaster University, together with the Lancaster Military History Group, Lancaster Civic Society and the Lancaster King's Own Regiment Museum. This project involved mapping Lancaster's casualties from the First World War, which is accessible on the Mapping Loss: Communities in War and Peace' website. What this work has revealed is that St Leonard's Gate suffered the greatest number of casualties of any street in Lancaster (22). That number is taken to 51, when you included the casualties from neighbouring Alfred Street, Edward Street and Lodge Street.[88] Many of the addresses of those listed were from the northern end of the St Leonard's Gate and part of the housing that was swept away during the 1960s in preparation for the link road. It is worth also noting that a number of the casualties listed also resided in some of the Mill Race area's courts and yards, such as Albright's Yard off St Leonard's Gate, as well as Dye House Lane and Nile Street, all of which suffered two casualties each. As part of the project, a Great War Trail app, a walking tour for mobile phones, has also been created, which starts in Phoenix Street at the Drill Hall.

2.3.5.3. Decline

Despite the manufacturing prosperity of the 1950s and early 1960s, which saw the home furnishings market, in which Lancaster excelled, really take-off at home and internationally, production facilities began to close down or be reduced in scope from the 1960s. Demand for certain products changed, but also changes in ownership resulted in rationalisations.[89] This had a direct impact on the HSHAZ area.

Waring & Gillows was acquired by Universal Stores in 1961 and closed on 31 March 1962, which unfortunately resulted in the the loss of 300 jobs[90]. In terms of the fortunes of the buildings themselves, a new use was found fairly promptly as St Leonard's House was converted to university use in 1964, while the new Lancaster University campus was being built. It later became an Adult Education College and Council offices.

The area's relationship with the car was to take on a new meaning during the second half of the C20. The increase in car ownership had clearly widened the city's market area, including tourism. However, the increased traffic became a serious problem for the centre. Whilst the Lancaster extension to the M6 greatly eased the through-traffic pressure, as has been pointed out, "it required the pedestrianisation of the city centre from 1973 and the establishment of a remarkably successful one-way system to restore something like pleasure to shopping."[91]

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[88] Streets of Mourning, Mapping Loss: Communities in War and Peace, https://wp.lancs.ac.uk/greatwar/the-worst-affected-streets/ [accessed 17/5/21]

[89] Constantine, S. & Warde, A., in White ed., op. cit., pp. 260-1

[90] Ibid, p. 261

[91] Ibid, p. 263



St Leonard's Gate looking west towards the Grand Theatre. The buildings in the foreground were demolished in the 1960s

During the 1960s, there had also been plans for the creation an eastern relief road which saw the clearance of much the workers' housing to the north east of St Leonard's Gate, including Edward Street and Lodge Street. Only a few of the mid-C19 houses survive: the two theatre houses and the last remaining house on Lodge St, no. 1, which is now part of the former carriage works. Frontage properties along St Leonard's Gate, on either side of the theatre, were cleared, including earlier buildings such as the Black Cat public house (later the Athenaeum Hotel) opposite Gillows works. The cleared area has been used for public car parking since then, though remains of some of the houses can still be seen in some surviving walls retained as boundary walls.

The loss of the resident population had a big impact on community buildings in the area, rendering many redundant. Whilst not the only reason, its impact on the two churches in the HAZ area should be noted. The Centenary Church was to close in 1972, and St John's in 1981 (it has been in the care of the Churches Conservation Trust since 1983). The exodus from the area is likely to have contributed to the closures of a number of the pubs in the area, including the Tramway which closed in the late 1980s, The Ship on North Road in the 1970s, and The Shakespeare on St Leonard's Gate in the 1980s. The latter gained a new lease of life with the founding of the University in the adjacent St Leonard's House. It became a popular university pub, finally closing around 1985, but retaining the name as a bed and breakfast.

Lancaster University should rightly be seen as having been, and still is, a catalyst for the area's regeneration. From its founding in 1964, it certainly ensured that a number of redundant buildings were kept in use, and saw St Leonard's Gate become a temporary university hub. Not only was St Leonard's House used, but also the Centenary Church and the Grand Theatre as lecture theatres, and no.s 112 and 114 St Leonard's Gate for teaching and recreational rooms.[92] The University's new Bailrigg campus opened towards the end of the 1960s, so these uses were fairly short-lived. However, it is clear that the area is seeing a resurgence of its university ties, with a large number of student residential accommodation conversions in the last few years, including St Leonard's House and the North Road showroom and numerous other properties, including the Phoenix Working Men's

[92] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancaster_University [accessed 17/5/21]

Club, and 112 and 114 St Leonard's Gate, and the former warehouse to the rear (47 North Road).

Since the 1980s, the C19 Lodge Street coachworks, together with no. 1 Lodge Street, has been used by the Lancaster Music Co-op, as rehearsal rooms with recording facilities. Prior to that it had been used as two factories from the 1930s, including a slipper factory until the 1960s.[93]

[93] CCN, op. cit., Gazetteer, p. 23

2.4. Street pattern

The evolution of the HSHAZ's street pattern has been an organic process, dictated by the topography at each stage of its development; specifically, the sloping gradient and the Lune and its mill race. The hills sloping down from the the south, east and west to converge at Stonewell (the site of St Mary's Well), where the land gradually flattens to a plain, the Green Ayre, leading north to the river.

Early, or at least Roman, Lancaster appears not to have extended north beyond the line of Church Street, where the *vicus* lined the street leading from the fort's east gate, with St Leonard's Gate possibly being a route out of the town. This line having been determined by the path of the Lune itself, or at least the mill race. Nevertheless, we know that the Green Ayre did not see any substantial development until the C18, when there was a gradual covering over of the mill race, for standalone buildings and bridges for access.

By the 1740s, the Corporation had begun to lay out streets on the Green Ayre, including Chapel Street, and nearby Cable Street from 1759. This was followed by the creation of the first section of North Road (called Damside Street at this stage), in the 1770s, which follows the line of the mill race, to ease the route north out of the town to the new bridge (Skerton Bridge). Rosemary Lane appears to have been widened by the early C19, and other later streets were also added to ease that passage to the river, including Nile Street in the early C19, the Cheapside/North Road extension in the 1840s, and Phoenix Street by 1877.

In 1881, what had been known as Damside Street from the 1770s became North Road. This seems to have coincided with the opening of the Gillows Showroom.

Lodge Street is the product of the worker housing boom in the mid-C19. Its form and tight corner off St Leonard's Gate, down the side of the Grand Theatre, was determined by the old entrance to Cooper's Fields or Playhouse Fields.

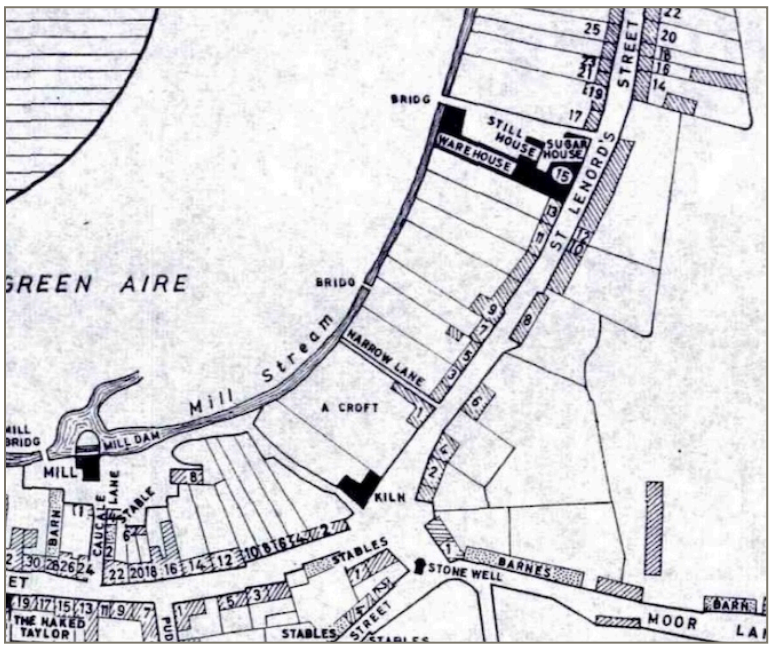
In addition to these main routes are the narrow lanes, which still survive, including Calkeld Lane and Dye House Lane. These lanes provided north-south access; Calkeld Lane being one of the earliest routes in the HSHAZ, and can be seen on Docton's 1684 map appearing to provide access to the mill. As well as being used for small-scale industry, these narrow lanes became the addresses of the poorer members of the population during the C19, as did the court and yard developments to which the long narrow burgage plots lent themselves.

Whilst there appear to have been a number of court and yard developments in the HSHAZ, many of these were cleared between the wars. Old Sugar House Alley and Spring Court were cleared to make way for the Gillows development on St Leonard's Gate and North Road in the early 1880s. What we know today as Sugar House Alley was

formerly Spring Court, in which 13 households resided in 1841. The Gillows showroom sits on the site of Old Sugar House Alley which contained 16 households in 1851. However, Swan Court does survive to the rear of no. 133 St Leonard's Gate.

Despite the clearances, there is still a density to much of the area, which results in a noticeable lack of open space.

The rebuilding of the earlier timber and thatched buildings in stone which took place gradually over the course of the C18 and C19, did not sweep away the historic burgage plot patterns which are in evidence on Docton's 1684 map, as they obviously represented property boundaries.[94] Even today, evidence of them can be seen in the form of the layouts, especially at the bottom of Lower Church Street and in St Leonard's Gate. Examples can be seen from the narrow plot of the former dance studio on the north side of the Grand Theatre. Docton and Mackreth's maps are particularly helpful in illustrating this.



Extract from Docton's map of 1684 showing the HSHAZ area



Extract from Mackreth's 1778 map showing the HSHAZ area (rotated to face north)

[94] White, op. cit., 2003, p. 33

2.5. Buildings and architectural quality

The HSHAZ contains a huge variety of buildings of different ages and architectural styles. Whilst a number of these buildings are recognised as being nationally significant, and are listed, there are many others which are also architecturally significant, and which make an important contribution to the street scene. Many of the key buildings within the Mill Race area are described below.

Despite their range, the buildings are unified by the use of the local buff sandstone, Millstone Grit, which has long characterised the local area. This stone came from local quarries, particularly those on the Moor, which can be seen on the 1840s OS map, and were in operation until the 1870s and 80s. Williamson Park now occupies the sites. Quarrying of the stone in Lancaster ceased in 1938, though continued in the district, a quarry at Ellel only ceasing operations in 1985.[95]

Stone slate was also used for roofing initially, following the use of thatch. However, by the mid-C18, Cumbrian slate was being more widely used, which would be laid in diminishing courses, as the stone slate was, and by the end of the century it was common-place in the town.[96] Some Welsh slate can be found too, following the arrival of the railway to the town.

2.5.1. Housing

The earliest two surviving, albeit altered, buildings in the HSHAZ are numbers 8 and 6 Church Street. These rendered late C17 and e. C18 former houses are both grade II listed. No. 8 forms part of the Stonewell Tap.



The Stonewell Tap and no. 6 Church Street

The other early domestic buildings are grander affairs and a reflection of the area's mercantile heritage; three impressive three-bay, three-storey, mid-C18 former merchants' houses on Chapel Street (no.s 7-11), built in coursed squared sandstone, with ashlar dressings: quoins, coped gables with kneelers at each end, and raised plain windows surrounds. Since all three now have shopfronts, many may not read them as former houses. An even larger late C18 three-storey merchants' house can be seen at no. 127 St Leonard's Gate (former Tramway Hotel). This five-bay, three-storey house was built using ashlar to the front, and also has quoins and with partly coped gables and kneelers. An adjacent pair of

[95] Gardner, S, *Natural Stone Source Directory*, Lancaster City Council

[96] White A., *The Buildings of Georgian Lancaster*, 2000, pp. 6-7

more modest three-storey houses of a similar date, were converted into shops with c. 1900 shopfronts.



No.s 129-131 St Leonard's Gate. Late C18 houses with C.1900 shopfronts

The houses on the opposite side of the St Leonard's Gate, whilst also dating from the late C18 are of a different style, displaying an elegant neo-classical symmetry, built using large ashlar blocks with narrower joints and pedimented door cases with engaged columns and no window surrounds. They were built as two mirrored pairs, to give the appearance of single, larger houses. No.s 108-10 dating from 1792, have the doors at the centre in a shared door case, whereas no.s 112-14 have a door case at each end, in the outer bays. They each have raised entrances which are set back from the street behind railings.

[97] Hartwell & Pevsner, op. cit. pp. 371-2



No.s 108-110 St Leonard's Gate, late C18 houses

2.5.2. Community buildings

The only other building in the HSHAZ which is set back from the street frontage, and behind railings, is St John's Church, dating from earlier in the C18 (1754-5). This elegant five-bay church with its distinctive apsidal east end, and its tall semi-circular headed windows, is thought to be by Henry Stephenson. The elegant and prominent tower was added later, in 1784 by Thomas Harrison. This grade II* listed building has the impressive interior you might expect from a Georgian church, with galleries and fine box pews. It also contains Shrigley and Hunt stained glass from 1870 in the north chapel and north aisle.[97]



Church of St John the Evangelist, North Road (credit Ian Hamilton)

The Grand Theatre, dating from 1782, and described as “a treat” in Pevsner, is Lancaster’s oldest playhouse. Whilst it has been altered several times, with the front dating from 1884, the recently conserved south west elevation displays its Georgian origins. It has an impressive free Renaissance style interior too, which dates from after a fire in 1908.[98]

Another prominent spire with the HSHAZ is that of the late C19 Centenary Church, built by the Congregationalists in 1879-81 to serve the growing community in this part of Lancaster, and to celebrate the centenary of the Independent Chapel on High Street. Built in free Early English (Gothic) style, using rock-faced coursed sandstone with ashlar dressings[99], it is located on the corner of St Leonard’s Gate, providing a sense of arrival at Stonewell. The height of its spire is exactly half that of St Peter’s Cathedral, and within this part of Lancaster it is certainly a landmark.



98 St Leonard’s Gate, a, late C18 warehouse building, now student accommodation

2.5.3. Warehouses

The earliest surviving warehouse buildings within the Mill Race area are those at 47 North Road, to the rear of no. 11 Chapel Street and 98 St Leonard’s Gate, all of which appear to date from around the late C18 and can therefore be seen on Mackreth’s 1778 map. No. 47 North Road is a long three-storey building one bay wide to North Road, and sits within the rear plot (burgage plot) of no. 108-10 St Leonard’s Gate, and built across the mill race. It is a building of stone rubble with ashlar dressings, including some quoins to the North Street elevation. Its loading slot is on the left hand side. It is a prominent and smart building which certainly contributes to the industrial feel of the area. The building was still in use as a warehouse in 1947, by corn merchants Creighton & Co. (Lancaster Guardian 2/5/47). The building was converted to student accommodation several years ago. The adjacent buildings (no.s 41-45) include what appears to be an C18 workshop building (on Mackreth’s map), with its street frontage altered, and early C19 additions.



47 North Road in the foreground, with new infill student accommodation beyond

[98] Ibid, p. 397

[99] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1288711 (accessed

Another three-storey listed warehouse can be found attached to the rear of no. 11 Chapel Street. This is tucked away on Dye House Lane, so is not as prominent, but is none the less an important reminder of the area's mercantile past. Its three-bay gable can be seen in views down Butterfield Street, and looking north up Dye House Lane from Damside Street the warehouse range can be seen with the loading slots and hoist locations. The taller five-bays on the left-hand side fronting Dye House Lane are part of the late-C18 warehouse, that on the right having been added during C19.[100]



Late C18 warehouse to the rear of 11 Chapel Street.

To the left-hand side of the entrance to Dye House Lane from Damside Street is another former warehouse (recently revealed), which is likely to date from the late C18 or early C19, and is probably of the same date as the adjoining pair of former houses, all of which appear on Binn's 1821 map. They sit on top of the Mill Race and are roughly in the location of the town's former mill. A single building is shown in this location on Mackreth's 1778 map. The other two pairs of former houses on the other side of the Dye House Lane entrance match these. They each form a mirrored pair of three-storeys and three-bays, with twin doors in the central bay. They are constructed from coursed sandstone rubble, with raised ashlar door and window surrounds. Apart from no.s 2-4, the middle bays at first and second floor levels have blind windows, indicative of the the party wall location. The heavy looking transoms to the centre upper floor windows of no.s 2-4 also indicate this. To the rear, the adjoining stair windows at the centre of the pairs show the position of the original stairs, either side of the party wall.

Damside Street throughout the C18 and C19, especially towards the river, was heavily built up with warehousing and dwellings alongside one another.



No. 10-14 Damside Street, on the site of the town's former mill, over the mill race

[100] https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1290590

2.5.4. Commercial

Whilst many retail premises outside the centre of the town were formerly houses, there are some within the mill race area which were were purpose-built shops including no.s 3-5 Stonewell, which occupy the prominent corner plot with Moor Lane. They form part of Richard Baxter's redevelopment of this corner, which includes Gee's Court behind, where he had his warehouse, in the 1880s. Baxter was a woollen and linen draper and his shop was at no.s 4-5. They were built with ground floor shops (the current shop front is modern), with residential accommodation above.[101] They are built in coursed sandstone blocks, with raised plain stone window surrounds and projecting stone corbels at the eaves supporting the gutters. The windows large with quite square proportions.

Examples of larger purpose-built retail premises; showrooms, are another feature of the mill race area, which began to appear at the end of the C19 and into the early C20.

The largest buildings within the Mill Race area, are clearly the Gillows factory, later known as St Leonard's House, on St Leonard's Gate, and the Gillows showroom on North Road. Both buildings date from 1881-2. St Leonard's House is a four storey, plus attic, squared coursed sandstone building, with eleven bays of paired windows. The clerestory lighting has been altered recently as part of its conversion to student accommodation. The left-hand side, which was added in the 1920s, is a reinforced concrete framed building which doubled its size. Its ten bays highlighted by the dark painted concrete columns and the brick infill panels. They are very prominent buildings within St Leonard's Gate, and dominate views into the area from the Canal Quarter. To the rear, fronting North Road is the Waring & Gillows showroom, which is attributed to Lancaster's most important architectural practice, Paley & Austin. The 18-bay North Road frontage is built in a free Elizabethan style, with 3 storeys plus cellars and attics. This has also recently been adapted to create student residential accommodation.



Former Gillows factory, St Leonard's Gate. 1881/2 building with 1920s extension, and recent attic addition.



Gillows showrooms, North Road, in 1917 (Historic England ref. BL23741/001

[101] CCN, op. cit., Gazetteer, p. 109

2.5.5. Revivalism of the late C19 and early C20

Several other building within the HSHAZ area are attributed to Austin & Paley, one of those being another showroom: the bold and distinctive Baroque Revival curved car showroom building, located on North Road, where it meets Damside Street, on the site of the town's first Dispensary. The plans were approved in 1902 for this building which is thought to be one of the earliest purpose-built car showrooms in the country.



Paley & Austin's Baroque Revival car showroom, c. 1902

The other Paley & Austin building, which is also designed in a Baroque Revival style, is the Drill Hall, built for the Rifle Volunteers of the King's Own Royal Lancashire Regiment, dating from c.1900 on Phoenix Street. This single storey frontage, which rises to two storeys at the entrance, responding to the incline of the street, is particularly distinctive with its four scrolled gables but its scale gives the street a friendly, domestic feel.



Drill Hall, Phoenix Street c. 1900

However, Paley & Austin were not the only ones to embrace the revivalism fashion during the the late C19 and early C20. The area is notable for the number of revival style buildings within in it.

The adjacent former working men's club, on Pheonix Street, is of a similar date, and also built in a Baroque Revival style, but has a different feel, having heavily rusticated stonework to the ground floor, and is a more imposing building with its oriel window set within a recessed arch detail.



Baroque Revival Phoenix Working Men's Club

Adjacent to the Centenary Church are the Cromwell Buildings, a substantial block which is curved to follow the sweep of the road, providing a strong feature to that corner of North Road and Rosemary Lane. It dates from 1899 and was designed by Robert Walker of Windermere for the Trustees of the attached Centenary Church.[102] Built using rock-faced and ashlar sandstone, like the church, though stylistically it clearly differs and draws from the revival styles that were so popular at the turn of the century.



Cromwell Buildings, alongside the Centenary Church, Rosemary Lane

The 1899 former carriage showroom on St Leonard's Gate (no. 113), whilst a much simpler building certainly also draws from the Renaissance Revival in its stonework details.

2.6. Streetscape and key views

A variety of surfacing materials can be seen in the mill race area. Whilst they may go unnoticed by many, they do contribute to the character and feel of an area, whether or not we are conscious of it.

There are extensive sections where a mixture of tarmac or concrete flags and kerbs have been used. However, North Road (the former Damside Street section) has managed to retain its broad stone kerb in parts, including outside and opposite St John's and at the entrance to Nile Street, which also retains its setted surface.

Stone setts appear to have survived in the courts and lanes, including Calkeld Lane, where they are in noticeably good condition, but they can also be seen in part in Dye House Lane, in Pitt Street and Swan Court. The road surfaces themselves would once have been laid in stone setts, as can be seen historic photographs of the area. These were hardwearing and able to withstand the flow of horse-drawn traffic. Many have been lost, though most are probably simply covered in tarmac.

Stone flagged pavements with broad stone kerbs remain along part of St Leonard's Gate, from the Centenary Church as far as Pitt Street, for the whole length of Phoenix Street, and the east side of North Road (the later section between Church Street and Damside Street).

[102] Stansfield, op. cit., p. 66

2.6.1. Views

There are many views worthy of note within the mill race area, many of them are indicated on the map below. The views both into and out of the area are the product of its topography. However, it is worth commenting that many of the views are dynamic ones, which change with the curvature of the street and gradient, such as the view down North Rd from the Cheapside/Church Street junction, with the late C18/early C19 former houses facing up the street. As the road curves to the right, St John's tower comes into view, finally revealing more of the church, and the other half of North Road.

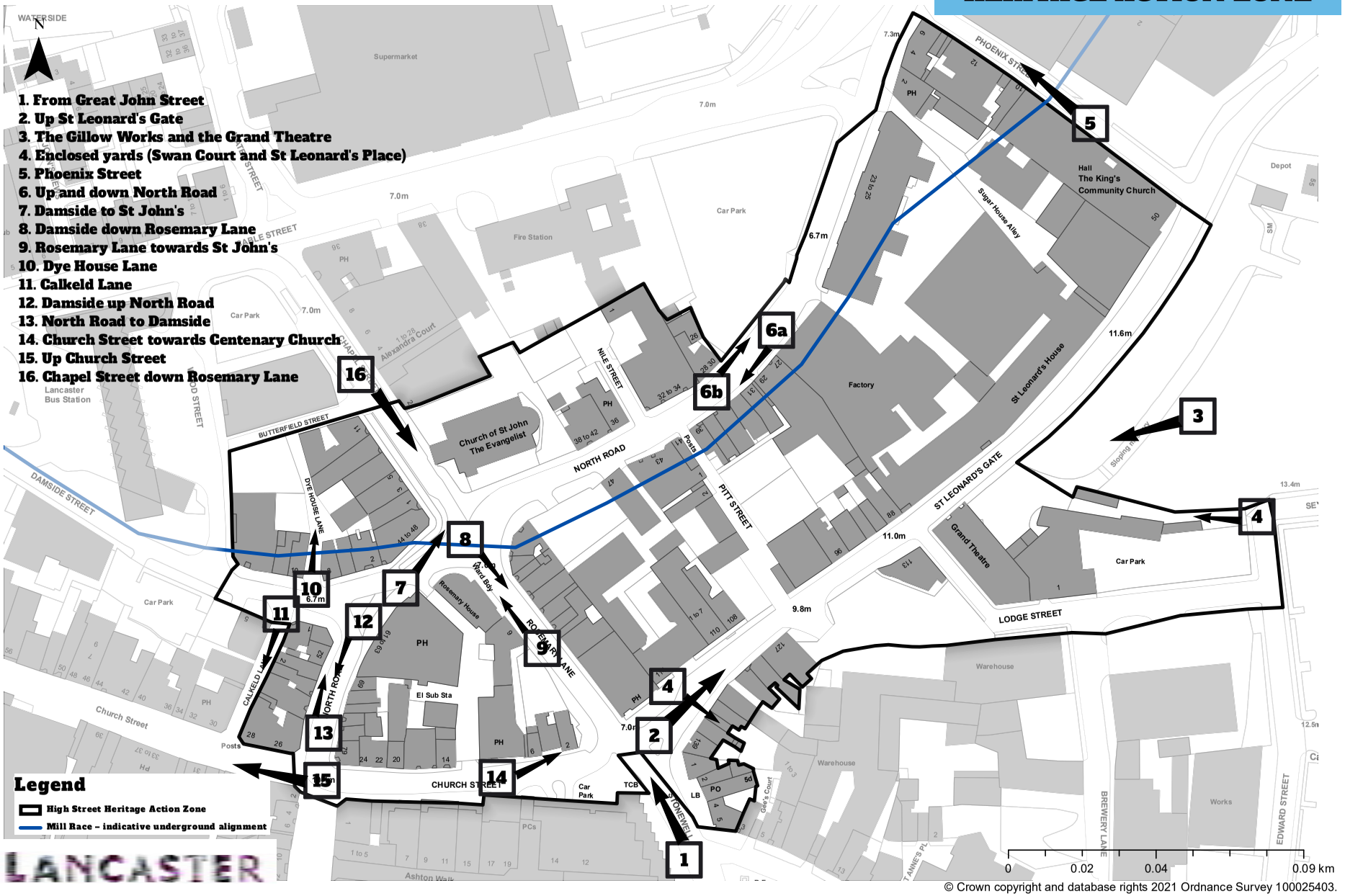
Many of the views involve the main routes, including those looking along St Leonard's Gate, both north east and south west, both of which feature St Leonard's House, juxtaposed with the more domestic scale of the other properties, including the Grand Theatre. St Leonard's House also provides a dramatic backdrop to views into the area from the higher ground to the east.

A number of the views are defined by key buildings either at the end of a vista or marking a node point. The views also illustrate the positive nature of many of the frontages which work well with the topography, such as the curved and sweeping form of some of the roads in the area, for which the mill race was partly responsible.

Glimpses into the more confined spaces of Dye House Lane and Swan Court too are no less important which give an important reminder of the small-scale industry on the backland and of court and yard housing that was so prevalent in the area.

Lancaster High Street Heritage Action Zone- Key Views

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE



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1



5



2



6a



3



6b



4



7



8



12



9



13



10



14



11



15

3. Assessing significance

"If such places are to be conserved successfully, it is important to be very clear about their significance - what it is we value about them. Unless we understand why a place is worthy of conservation, the whole business of conservation makes very little sense". [103]

Why assessing significance is important

Understanding why a place is significant is key to managing change. By understanding what makes it important, it is easier to understand what the potential threats to that significance is, as well as the opportunities to enhance it. All of these elements will combine to inform the future management of the area.

Significance is a collective term for the sum of all the heritage values attached to a place, be it a building, an archaeological site or a larger historic area such as a whole village or landscape. The *National Planning Policy Framework* (NPPF) defines significance as, "The value of a heritage asset to this and future generations because of its heritage interest. The interest may be archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic."

How it is assessed

Historic England's *Conservation Principles* (2008) sets out a method for thinking systematically and consistently about the heritage values that can be ascribed to a place. It sets out four values, similar to those in the NPPF, that contribute to the significance of all heritage assets:

Some values can be appreciated simply as a spontaneous, although culturally influenced, response; but people's experience of all heritage values tends to be enhanced by specific knowledge about the place.[104]

This assessment of significance of the area, which is intended to be an overarching analysis about what is important about the area, will be based on the heritage values as set out in *Conservation Principles.* However, not all the values will apply in every case*:*

- **Evidential** - The potential of a place to yield evidence about past human activity, this derives from the physical remains, including archaeological.
- **Historical** - The ways in which past people, events and aspects of life can be connected through a place to the present. This tends to be illustrative and/or associative.
- **Aesthetic** - The ways in which people draw sensory and intellectual stimulation from a place.
- **Communal** - The meanings of a place for the people who relate to it, or for whom it

[103] Clark, K., Informed Conservation, English Heritage, 2001, p. 12

[104] *Conservation Principles: Policies and Guidance*, English Heritage, 2008, para. 34

figures in their collective experience or memory.

Levels of significance

An overall conclusion about the level of their significance is given on a five-point scale from 'High' to 'None', as follows:

- **High -** this is the highest level of significance and is attributable to a theme, building, feature or space which has a high cultural value and forms an essential part of understanding the area, whilst also greatly contributing towards its character and appearance. They are of local and regional importance and may also be of national importance. There are 19 listed buildings within the HSHAZ boundary; St John's is grade II* listed and the other buildings are grade II. They have all been recognised for their national significance, as well as having clear local and regional significance.

- **Medium-high -** these are themes, buildings, feature or spaces, which have a cultural value and form an important part of understanding the area, whilst also helping to contribute towards its character and appearance. They are likely to be of local and regional significance.

- **Medium -** these are themes, buildings, feature or spaces of local significance which make a positive contribution to the townscape and to an understanding of the area's evolution, which may just be of local interest.

- **Low -** these are buildings, features or spaces which have minor cultural value but which may contribute towards the character and appearance of the area, even in a small way.

- **None** - Buildings, features or spaces of no heritage value. They may also have an adverse impact on the overall heritage value fo the townscape or setting of a listed building.

3.1. Assessment by street

The area's significance has been assessed by street and within that, individual buildings have been considered. An overall conclusion about the street has been given. The final Statement of Significance summarises the HSHAZ area as a whole.

3.1.1. North Road (NE section)

Unlike a number of the other principal roads in the area, North Road's origins can be dated with certainty to the C18. The north side of the road, to the east of the Chapel Street/Rosemary Lane junction was built on the Green Ayre, which until that point had been undeveloped, other than the town's mill which sat over the mill race. However, it had been used for recreation, and is likely to have been used as such during Lancaster's Roman phase, if not underwater at that time. The road was constructed in the 1770s to ease the passage though the town to Thomas Harrison's 'New Bridge', Skerton Bridge. It was called Damside Street until the 1880s.

The existing properties on the south side are built on top of the mill race, which was gradually covered by buildings and bridges, many of which are thought to survive as extant, including Sugar House Bridge and Lawson's Bridge.[105] They are also partially located on the sites of former medieval and post-medieval gardens or yards. The Gillows showroom is partially located on the site of Lancaster's first C17 sugarhouse, which later became the site of one of Lancaster's densely populated areas of C19 worker housing, known as Sugar House Alley, referred to in Richard Owen's 1845 report.

Mason Street was another densely populated area, which ran along the south western boundary of the Gillow site, with a network of court and yard housing leading off it, which Owen describes in detail. Not far from Mason Street was Pitt Street which also features in Owen's report, and was said to include cellar dwellings, which were considered "the ultimate in poor quality housing".[106] Nile Street also had some court and yard housing; Nile Court, close to St John's, which was photographed by Sam Thompson. The *evidential* potential of the area should therefore be considered **high,** as should North Road's *historical* significance, for what it tells us of Lancaster's period of prosperity during the second half of the C18, which resulted in the development of the Green Ayre, as well as the important part this area had to play in Lancaster's industrial heritage, particularly during the C19, and its associations with Richard Owen and Edmund Sharpe.

The road was clearly one used by travellers passing though the town. Many of the street frontage properties are early C19 former houses with later shopfront insertions, including no.s

[105] UAD ref. 456 (Sugar House Bridge) and UAD ref. 453 (Lawson's Bridge over Mill Race)

[106] Stewart, E. J., *Courts and Alleys: A history of Liverpool Courtyard Housing*, Museum of Liverpool, 2019, p.28

27-29, and no.s 35-39. No. 31-33 is the former Ship Inn, the current building dates from 1899, having been rebuilt on the site of an earlier inn, listed from 1772. No. 35 is listed as a temperance hotel in Slater's 1885 Directory, and in Cook's 1899 Directory. The proprietor in 1899, and in the 1901 Census, is Frances Chapman. At the time of the Census, there were nine boarders, including four masons' labourers, a railway porter and two commercial travellers



No.s 37 and 39 North Road, originally one house

No.s 37 and 39 appear to have been one property originally, a three-bay, three-storey house, but divided into two and the front elevation altered by the 1890s. The high number of windows, which are of the pivot variety, at second floor level may suggest it was adapted for light industrial purposes.



Rear of no.s 37 and 39 North Road. Central bay, including stair window, divided.

No. 41, a later C18 workshop building, had some interesting uses in the early 1900s; as a venue for written English language classes, and elementary German, with Walter Smith (various adverts in the Lancaster Guardian in 1901), and later as a clinic by Nurse Slater, a hernia specialist and surgical belt and truss maker. She appears to have travelled between Lancaster and Preston weekly offering free advice to women from 1919 and into the 1920s (e.g. Lancashire Evening Post 31 May 1919).

North Road was a key area both for housing the workers and as the location of much of the town's industrial activity, both from the small-scale (e.g. coach builders and harness makers) to the purpose-built c. 1882 Gillows showroom, of the internationally renowned furniture-makers, built

on the same site as the factory of the same date, and thought to be by Paley & Austin, designed in a free Elizabethan style (grade II listed). At the opposite end of this section of North Road, is St John's, a fine Georgian church (grade II*), and one of the area's earliest buildings, pre-dating North Road itself, from 1754-5, as well as the former C18 listed warehouse at no. 47. Together these landmark buildings provide focal points at each end of this curved street. Their architectural qualities, alongside many of the smaller-scale, but still distinctive, buildings on the street, such as the former mill building at the entrance to the Gillows site. This was used as their sawing mill, with the principal workshops above, before the 1880s development took place. During the C20, it was known as the Old Mill, which saw the first floor used as the Long Shop and polishers' workshops. It was also used by machinists cutting the wood roughly to shape and size.[107]

The aircraft hangar style building next door may be related to Gillows wartime work which included building aircraft parts during the First and Second World War. The C18 workshop building at no. 41, as well as some of the former houses with ground floor shop units, all contribute to a rich and varied architectural street scene. The road's *aesthetic* value should be ranked as **high**.

This section of North Road's communal value should be viewed in terms of the landmark buildings providing reference points for its distinctiveness and identity, as well as St John's having been used as a church until its closure in 1981, and the Gillow's site having remained in operation until 1962, the site employing 300 people at this point.[108] The building has been adapted to student flats, but prior that its use was as a nightclub. Its *communal* significance should therefore be ranked as **high**.



Workers at the Waring and Gillow factory in February 1950 (Historic England ref. CC017247)

3.1.2. North Road (SW section)

On the other side of the Chapel Street/Rosemary Lane junction, and the mill race, North Road continues, sweeping round the bend and up the hill to meet Church Street and Cheapside. The section of North Road leading down the hill from Church Street dates from c.1842, and was built as a continuation of Cheapside. As a result, many of the properties on each side of the road date from

[107] OAN, op. cit., 2019, pp. 16-17

[108] Constantine and Warde in White ed., op. cit., p.261

around this time, some built as commercial properties with domestic accommodation above, and some as houses, later being converted into shops.



Historic 'North Road' name partially survives on the the stonework

However, these replaced earlier buildings, and this land will have seen development certainly since the medieval period, especially due to its proximity to the Calkeld Well and the town's mill, and likely since the Roman period, making the archaeological or *evidential* potential and significance very **high**. The *historical* significance of the area should be ranked as **medium to high**. As with many places, the census information helps bring these areas to life, and this section of North Road, as an extension to the town centre, was clearly populated by tradespeople from at least the mid-C19, such as bootmakers, butchers, grocers and confectioners, hairdressers and inn keepers. The former White Hart was located on the corner of North Road and Church Street, the building dating from the creation of North Road. An inn had existed on the site since 1752, with water for the brewing taken from the well. The White Hart was also involved in the carrying business, as inns often were, which entailed parcels and goods being collected there for carriers to transport locally, and beyond. This service tended to be used for non-perishable and less valuable goods, which was more affordable than being sent by the quicker alternative, by road coach.[109]



Former White Hart Hotel, corner of North Road and Church Street, 1892

Further down the hill on the east side of the road, is the location of the town's first Dispensary in 1781. The Dispensary was established in a room in a building that once stood on the site now occupied by the attractive Austin & Paley building, approved in 1902, which was designed in a Baroque Revival style as one of the earliest purpose-built car showrooms, used more recently as a pub and shops. This building, together with the the other commercial premises which form an attractive group, dating from the mid-late C19 as

[109] White, op. cit., 2009, pp. 18-20

former houses and shops, give this part of North Road a **medium to high** significance for its *aesthetic* value. Its *communal* value should be viewed as being of **medium** significance, given its provision of local services and being the location of one of the area's key views down North Road, towards St John's.

3.1.3. Damside Street, Calkeld Lane and Dye House Lane

Damside Street dates from the C18, but today runs roughly from Dye House Lane to the Quay, and follows the line of the Mill Race, which sits on the north side of the street, flowing beneath no.s 2-14 Damside Street. Between no.s 8 and 10 is the entrance to Dye House Lane. Dye House Lane is first seen on Mackreth's 1778 map, but was further developed for small-scale industry and housing by the time of Binn's 1821 map, and throughout the C19. Census information shows that it was inhabited by the poorer members of society, and the area's unsanitary conditions are described in great detail by Richard Owen in his 1845 *Report of the State of Lancaster.*[110]

The basal features of the town's former C16 (post-1574) cornmill, which was demolished in 1755, are believed to survive beneath the groundwater level, below no.s 10-14 Damside Street, though they will have been impacted upon by the construction of cellars, during the late C18 or early C19.[111] The area around the mill was once an important hub for the town due the mill, and Calkeld Well very close-by. Calkeld Lane was first documented in C13, and its name derives from the Norse words for 'cold spring'.[112]



Setted Calkeld Lane, with its C19 worker housing

Regardless of whether the Mill Race represents the waterfront during the Roman period, or was a meander channel at that time, the area immediately to the south of the Mill Race, where the mill and well were located, is very likely to have formed part of the extramural settlement, based on what is understood of it so far. The archaeological potential is great in this area, and its *evidential* significance is therefore **high**. The

[110] Owen, op. cit., p.16

[111] UAD ref. 136 (Mill, Green Ayre, Lancaster)

[112] Horsefield, op. cit., p. 6

area's *historical* significance is also considered to be **high** for the reasons associated with the area's early community use as a hub for the mill and well. During the C19, when it was used by the worker population, large numbers of people lived in the area and depended on the water from the well, before residents had access to a piped water supply.[113] It is also therefore associated with Richard Owen. The east side of Calkeld Lane is illustrative of the poorer mid-C19 housing the census shows at that in 1841 it was occupied by a trunk maker, shoe binder, nail maker, shoemaker, wool comber, cotton spinner, a servant, a labourer and a pauper, amongst others.

Dye House Lane and Calkeld Lane are some of the only streets within the HSHAZ which retain setted surfaces, adding to the area's aesthetic and historical values. As regards its architectural significance, the group of three mirrored pairs of houses dating from the late C18 or e. C19 can be seen facing up North Road towards Cheapside. No. 12 has a warehouse building of the same date attached to the western side, which may be the isolated building seen on Mackreth's 1778 map. They all have shopfront insertions at ground floor. Despite some of the modern interventions, they are an important group of former houses which greatly contribute to the character of the area. Their vernacular appearance brings interest to the street scene alongside the group of later ashlar fronted properties which sweep up the hill towards Church Street. This area's *aesthetic* value is **medium to high**.

The communal value of these streets is likely to be lower, though Calkeld Lane appears to be well-used as a direct route into the town from the bus station, which may place it as being of **medium** significance.

3.1.4. Chapel Street

Like Damside Street, Chapel Street can be dated to the mid-C18, when the Corporation decided to develop the Green Ayre, as the port was beginning to thrive on the success of the transatlantic trade. The lots on which no.s 7-11 Chapel Street were built were let to Lancaster merchant, and slave trader, Thomas Butterfield on a 41-year lease, hence the name Butterfield Street (previously Cross Street), which runs down the north side of the properties. The three grade II listed properties, which date from after 1741,[114] are fine examples of C18 town houses, each of three bays and three storeys, with rusticated quoins. They have c.1900 shopfronts and are cellared properties. They are opposite St John's Church, and together form an important group, adding greatly to the character of the area. Their *architectural* significance is **high**.

The area possesses **high** significance for its *historical* value too, due its association with Thomas Butterfield and for illustrating how

[113] Owen, op. cit., p. 19

[114] White, op. cit., 2000, p. 47

wealthier members of the community lived alongside industrial premises; no. 11 has a warehouse attached to its service wing, which was used variously as cabinet makers' workshops, a school and a stained-glass workshop.[115] As mentioned above, Dye House Lane, which runs along the back of these properties, was also the location of a number of densely packed in workers' homes. As with Dye House Lane, the proximity to the town's former mill and Calkeld Well, despite being on the north side of the Mill Race, means that there is archaeological potential to reveal evidence of earlier periods, certainly of the post-medieval period, but perhaps of the medieval or even Roman. It is worth noting that a Roman coin was found on the site now occupied by Sainsburys on Cable Street, before 1842.[116] The *evidential* potential of this area is **high**.



No.s 7-11 Chapel Street, mid-C18 houses with late C18 warehouse to the rear of no. 11

3.1.5. Rosemary Lane

Like Chapel Street, Rosemary Lane is also associated with the Butterfield family. William Butterfield, brother of Thomas, was also heavily involved in Lancaster's mid-C18 slave trade (See Atlantic Trade). He also held the position of Mayor of Lancaster and Constable of Lancaster Castle. At the time of his death, he owned three houses on Rosemary Lane (Rosemary Row), and three on Chapel Row (all on the site of the Cromwell Buildings), all of which can still be seen on the 1890s OS map.

Rosemary Lane is clearly shown on Docton's 1864 map, and was known as Stinking Lane, during the C18. It still depicted as a narrow lane on Mackreth's 1778 map, but by 1821, it had been widened and was to see further development during the C19.

Interestingly, a building which appears to survive from 1684 into the C19 , is that identified as a 'Kiln' on Docton's map. On Speed's 1610 map, the lane is shown, but with an open channel running down the centre of it, from St Mary's Well or Stonewell, to the Mill Race. This is clearly an area of **high** *evidential* and *historical* potential, and the UAD states that it is an area of high prehistoric and Roman potential.[117]

[115] Ibid, p.47

[116] UAD ref. 54

[117] UAD ref. 60

During the C19, the west side of the road saw further development, including the pleasing three bay, three storey house at no. 6, which survives and first appears on the 1840s OS, along with the two storey stone buildings which project off the south corner of the property at an angle. In the C19 this formed an alley with another line of buildings running parallel to it. There was a covered access from Church Street, down the side of the White Horse (now Stonewell Tap). This was called White Horse Yard (also known as Hemingway's Yard), which is named on the 1892 OS 1:500 map, home to a bread baker and his family in the 1881 Census.



Hemingway's Yard (formerly White Horse Yard) in 1927, Sam Thompson (UAD ref. 296)

Down the right-hand side of no. 6 Rosemary Lane was an alley leading to Little John Street, a dense development of worker housing. The other access was via a covered passage off Lower Church Street, to the right-hand side of no. 14. The open triangular area of grass that we can see today was tightly packed with buildings in the late C19 and there appears to have been some other court and yard housing too.

As well as White Horse Yard, this green space also looks to have been the location of Coupe Yard, which contained 2 households in the 1891 and 1901 census, one of them housing six people, three of them lodgers, at the time of the Census in 1891. The *evidential* value of this area is **high.**

By 1901, there are only four households on Rosemary Lane, but three shops are mentioned in the Census, a fruiterer's warehouse and shop, a butcher's shop and a draper's shop. By this time, the east side of the Lane had been redeveloped and the Cromwell Buildings, designed by Robert Walker of Windermere, had been completed (in 1899), on behalf of the Centenary Church Trustees. This large development, whilst built in a different architectural style to the Church, is of the same scale and materials, and they work well together. The Cromwell Buildings provide a positive frontage, with some pleasing stone detail to the shopfronts, and addresses the curve of the street. Modern Rosemary House opposite responds to this in its scale and form. The *aesthetic v*alue of this area should be ranked as **medium to high**.

Cromwell Hall was built as an assembly hall, and was used as one of Lancaster's earliest cinemas, before the purpose-built cinemas appeared. Rooms adjacent to the hall were also used by the Church's Pleasant Sunday Afternoon (PSA)

Institute.[118] The *communal* value of Rosemary Lane is **medium**.

3.1.6. Lower Church Street

Church Street is considered to be one of the oldest routes in Lancaster, which during the Middle Ages was known as St Marygate. It is well acknowledged that Church Street, running from Castle Hill down to Stonewell was the principal road of the Roman extramural settlement. Roman finds have been collected and reported from Church Street for three centuries.[119] For this reason, it is clear that the *archaeological* potential of Lower Church Street is very **high**, outside of the cellared areas. Given that the redevelopment of St Nicholas Street on the land opposite in the 1970s did not involve any archaeological excavation, makes this side of the street all the more important to manage appropriately.

Lower Church Street from the C18 was considered to be of lower status than further up the hill. The fact that it was not fully redeveloped during this period of prosperity suggests this. Gideon Yates' watercolour of C.1800 illustrates this nicely. Some of the HSHAZ's oldest buildings can be found here, at no. 6 (grade II, early C18), and no. 8 (grade II, late C17), currently the Stonewell Tap, though originally the White Horse, an inn from 1806, which includes an early C19 three-storey addition. No. 8 is thought the be a rare surviving seventeenth-century building.[120] The Stonewell Tap having remained in continuous use as a pub for so long, as well as some the food related uses within the area means that its communal value is considered to be of **medium to high** significance.

No. 22-24 Church Street, an early C19 house, now a shop, is an example of rebuilding which took place along this stretch of Church Street. This ashlar three-storey, three-bay house has a double-depth plan, and is grade II listed. Adjacent to this are some slightly later C19 houses, with shopfronts added during the C20. The access to the rear of the properties was once much narrower, as there were further properties between the former White Horse and no. 14 Church Street. Evidence of where the buildings were attached at first floor level can be seen on the gable end of no. 14, where a stone fire surround survives. To the left of no. 14 was a narrow covered passageway leading to Little John Street, a densely packed example of alley housing, with a courtyard leading off it. Between no. 22-24 and no. 20 was another covered narrow passage leading to a further court, Crooked Billet Yard.

It is interesting to think that when Mary Fielding, the botanist and botanical illustrator, was living at no. 18 from 1842, until her death in 1895, that just behind her house were networks of courts and

[118] Stansfield, op. cit., p. 66

[119] OAN, op. cit., 2008, p. 8

[120] White, op. cit., 2009, p. 140

yards housing vast numbers of workers. She and her husband, the botanist, Henry Borron Fielding, had moved there, "to a more airy house", away from the dampness of their Bolton le-Sands home. Mary Fielding's six volumes of botanical watercolours, many of Lancashire plants, is considered to be "an important source for the study of the county's flora in the early nineteenth century".[121] In terms of this area's illustrative and associative value, its historical significance should be considered **high.** The area also has **medium to high** *aesthetic* value for the range of architectural periods represented.



No.s 14-24 Church Street

3.1.7. Stonewell

Stonewell is currently considered likely to be the eastern extent of the Roman settlement, based on antiquarian reports of Roman material in this area, and evidence for burials, which are typically found outside the built-up settlement, having been noted here.[122] Fortunately, most of the Stonewell properties are also un-cellared. On the basis of this, the archaeological and *evidential* potential of the area should be considered **high** for the Roman period, but also for later periods. Stonewell is likely to have formed an important junction since at least the medieval period, but it is certainly evident on Speed's 1610 map, where the well is also indicated, often referred to as St Mary's Well, St Marygate (Church Street) having led down to it. Its *historical* value is also considered **high**.

The junction was also the terminus for the Lancaster and District Tramway which were horse-drawn, and travelled along Rosemary Lane, Chapel Street, and North Road, across the Lune, to Market Street in Morecambe. They operated from 1890 until 1921.[123] The tramcars and tramlines can be seen in numerous historic photographs of the area.



Last Horse Drawn Tram to Morecambe, Stonewell 31/12/21. No. 1 Stonewell can be seen on the left of the picture (Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection)

[121] Jackson, B. D., rev. by Kell, P. E., 'Fielding, Henry Borron' (1805-1851), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 (this version 2011) [https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9401 accessed 15/6/21]

[122] Shotter in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p.15

[123] http://www.tramwaybadgesandbuttons.com/page148/styled-79/styled-66/page493.html [accessed 6/6/21]

The Stonewell 'nose' is made up of 5 properties, each appearing to date from the late C19. However, it is interesting to note that the building line, which involves no. 1 stepping forward beyond the line of the adjacent buildings, has been maintained since Mackreth's 1778 map. No.s 1 and 2 have seen a number of modern additions and alterations, which have eroded their appearance somewhat. However, no. 3-5, formed part of a c.1883 redevelopment by Richard Baxter, a linen and woollen draper, which involved shops with domestic accommodation above. A three-storey outrigger was built to the rear of no. 3. Baxter also rebuilt and improved the access to Gee's Court behind (accesses off Moor Lane).[124] Whilst the upper floor elevations have remained in-tact, the shopfront is modern. No. 1 and no. 3-5 are both landmark buildings which feature within key views of the area. Stonewell's *architectural* and *aesthetic* values are considered to be of **medium** significance.



The Stonewell 'nose' from the corner of Lower Church Street

For their landmark status, and for the local services they provide (no. 3 is a post office), they are considered to have **medium to high** *communal* value.

3.1.8. St Leonard's Gate

St Leonard's Gate is another of Lancaster's early routes, which we know was well-established by post-medieval times, and is identified on Speed's 1610 map. It is likely that it has Roman origins, however there has not yet been any formal archaeological investigation within the area. The *archaeological* potential for Roman evidence within this area is high, as it is for the medieval and early post-medieval periods, given that we know the road led to the leper hospital of St Leonard, founded in the C12, just outside the town's boundary. It was the second oldest religious foundation in the town.[125]

Docton's 1684 map shows a clearly defined street frontage with land behind, divided up into burgage plots, particularly along the north west side of the street, which is thought to represent the medieval pattern. It is therefore anticipated that investigation within these plots might yield evidence of medieval activity in the area, and the archaeological potential for that is also high.

One of the plots identifiable on Docton's map is that upon which the Sunday School (dated 1887)

[124] CCN, op. cit., Gazetteer, p. 109

[125] White, A., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, pp. 64-5

at the corner of Phoenix Street sits. This is the site of merchant Robert Lawson's C18 house near to the town's first Sugarhouse. It would appear that the Sunday School was built on top of the lower storeys here, and there is evidence of the earlier structure, including window surrounds, on the Phoenix Street elevation. There is also potential to find evidence of the sugarhouse on the adjacent site, though the previous building to occupy the site is likely to have been cellared. Nevertheless, the *evidential* potential here is **high**.



Side elevation of the former Sunday School, built on top of Robert Lawson's C18 house.

The earliest surviving extant buildings in St Leonard's Gate date from the later C18. The largest house, which is likely to have been built for a merchant is no. 127, a grade II listed building, which is double-pile plan five-bay, three-storey building. Towards the end of the C19, it was adapted by Mitchell's Brewery to a hotel, the Tramway, named after the Lancaster & District Tramway which operated nearby from Stonewell. This closed in the 1980s and it remained vacant until relatively recently when it was converted into flats. Other houses of a high social status can be seen on the opposite side of the road, no.s 108-114. These late C18 elegant neo-classical houses were built as two mirrored pairs, using large ashlar blocks. Unlike the other houses on St Leonard's Gate, these houses are set back from the street behind railings. They are all grade II listed.



No. 127 St Leonard's Gate, the former Trmway, now flats

Next to no. 127 is pair of more modest threee-storey c.1800 houses (no.s 129-31), also listed. No. 129 was used as a beerhouse, the Cabinet Makers' Arms from 1865 until they both had shopfronts inserted during the 1890s. They are significant not only for their early date as houses, but also for their partly in-tact shopfronts. Further up the the road, on the north west side, are a series of smaller domestic buildings, all of 3-storeys.

No. 96, the former Shakespeare, originally a tavern, is thought to be late C18. It is first recorded in 1794, but it might be earlier given its connection with the Theatre opposite.[126] The adjacent houses are later, dating from the C19. On the other side of the Shakespeare, is a late C18 former warehouse building (now flats) which is evident on Binn's 1821 map, complete with the covered passage, still open, which was originally the St Leonard's Gate access to Pitt Street, which led to a block of late C18/e.C19 terraced houses (since demolished), and later to some courts and yards. As with some of the other lanes in the area, Pitt Street retains its traditional setted surface, adding to the area's aesthetic value.



The former Shakespeare tavern, late C18.

There is a terrace of four, two-storey early C19 properties at the Stonewell end of St Leonard's Gate (no.s 133-39), which are significant as examples of early C19 houses with ground floor shops. The front elevations are faced in ashlar and the terrace is an important part of he character of the area, though they are in need of investment. No. 133 is significant as an example of an early C19 beerhouse; The Swan or Black Swan. It was built on the site of an earlier establishment, dating from the mid-C18, the Swan with Two Necks.



Swan Court, a rare surviving early C19 speculative worker housing development

No. 135 incorporates a covered access to Swan Court, Lancaster's only surviving example of C19 workers' court housing. This terrace of eleven, single-aspect, or 'blind-back' cottages is an example of housing that was once common in Lancaster, and in other industrial towns across northern England, and elsewhere. However, survivals are now very rare, making this survival highly significant, and of national importance. Other than no. 1, the terrace has not been occupied for over 60 years, and is now in a poor state of repair and at risk. The traditional setted surface has also partially survived within the yard,

[126] White, op. cit., 2009, p. 123

adding to the aesthetic value. However, the surface of the covered passage has been covered in tarmac, though the break in the stone paving to indicate the entrance in stone setts, both of Swan Court and Well's Yard, between no.s 131 and 133, are also important survivals.

To the rear of no. 135 is a re-set dated lintel of 1701, which includes the initials, 'T&IG', which is thought to have been re-used from Stonewell House, built by Thomas Gibson.

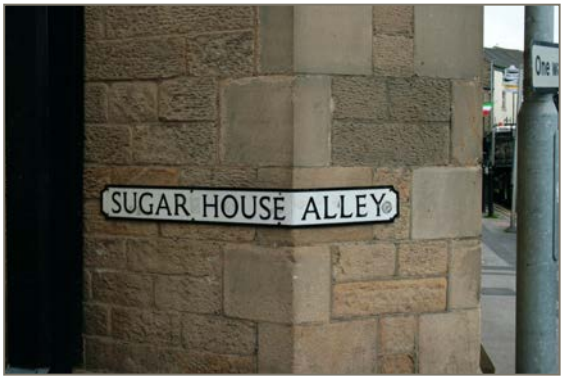
The *historical, evidential and aesthetic* values of this part of St Leonard's Gate should be viewed as **highly significant**. It is also worth noting that much of St Leonard's Gate's historic frontage buildings, as well as the courts and yards behind, on the south east side of the road were were cleared during the 1960s, making the remaining frontages all the more significant. These clearances left the Grand Theatre somewhat isolated.

This important Georgian Theatre is highly significant and has high aesthetic, historical, evidential and communal value for its almost continued use as a theatre since 1782. The alterations carried out over time represent the several occasions that the theatre reinvented itself to fit in with the changing social scene, as well as following a fire in 1908. Its associations with Edmund Sharpe, who owned the theatre for a number of years, are important. Sharpe was responsible for the pair of mid-C19 cottages attached to the theatre. It would be interesting to know whether Sharpe's experiences of inspecting the conditions in the court and yard housing alongside Richard Owen for his 1845 *Report of the State of Lancaster*, had any bearing on the design of the cottages, or modifications to the arrangement.

Another building on the SE side which escaped the 1960s clearance is William Richmond's 1899 carriage showroom. His workshop was just round the corner in Lodge Street. This is an unusual building, featuring large areas of glazing, with stonework reflecting the late C19/e.C20 trend for revival architecture, in this case, Renaissance-style. It is considered to have **medium to high** significance for its *aesthetic* and *historical* value.

Opposite the theatre and cottages is St Leonard's Gate's most substantial street frontage, the imposing and striking former Gillow factory and workshops, St Leonard's House. This complex of buildings, which includes the former showrooms on North Road, are highly significant as one of the major provincial furniture makers in the C18, C19 and C20s, selling to an international market. This should be viewed as having high significance for its aesthetic, historical, evidential and communal values, having only ceased operations in 1962, when 300 people were employed. The 11-bay sandstone building, of 4-storey, plus attic, dates from 1881. The 10-bay reinforced concrete framed building, with brick infill panels dated from the early C20. Having been used by the then new Lancaster University in 1964, whilst the Bailrigg Campus was being built, it is now back in use as

student accommodation. One of the buildings within the site, which has a high communal value is The Sugarhouse nightclub, run by Lancaster University Students' Union (LUSU) since 1984. There is a move to rename the venue, following a petition by students during 2021.



The entrance to Sugar House Alley from North Road

The Sugarhouse nightclub is accessed via Sugar House Alley, a covered passage through St Leonard House, which links St Leonard's Gate to North Road. This route is shown as being part of Sugar House Yard on Mackreth's 1778 map, the site of the town's first sugarhouse, though on Binn's 1821 map it has become Spring Court, which provided homes for up to 13 households, as the 1841 Census reveals, and is last recorded in the 1881 Census, containing 6 households. The houses were inhabited by hatters, milliners, upholsterers, cabinet makers, coach builders, labourers, dyers and cotton spinners. These houses were cleared to make way for the Gillow development. The historical value of this area is **high**.

A building of high significance for its communal value, is the Centenary Church, a congregational church dating from 1879-81. It closed in 1967, but was used by Lancaster University, in its early days. It opened as a pub in 2003, finally closing in 2015. It has remained empty since then, though there are plans to repair and re-use the building for leisure purposes. Pevsner describes this Early Gothic church as being, "Crude in the details".[127] Nevertheless, it is an imposing building with real presence on the corner of St Leonard's Gate, and the tower is certainly a landmark.

It is clear that St Leonard's Gate should be viewed as having **high** evidential, historic, aesthetic and communal values overall. This is a complex road, representing such a mix of historic and architectural periods, as well as building types. It is a prime example of where different social classes lived and worked alongside one another. It clearly appealed to the merchant classes due to its access both to the river and industrial premises, but it remained largely underdeveloped, compared with the town centre. This therefore enabled infilling of sites, particularly for worker housing during the C19.

3.1.9. Lodge Street & St Leonard's Place

Leading off St Leonard's Gate, between the Grand Theatre and the carriage showroom, is Lodge Street. This was a speculative development of terraced houses dating from the later 1850s by John Lodge. Only no. 1 survived the 1960s

[127] Hartwell & Pevsner, op. cit., p. 373

clearance as it is attached to the William Richmond's 1883 Carriage Works, which is currently used by Lancaster Music Co-op, and has been since the 1980s, giving it a **high** *communal* value. The area was to become associated with the carriage building industry locally, and its *historical* value is considered to be **medium to high**, as is its aesthetic value. The double gable provides an attractive backdrop to the view down Brewery Lane from Moor Lane. Its *aesthetic* value is considered to be of **medium** significance. The single remaining house at no. 1 has clearly lost its context, though its historical value as an example of bylaw housing is considered significant. It retains some original windows, giving it some evidential value. However, this area generally is thought to have **high** *evidential* value. It is built on the site of an C18 garden and may yield information about post-medieval, medieval, or perhaps earlier phases.[128]



Former carriage works, Lodge Street. Now the Musicians' Co-op

Adjacent to the Carriage Works is St Leonard's Place, which was an enclosed narrow yard, accessed from St Leonard's Gate via a covered passage, containing both housing and workshops. It had a wider entrance at the other end of the yard, leading onto Edward Street. The boundary walls remain. It is one of many courts and yards that would have been found along St Leonard's Gate. It is listed in the 1901 Census as including three households, with occupations such as timber merchants' waggon driver, housekeepers, stonemasons and cotton winders. The only remaining building in the yard now is a former workshop building used by a furniture maker in the C19. Its last use was as a dance studio, giving it a medium significance for its communal value. It has medium significance for its aesthetic value and medium to high for its historical value. Its archaeological value is high, especially for the medieval and post-medieval layout of garden plots and yards.[129] It is a rare survival within an area of otherwise cleared land.



C19 former workshop building, St Leonard's Place

[128] CCN, op. cit., para. 4.53

[129] Ibid, para. 4.50

3.1.10. Phoenix Street

Phoenix Street has a particularly interesting past, and should be viewed as being of **high** value for its *historical* significance, especially for its associative value. The creation of Phoenix Street can be dated to the mid-C19. It is assumed to tie in with the development of the Phoenix Foundry. The foundry, which is on the site of Robert Lawson's garden and the second Sugarhouse, was on the north east side of the road, just outside the HSHAZ. The foundry opened in 1837, (JW Price article) though the first map the street can be seen on is Harrison & Hall's in 1877, and is thought to date from 1853. It was in 1854 that Edmund Sharpe took over the works from the previous owners, Asherton and Storey (HER PREN4642-MLA464, p.5).

Redevelopment of the south west side of the road may have happened simultaneously, and a timber yard is shown to the rear of Lawson's former house on Harrison & Hall's 1877 map. By 1893, the site is occupied by the Green Ayre Saw Mills, and Robert Lawson's C18 house has become the Sunday School, which remains today, dated 1887, fronting St Leonard's Gate. Little is known about the Sunday School's development though it was associated with the Centenary Church, and run by the Centenary Schools. It had been assumed by many that Lawson's house was demolished (Cross Fleury).[130] However, it is now recognised that the house was adapted and extended, and that the larger part of the extant building, set to the northwest of the site, was originally the lower floors of Lawson's house. The moulded stone architraves to the windows on the Phoenix Street elevation would appear to originate from the C18 house, as would the rusticated quoins at the rear of the property (on the street elevation). It appears to have remained in use for educational purposes until the First World War.



Entrance to the Drill Hall, now the King's Community Church

To the rear of the Sunday School, a drill hall for the Rifle Volunteers of the King's Own Royal Lancashire Regiment was built at the turn of the century. The Baroque Revival street frontage is attributed to Paley and Austin. The volunteer units were a source of local civic pride and this was often reflected in the architecture. The Rifle Volunteers evolved into the 5th Battalion, the

[130] 50 St Leonard's Gate Heritage Statement, VED, March 2018

King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster) in 1908, and were deployed to the Western Front in 1914.

Initially, the Drill Hall appears to have simply been a hall, with few other facilities that drill halls typically had, such as offices, and armoury and store. Drill halls were often used by the wider community for hosting events, such as concerts, dances and meals, and it is possible that it was also used in this way. However, between the wars, the Drill Hall was extended into the Sunday School building, which provided additional facilities, including offices.[131] Photographs taken in 1936 during the Lord Mayor of Lancaster's visit show some of the interiors, including the Club Room, which was evidently in the former Sunday School, as can be seen from the arched windows, some of which remain to the rear of the building.



The Club Room, Phoenix Street Drill Hall, 1936 (King's Own Museum, Accession Number KO0499/03 and KO2490/274-11)

A recent analysis of the Sunday School building has revealed that the pitched roof and upper storey of the building were lost, possibly to a fire, post-1949, and a steel frame used to stabilise the structure and support a pre-cast concrete roof.[132] The Territorial Army moved out of Phoenix Street in 1990, and the buildings were converted into a church, used by the King's Community Church.

The archaeological and *evidential* potential of the area should be viewed as **high**, given what the site has previously been used for, particularly during the post-medieval period. The site's location between the two sugarhouses, and as the site of a merchant's house and garden, makes it of some interest.



No. 10 Phoenix Street

[131] *Historic England Advice Report 06 July 2016: Drill Halls: Phoenix Street, Lancaster*; Case No. 1431628(HER PRN39919-MLA37)

[132] 50 St Leonard's Gate Heritage Statement, VED, March 2018

At the Damside end of Phoenix Street is the early C20 Working Men's Club also built in a Baroque Revival style, though the heavily rusticated stonework and oriel window give it a different feel. It has been converted to residential use, and is now in use as flats. The house between the two buildings, of the same date, is a much simpler stone building which appears on the 1901 and 1911 Census. The 1901 resident was a coffee house manageress, Mrs Mary Howson.

Most of the buildings' uses along the south west of the street have been for communal purposes for the past hundred years, and have become the focus for many events and occasions, bringing people together. Its *communal* value is therefore of **high** significance.

As a group these building have a **medium to high** significance architecturally and aesthetically. The pedestrian street surface has been retained, almost in its entirety for the length of the street. The former Phoenix Foundry site on the north east side of the road is now occupied by the Parliament Retail Park. However, the view looking down the street from St Leonard's Gate is an important one. The Sunday School building is a prominent building at the gateway to the town from the east.

3.1.11. Summary of heritage values (by street)

Street	Evidential value	Historical value	Aesthetic value	Communal value
North Road (NE)	High	High	High	High
North Road (SW)	High	Medium-high	Medium-high	Medium
Damside Street, Calkeld Lane & Dye House Lane	High	High	Medium-high	Medium
Chapel Street	High	High	High	-
Rosemary Lane	High	High	Medium-high	Medium
Lower Church Street	High	High	Medium-high	Medium-high
Stonewell	High	High	Medium	Medium
St Leonard's Gate	High	High	High	High
Lodge Street & St Leonard's Place	High	Medium-high	Medium	High
Phoenix Street	High	Medium-high	Medium-high	High

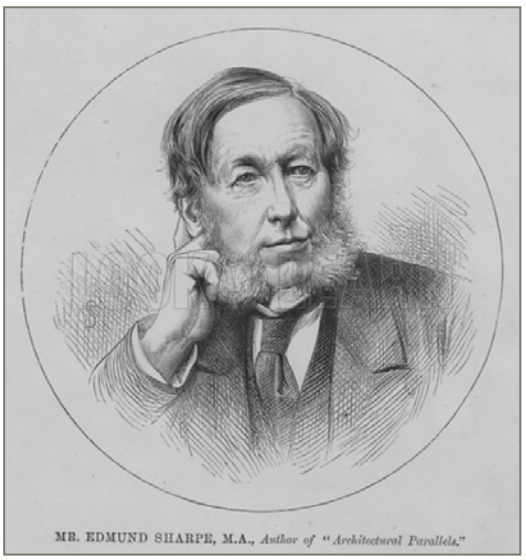
3.2. Statement of significance

3.2.1. Evidential

Part of the site sits on the edge of the recognised Roman extramural settlement, and the rest of the site, if not Roman, is part of the area where there is likely to have been activity during the Middle Ages, and certainly in the post-medieval period. The evidential value for early industry in the area, particularly that associated with the early Atlantic trade, and sugar refining, is also high. There is much that can be learned about the mill race, including the C16 mill, and the piecemeal culverting of the race, much of which took place during the C18, since there are thought to be the remains of, and extant, structures surviving. During the C19, the area was heavily populated by workers, living and working in the area, and there were numerous residential courts and yards. All but one, Swan Court, have been swept away. However, not all the sites have been redeveloped and recent archaeological investigations of similar housing, particularly the cellars, in Manchester and Liverpool have helped shed light on the lifestyles of the 'silent majority'. The evidential value of these areas is considered to be high, particularly of Swan Court, which is rare, not only regionally, but also nationally. Overall the archaeological potential of the site is **high**.

3.2.2. Historical

The area has a rich history spanning several periods for which the *illustrative* value is **high**, from the late C17 house on Lower Church Street, close to Stonewell, a poorer area during the C18, which consequently escaped redevelopment, to the large Gillows complex, with its purpose-built factory, workshops and showroom. The development of the Green Ayre in the mid-C18, which saw the construction of St John's Church and of no.s 7-11 Chapel Street, is an important illustration of the considerable prosperity that the town was experiencing at that time, as are the Grand Theatre, the late C18 merchant and town houses on St Leonard's Gate and the earliest properties along the north east section of North Road, which represent the route's origins as Damside Street, built to ease the passage through the town and over the river. Also of important note are the examples of warehouses and workshops crammed in behind the street frontages, demonstrating how the distinction between residential and industrial areas was blurred in this busy area. Examples of this can be found on North Road/Nile Street, St Leonard's Gate and Dye House Lane. The rare survival of Swan Court is illustrative of the way in which the town's worker population expanded during the C19 and how they often lived in tightly packed courts and yards, such as this 'blind-back' terrace of 11 houses, which were to be regarded as slums. St John's Church and the Grand Theatre rank highly for their illustrative value, the latter having remained in continuous use as a theatre, and St John's, despite closing in 1981, is still very much in-tact, despite its slowly worsening condition.



Edmund Sharpe, Illustration for The Builder, 24 December 1870
(Credit *Look and Learn* (History Picture Archive))

As well as the clear connection with the Gillows firm, who had owned buildings and timber yards in this area before the 1880s development, from the late C18, it has other important associations. This area has strong connections with Edmund Sharpe (b.1809), not only a notable architect, who took at house on St Leonard's Gate in the 1830s, and owned the Grand Theatre and Phoenix Foundry during the mid-C19, but also for his work in reforming the poor sanitary conditions in Lancaster, which involved highlighting the dire conditions of the area's many courts and yards alongside Richard Owen. Owen (b.1804), the eminent Lancaster-born anatomist who coined the term 'dinosaur', too should be added to the list of notable associations with the area, for his influential 1845 *Report of the State of Lancaster* which focused on the streets around the mill race, and helped bring about important changes to the water supply and sewerage in the town. Also during the C19, no. 18 Church Street was the home of Mary Fielding (b.1804), a botanist and botanical illustrator, whose six volumes of botanical watercolours have been described as an "important source for the study of the county's flora in the early nineteenth century".[133] Interestingly, Owen and Fielding, who were born in the same year, were both the children of Lancaster merchants.



Sir Richard Owen, c. 1855

The area is one which is very much associated with Lancaster's mercantile heritage, from John Lawson who ran the town's first sugarhouse during the late C17, who was also an eminent early Quaker, famously rescuing George Fox, the founder of the movement, from an angry mob and offering him refuge in his St Leonard's Gate house in 1652, to the Butterfields, a century later,

[133] Jackson, B. D., rev. by Kell, P. E., 'Fielding, Henry Borron' (1805-1851), *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004 (this version 2011) [https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9401 accessed 15/6/21]

merchants and slave traders whose ships were responsible for transporting large numbers of slaves during the mid-C18. They built and owned a number of houses in the area, on Chapel Street and Rosemary Lane.

The presence of St John's Church which had close ties with the merchant families, many of whom helped fund the building and its contents, gives this area even stronger connections. A further association, which is strongly connected to the town's maritime and sugar refining heritage is that of a small German immigrant population of sugarbakers. Lancaster can be seen as having played a part in the history of their migration during the C18 and C19. The *associative* value of the area is **high**.

3.2.3. Aesthetic

The quality of the buildings and their design reflect the changing fortunes of the area, as well as the changing tastes in architecture. There are a variety of styles and periods throughout the area, which provide a narrative for the area's development, and as a group they provide the area with its special character.

Many of the buildings in the area would rank as having **high** aesthetic value, including St John's Church, the Grand Theatre, the late C18 merchant and town houses, the C18 warehouse buildings, the buildings of the former Gillow's complex and the Centenary Church. Most of these are listed and recognised as being of national significance for their architectural and historical importance.

However, there are large numbers of buildings in the area which are of **medium to high** aesthetic value, including the late C18 and early C19 former houses on Damside Street, North Road, Rosemary Lane and St Leonard's Gate. There are smaller-scale late C19 industrial buildings in the area whose aesthetic value is considered to be medium-high, including the Music Co-op building on Lodge Street and the former furniture maker's workshop in St Leonard's Place. A number of late C19 and C20 buildings are also notable for their architecture, including Paley & Austin's Baroque Revival former car showroom on North Road and Drill Hall on Phoenix Street. Other significant buildings, both dating from 1899, are the Cromwell Buildings on Rosemary Lane and William Richmond's carriage works showroom on St Leonard's Gate, and the early C20 Phoenix Working Men's Club.

3.2.4. Communal

The area's communal value is considered to be **high**. There are a great many buildings within the area which have brought people together, resulting in a collective memory, in a variety of ways. The most significant of which is the Grand Theatre, which has seen continuous use as a theatre since 1782. The two churches in the area should be similarly viewed. Interestingly, both the Grand Theatre and the Centenary Church were used by Lancaster University as lecture theatres temporarily whilst the Bailrigg campus was being built. The Centenary Church was later to become a pub, which ensured longer connections with the student population. The Gillows buildings also

have strong university ties, in addition to their role as large-scale employers in this location from 1881 until 1962. From 1964 the former factory was used to accommodate the new students and, following a number of years as an Adult Education College and offices, it is now used as student accommodation once again. Other communal uses, with strong ties to the university, involve the University's Student Union (LUSU) nightclub, The Sugarhouse, part of the former Gillow's site, and the former showroom on North Road, which was also used as a nightclub for many years, and has recently been converted into student accommodation.

The buildings on Phoenix Street all have a high communal value. The Drill Hall and the Working Men's Club formed part of the collective memory of many, during the C20, as did the former Sunday School which, following its educational use, became part of the Drill Hall, before being used by the King's Community Church.

The various inns, beerhouses and pubs, both former and current, in the area also have a high communal value, especially those which have seen long periods in this use (though some have undergone several name changes). These include The Stonewell Tap (since 1806),[134] The Ship (1772-1970),[135] The Shakespeare (1794-1985),[136] Juke Joint (1820-2015),[137] The Yorkshire Taps (1853-2020),[138] and The Tramway (1895-1980s).[139] The 1840s building which is currently a restaurant, on the corner of North Road and Church Street, was the former White Hart, which originally incorporated the site now occupied by no. 58 North Road. The corner building we see today dates from the creation of North Road. However, there had been an inn on the site from 1732.[140]

Other factors contributing the to the area's high communal value are the significant landmarks which are shared by many living, working and passing through the area. Those must include the two spires of St John's and the Centenary Church as well as the larger buildings, such as St Leonards's House, The Gillows showroom and the Grand Theatre.

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[134] White, op. cit., 2009, p.140

[135] Ibid, pp. 123-4

[136] Ibid, p. 123

[137] Ibid, p. 127

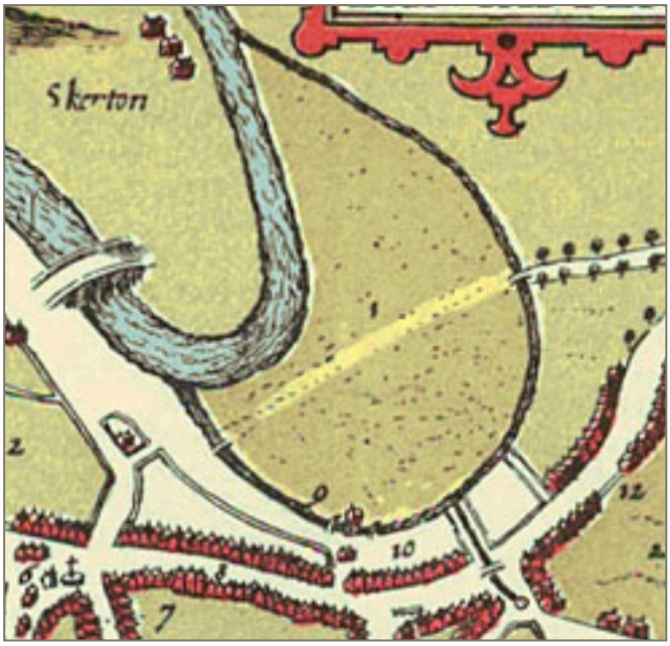
[138] Ibid, p. 143

[139] Ibid, p. 133

[140] Ibid, pp. 139-40

4. Key themes

4.1. The Mill Race



Mill race detail from Speed's 1610 map showing the mill, and Called Lane route

Throughout much of the C20, the mill race was largely unknown, or perhaps forgotten, by many as it had little noticeable impact on their lives, passing unseen beneath buildings and streets.[141] However, prior to this the mill race proved hugely influential in determining how the town evolved in this area, physically and socially. There is more awareness of the watercourse today as a result of the major flooding incidents in 2015 and 2017, which impacted many buildings and businesses within the HSHAZ area.

The mill race forms a loop between Skerton weir and Fleet Square, and between it and the river is land known as the Green Ayre. Speed's 1610 map, and Docton's 1684 map illustrate this clearly. It is unknown when the mill race and Green Ayre were formed. One explanation for its existence is that the river once formed an ox bow loop, then rapidly cut a channel between the ends of the loop, leaving the loop and Green Ayre behind.[142]

There is a school of thought that the sea level was higher in Roman times, which would mean that the Green Ayre would have been under water. This would have made supplying the Roman fort easier as the ships could have travelled further upstream.[143] It generally seems to be accepted that line of the mill race is approximately the extent of the Lune during the Roman period.

It is possible that the building of the Roman and medieval bridges caused silting upstream, which may have contributed to the formation of the Green Ayre.[144]

What we do know is that the loop was adapted at some point to power the mill in the town, as we know it today; there is just uncertainty surrounding when. We know that there were one

[141] Horsfield, K., *The Lancaster Mill Race: With notes on the Green Ayre,* 2001, p. 26

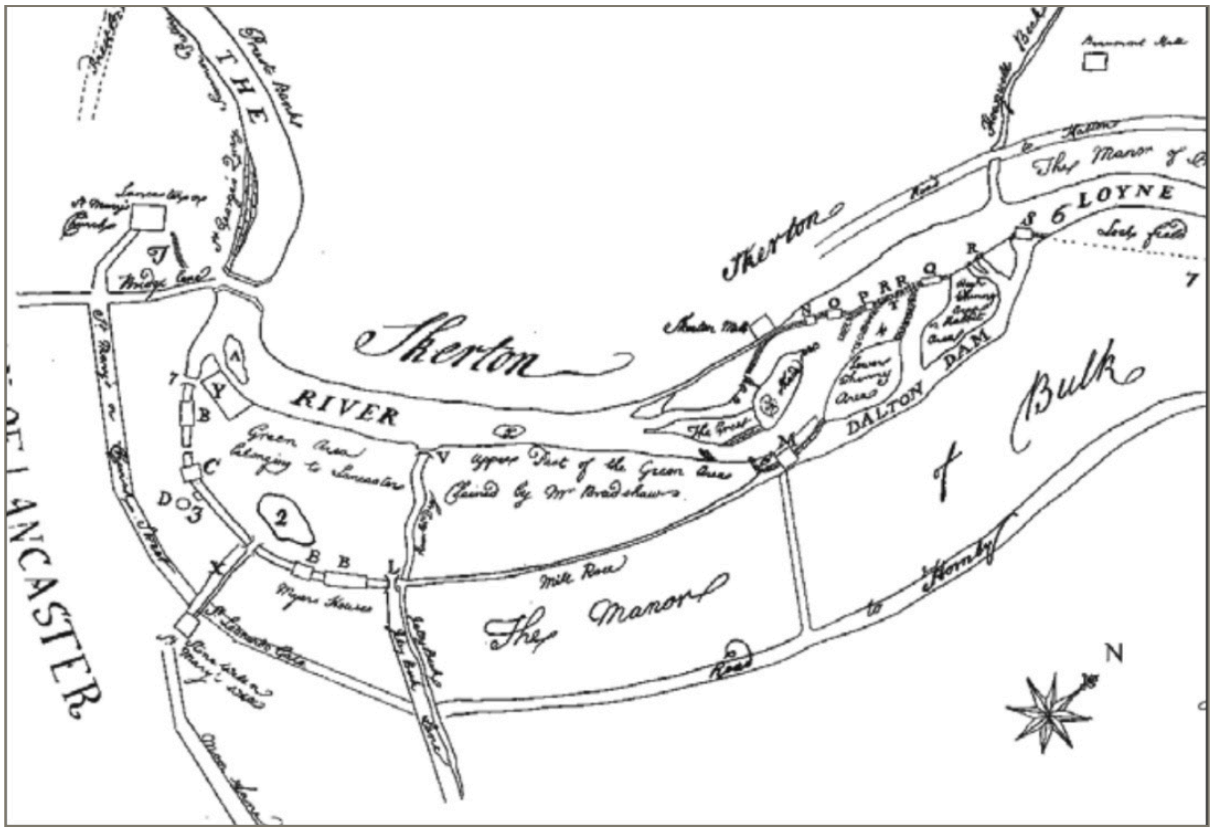
[142] Ibid, p. 4

[143] Ibid, p. 4

[144] Ibid, p. 4

or more mills present in the Middle Ages,[145] and that Lancaster mill has been recorded since the C12. However, it is in 1574 that we have some certainty about the location of the town's corn mill, when Robert Dalton leased the Green Ayre from the Corporation, which included the right to build one or two corn mills.[146] The mill is clearly shown on Speed's 1610 map and was located on the site today occupied by no.12 Damside Street, close to the entrance to Dye House Lane.

Shortly after this, a dispute arose with the Corporation over the fishing rights which, very helpfully, resulted in the production of a maps and plans, including one from 1754. This map shows a lot of features of interest, including houses built over the mill race (shown as 'B' on the map), as well as the mill, the bridges and a bowling green on the Green Ayre.



Map of the mill race, c. 1754, from K. Horsfield's *The Lancaster Mill Race*, 2001

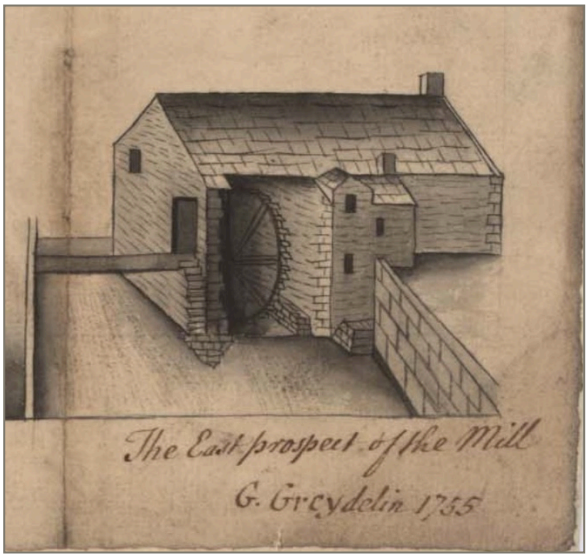
The mill and rights to the Green Ayre remained with the Dalton family until they were sold to William Bradshaw of Halton Hall in 1745. The deal included rents for buildings over the mill race.

An agreement was reached in 1756 which resulted in Bradshaw giving up his rights to the upper Green Ayre, other than being allowed to draw out and dry his fishing nets there, in return for the

[145] Ibid, p. 9

[146] Ibid, p. 12

fishing rights. The fishing was clearly the appeal for Bradshaw, and not the mill, which was found to be in a poor state of repair when surveyed in 1755 for the Corporation,[147] when much of the Green Ayre was being developed. By 1769 it was agreed that the mill should be demolished.[148]



The East Prospect of the Mill dated 1755, from a 1755 description of the mill (UAD 529)

The Corporation was busy selling off plots on the Green Ayre which was to see it transformed in just 25 years. Mackreth's 1778 map shows us how much development took place during this period, which included building over much of the lower half of the mill race itself. The process of culverting can be followed on the historic maps of Lancaster.

Permission was required from the Corporation for the building of structures over the mill race. The permissions granted were recorded in their minute books, which reveals that the most active time was during the first half of the C18, when there were 27 permissions granted.[149]

The merchants recognised the need to build bridges to gain access to the Green Ayre for both business and recreational uses, and Robert Lawson and Robert Foxcroft (see Sugarhouses) were responsible for building some of the private bridges.[150] During the 1770s, Damside Street was created, which runs parallel to the mill race, on both its north and south side.

By 1847, most of the downstream mill race, from Germany Bridge was covered. However, now that it was out of sight, it had become the recipient for the town's sub-surface drains. By the 1830s most of the main streets had them, with houses and businesses connected to them. All but one drained into the mill race.[151]

In his *Report of the State of Lancaster* of 1845, Richard Owen describes the conditions in the town created by the mill race (See Court, Yard and Alley Housing):

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[147] UAD ref. 529 Plan, Drawing and Description of Lancaster Mill

[148] Ibid, pp. 18-22

[149] Ibid, pp. 31-33

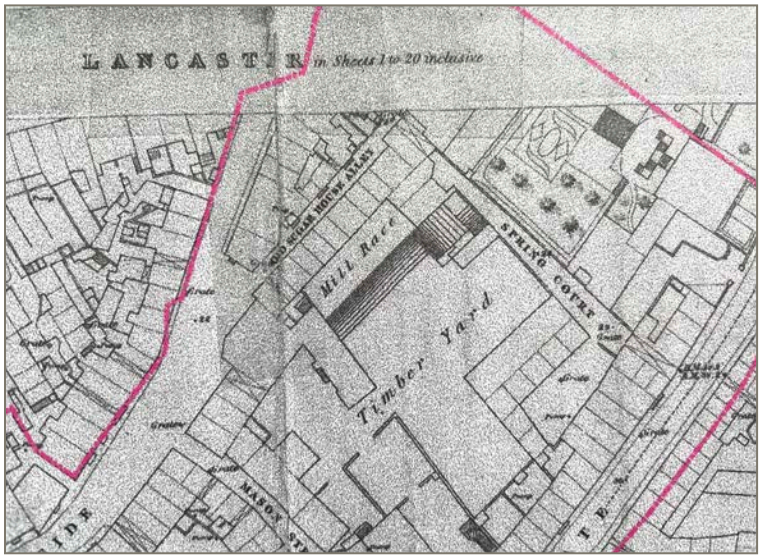
[150] Ibid, p. 35

[151] Owen, R., *Report on the State of Lancaster,* Health of Town's Commission, 1845 (Royal College of Surgeons) [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/muzugf5g/items?canvas=1 accessed 15/5/21], p. 12

The progressive growth in the town and consequent increase in the offensiveness of the mill-race, which may be compared to a prolonged cesspool, have led to its being arched over, along a great proportion of that half its course which extends through the inhabited part of the town.[152]

The one remaining open section which ran through the town at this time was that to the rear of the worker housing on Old Sugar House Alley (where the Gillow showroom building now stands). Owen describes the setting and the condition of the mill race very clearly:

The approach to this area is by a narrow covered passage, on entering which I was met by an indescribable kind of damp, sub-fetid emanation; at the end of the passage was a privy; the midden-heap being partly concealed in a vault or cellar, beneath the ground-floor of the house, perforated by the passage. Emerging thence, I stood upon a steep bank leading from the backs of the houses to the bed of the mill stream; on the opposite side was a lofty wall, at each end a low arch, through which the black filthy stream was sluggishly flowing, each arch supported houses, completing the enclosure of the area. The stream was confined to the mid-channel; at the sides it formed stagnant pools, receiving drainings from the ash and midden heaps and the outcasting from the overhanging windows. The fetid solution soaks through the foundations of the houses. When the tide flows, the mill-race, receiving the main sewage of the town, is driven back towards its source, traversing the area in its progress, and again slowly returns at the ebb. Thus the enclosed area, about forty yards in length, is ventilated chiefly by an impure atmosphere, which escapes from beneath the arches at each end at every flux and reflux of the stream.
A more typical source of miasmata can scarcely be conceived.[153]



Extract from the 1845 survey OS map 1:1,056 (HER), showing the miil race in open channel running behind Old Sugar House Alley

Owen and Edmund Sharpe, who worked tirelessly to bring about improvements to the town's sanitation, were instrumental in helping to bring about the changes which were eventually seen, which included piped water and proper drainage. By 1891, the floor of the entire mill race, downstream of Germany Bridge had been concreted. This was done to achieve a self-

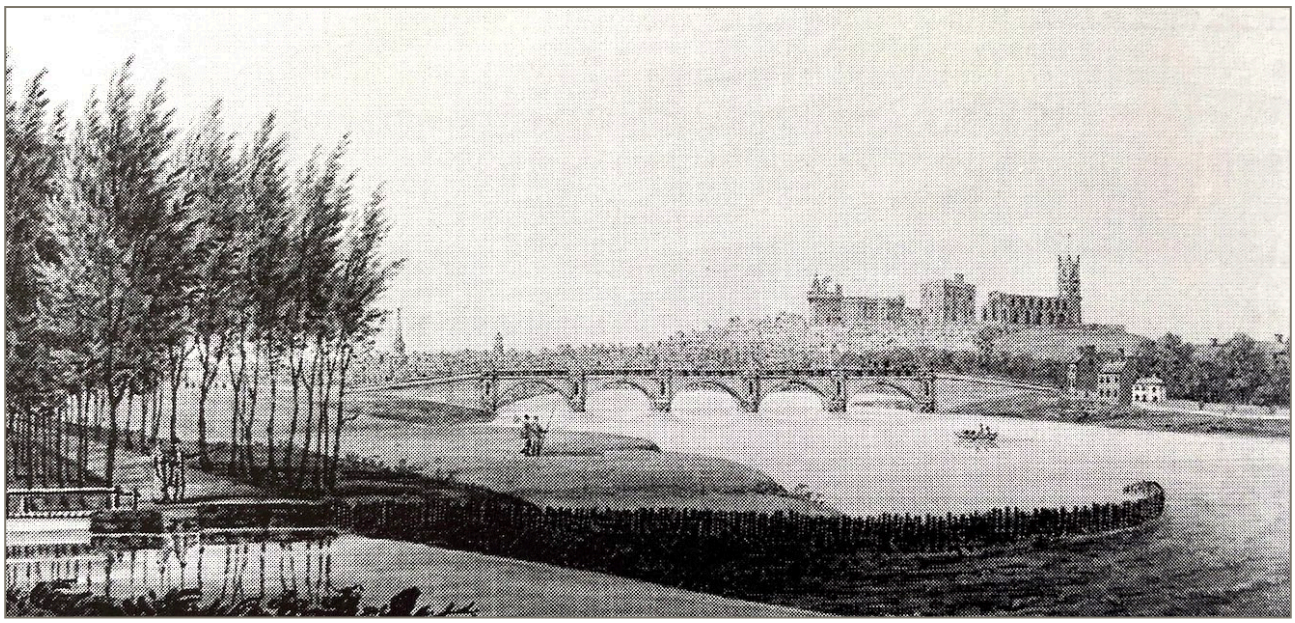
[152] Ibid, p. 12

[153] Ibid, p. 19

cleansing flow, even when the volume of water passing through was small. It was laid to provide a continuous fall.[154]

The upper half of the mill race (north of Germany Bridge) was to remain in open channel until it was piped and filled in during the First World War.[155] This part of the mill race, at the northern end of Green Ayre, had the tree-lined Ladies' Walk running alongside it, on the river side. Ladies' Walk is first seen on Mackreth's 1778 map. The creation of this public walk, if it is not earlier than this, ties in with Lancaster's important role as a venue for the town and country elites to mix during the bi-annual Assizes. This route, which allowed society to observe and be observed, took in the 1797 Lune aqueduct, which was considered, and still is, an impressive structure.

Before its development in the mid-C18, the Green Ayre's use had included some industrial activity, including saw pits, wood yards and boatyards, but it had been largely one of recreation. The Buck brother's picture of 1728 shows people meeting, walking and exercising their horses. William Stout in his autobiography talks of walking there by day in summer and by moonlight in winter.[156] There are also references to horse racing having taken place there, particularly around 1730.[157]



Watercolour by George Pickering, e. C19. showing the New Bridge over the Lune, with the mill race in the foreground and the top of Ladies' Walk, which is tree-lined

[154] Horsfield, op. cit., p. 37

[155] Ibid, p.28

[156] Ibid, p.48

[157] Ibid, p. 49

4.2. Atlantic Trade

The Mill Race HSHAZ area has close links with Lancaster's Atlantic trade, from its origins in the late C17, to its progression from the mid-C18 into the slave trade, which was to prove so prosperous for the town.

Lancaster's involvement in the slave economy of the West Indies went on for much longer than its active role in the slave trade, which was for a fairly brief period in the third quarter of the C18. Nevertheless, it is estimated that during that period Lancaster slave ships will have carried in excess of 29,000 slaves out of Africa.[158]

4.2.1. West Indian and North American trade

Whilst the direct trade with the West Indies and mainland America did not involve the transportation of slaves, it must be remembered that the manufactured goods being exported from Lancaster were being exchanged for slave-produced crops, including tobacco and sugar.

John Hodgson, probably the first owner of Lancaster's original sugar house, and Robert Lawson, are thought to be among the first Lancaster merchants to become involved in the plantation trade. Hodgson was responsible for the town's first shipment of tobacco from Virginia in the 1670s.[159]

The first sugar imports to Lancaster are thought to have arrived onboard the 50-ton *Lambe* from Jamaica in 1687.[160] This crude boiled sugar will have been refined in the town's sugar house, which was sited on St Leonard's Gate.

This colonial trade, particularly with the sugar islands, thrived from the mid-C18 and by 1780 Lancaster was ranked as England's fourth colonial port, though in a different league to London, Liverpool and Bristol.[161]

Robert Gillow, founder of the famous Lancaster cabinet-making business, another name associated with the area from the C18 (Gillows had owned property on St Leonard's Gate in the 1770s)[162], was involved in trade with the West Indies in the 1730s. He not only imported mahogany for his furniture business, but also rum, sugar and cotton from Jamaica.[163] The voyages would be timed to coincide with the

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[158] Elder, M., 'Slavery and the North of England', The Open University, 2006 (www.open.edu/openlearn/history-the-arts/history/heritage/slavery-and-the-north-england, website accessed 29/5/21)

[159] Dalziel, N., in White, A. ed., *A History of Lancaster*, 2001, p. 119

[160] Ibid, p. 119

[161] Elder, op. cit., 2006 & Dalziel, in White ed., op. cit., p. 119

[162] Oxford Archaeology North, *Gillows Building, 23-25 North Road, Lancaster* (Historic Building Survey Report), OA Reference No. L11062, February 2019, para. 3.2.9

[163] Bowett, A., 'The Jamaica Trade: Gillow and the use of Mahogany in the Eighteenth Century', *Regional Furniture*, 1998 v12, p.17

sugar harvests. He even had part shares in ships later, and in 1756 bought an ex-slaver vessel, the *Africa*, which they used for trade in Antigua.[164]

Robert Gillow's possible involvement in the direct trade of slaves is currently being researched, but what is clear that he was connected personally and financially with a number of known Lancaster slavers, including Charles Inman and Benjamin Satterthwaite, who acted as factors for him in the Caribbean. Further, Melinda Elder has shown that a number of Lancaster slaving ships returned carrying mahogany onboard.[165]

As well as the exportation of fine furniture for the plantation owners, and other luxury goods, outgoing cargoes on Lancaster ships involved in the direct trade with the West Indies might include items for the slaves themselves, including hats and work implements, as well as candles to provide light in the plantation houses.

Therefore, clearly the merchants were not the only ones to profit from the Atlantic trade; the small-scale manufacturers were also among those who benefitted.

Many of these trades tended to mirror the fortunes of the transatlantic trade. One such industry to grow in Lancaster, and in other ports involved in the transatlantic trade, was the felt-hat industry. Hats were required for slaves on the West Indian plantations (the 1696 slave code of Jamaica, which became the West Indian standard, required masters to provide a cap or hat, as well as clothing), so there was high demand.[166]

As the industry grew during the second half of the C18, many rural hatters migrated to the town. A concentration of hatters developed around Bridge Lane, due to its easy access to the quay. One family, the Townleys, moved their business from Tarnbrook in Over Wyresdale, to St Leonard's Gate in the 1790s.[167] Fortunately, they were one of the more successful hatter businesses, and were able to survive the port's decline in the early C19. Their shop remained in St Leonard's Gate until the 1880s, where they owned a workshop, a house and nearby cottages in Townley's Yard. In 1847, they were making hats and helmets for the newly established fire brigade.[168]

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[164] Ibid, p. 16

[165] Ibid, pp. 16-18

[166] Workman, C., 'Lancaster's Felt-Hat Industry', *Contrebis* 2018, v36, p. 54

[167] Ibid, p. 55

[168] Ibid, p. 57

4.2.2. Triangular Trade

In addition to direct trade with the plantations of the West Indies and North America, there were also merchants who engaged in the triangular trade, which in Lancaster began in 1736, with the voyage of the *Prince Frederick*.[169] This trade involved the export of locally produced goods from Britain for the purchasing of slaves from Africa's west coast, transporting the slaves to the Americas, where they would be exchanged for slave-produced goods which would be transported back to Britain.

Lancaster merchants focussed on the Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Windward Coast (present-day Ivory Coast and Liberia) where river trading and small-scale slaving transactions suited their smaller vessels. They then chose various locations across the West Indies, as well as South Carolina, for the sale of their slaves. Sugar and rum tended to be mainstays, but also mahogany for the cabinet-making for the return cargoes.[170]

Thomas Hinde, Dodshon Foster and the Rawlinson merchant dynasty are perhaps the most well-known Lancaster slave traders, the two latter being Quakers. Whilst Foster's involvement did not last more than six years (1752-8), he is said to have been responsible for the transportation of over 700 slaves.[171] The Rawlinsons were also plantation owners; they owned a sugar plantation in Grenada, Goyave, making them legal owners of the slaves working for them.[172]

These extremely wealthy families were responsible for some of Lancaster's finest houses, and in imagining these fashionable buildings newly completed, with their geometrically laid out gardens, it is easy to forget their dark origins.

One local merchant family, which had close ties with the HSHAZ area, are the Butterfields. Brothers, Thomas (b. 1703) and William (b. 1707) Butterfield, were both engaged in the slave trade.

Thomas Butterfield & Co. was listed as owner of the slaver *Expedition* on her second voyage in 1747.[173] William was part-owner of at least five slaver ships, making 20 voyages between 1751 and 1773: *Castleton* (70 tons, Gambia, 180 slaves, 1756), *Lowther* (50 tons, Windward, 180 slaves, 1756), *Molly II* (70 tons), *Norfolk* (100 tons) and

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[169] Dalziel, in White ed., op. cit., p. 121

[170] Elder, op. cit., 2006

[171] White, A., *Lancaster: A History*, 2003, p. 63

[172] Elder, M., 'A Georgian Merchant's House in Lancaster: John Rawlinson, A West-Indies Trader and Gillow Client', *Contrebis*, 2020 v38, p. 4

[173] Schofield, M. M., 'The Slave Trade from Lancashire and Cheshire Ports outside Liverpool', c. 1750-1790, *Transactions*, 1976, v26, p.46

Reynolds II (100 tons).[174] Both held the post of Treasurer of the County, with William later becoming Mayor of Lancaster over several years. He also became Constable of Lancaster Castle from 1760 until his death in 1787.[175]

An extremely useful research tool, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, can be found on the *Slave Voyages* website, a digital memorial. This database, together with the Intra-American slave trade database, has taken decades to compile involving teams of researchers world-wide. The Trans-Atlantic database includes details of 36,000 individual slaving expeditions between 1514 and 1866, including those listed above.[176]

The Butterfields were responsible for many buildings dating from this period, including several in the HSHAZ area, including no.s 7-11 Chapel Street, the plots having been acquired by Thomas Butterfield. William's will, made three years before his death, lists his property and lands throughout Lancaster, including three houses on Rosemary Lane, and three on Chapel Row[177] (all on the site of the Centenary Church and Cromwell Buildings).

Lancaster's most active period was 1750-75, when 20% of the Atlantic fleet arriving was involved in slaving, but over the whole period, at least 180 slaving voyages were made. Lancaster had become the fourth most important port in England for the slave trade.[178]

Slave ships continued to operate from Lancaster until the 1790s. After this, a few Lancaster merchants continued the practice by clearing their ships from Liverpool right up until the the trade's abolition in 1807.[179]

A further connection with the transatlantic trade in the HSHAZ area can be seen in St John's Church, which was built when the slave trade was at its most active. The church clearly benefitted from some very wealthy patrons, including Abraham Rawlinson who gave the organ (the organ case is mahogany, by Gillows) in 1785, and a legacy from Thomas Bowes funded the tower in 1784.

In the churchyard there are gravestones to Captain Greenwood, James Clark of Jamaica, John Nunns (a Skerton sea captain interred in Trinidad) and John Lowther, a merchant who died

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[174] Ibid, p. 47 & p. 66

[175] https://www.theglassworksapartments.co.uk/history accessed June 2021

[176] https://www.slavevoyages.org, accessed 5/6/21

[177] Ibid.

[178] Elder, op. cit., 2006 & Dalziel, in White ed., op. cit., p. 121

[179] Elder, op. cit., 2006

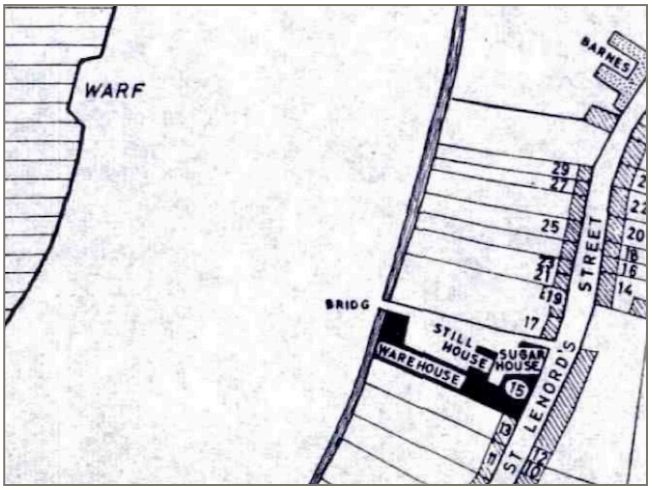
in St Thomas (West Indies). The Brockbanks who built many of the Lancaster traders' ships, are commemorated. So is John Belsey, the Port of Lancaster's Collector of Excise.[180] A memorial stone to John Lowther can also be found there. He and two others named John owned the last Lancaster-owned slave ship which was called *The Johns*.[181]

[180] Clark, G., *St John's Lancaster: A Georgian Town Church*, Lancaster Civic Society Leaflet 16, 2015 v2, revised 2020.

[181] The Lancaster Slave Trade, Abolition & Fair Trade Trail, https://visitlancaster.org.uk/wordpress/wp-content/files_mf/1607094354A4SlaveryTownTrail2020.pdf

4.3. Sugarhouses

One of the earliest signs that Atlantic trade was becoming established in Lancaster is the large Sugarhouse complex which can be seen on Docton's 1684 map, located on St Leonard's Gate with the warehouse building stretching up to the edge of the Mill Race. This is on the site that was to later become the Gillow complex.



Extract from Docton's 1684 map showing the Sugarhouse, bridge over the mill race and wharf, which was to become known as Lawson's Quay

Sugar refining in England began in the mid-C16, but it was later, in the C17, that it became more common-place. Liverpool began refining sugar in 1670, in Lancaster the first Sugarhouse is thought to date from before 1680, and was begun by John Hodgson. Sugarbaking lasted for about 150 years in Lancaster.

Tea and coffee had become popular and needed something to sweeten them. It was from the end of the C17 to the first half of the C19 that the industry really developed. Sugar consumption rose massively during the C18, from 4lb a head/ year in 1700, to 18lb a head/year by 1800. By 1800 there was a steady supply of raw sugar arriving from across the Atlantic due to the slave trade.[182] [See Atlantic Trade].

Two Lancaster merchants and entrepreneurs who were ready to take advantage of this new opportunity were John Hodgson and John Lawson. By 1680, Hodgson had sold the Sugarhouse to Lawson who, on Docton's 1684 map, also owns the adjacent house to the north (no. 17 on the map). Hodgson owns the house on the other side of the Sugarhouse (no. 13 on the map). The map illustrates other associated developments, including a bridge over the Mill Race from the Sugar House site, and a 'Warf' on the Lune just to the north west of the site. Lawson may have obtained permission from the Corporation to build wharf in 1680, and he had already built the bridge to gain access to the Green Ayre.[183] Permission was required to build bridges, and if granted, a 'fine' or down payment was payable, followed by an annual rent. In 1684, John Lawson put a building over the mill race and paid the Corporation a fine of 10/- and a rent of 1/-.[184]

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[182] Mawer, B., *Sugarbakers: From Sweat to Sweetness*, Anglo-German Family History Society, 2011, p. 10

[183] White, A., *Lancaster: A History*, 2003, p. 57

[184] Horsfield, K., *The Lancaster Mill Race: With notes on the Green Ayre,* 2001, p. 33

John Lawson (1616-1689) was a successful merchant and an early Quaker in Lancaster, as was his neighbour, John Hodgson. John Lawson's tombstone now stands in the porch of the Friends' Meeting House. He famously provided refuge for George Fox, founder of the Quaker movement, in his house on St Leonard's Gate when he was set upon by an angry mob whilst visiting Lancaster to preach in 1652. Early Quakers did suffer persecution, and they faced strong opposition from those defending the established Church of England. John Lawson himself was fined in 1654 for preaching at the Priory church, he refused to pay the fine and spent a year in Lancaster prison as a result.[185]

By 1778, the 'Warf' is known as 'Lawson's Quay' and a large house surrounded by substantial gardens can be seen, belonging to Robert Lawson Esq., presumably John's son or grandson. By then, the town's second Sugarhouse had been established on the site which was later to be occupied by the Phoenix Foundry (now the Parliament Street Retail Park).

In 1766, the second sugarhouse appears to have been leased by Robert Foxcroft to six others, in equal shares: Robert Lawson, Abraham Rawlinson (who had a share of a sugar plantation: Goyave in Grenada[186]), Henry Hargreaves, Miles Birkett and George Foxcroft, all of Lancaster, and Luke Astley, a Preston grocer. They were known as the Sugar House Company. In 1769, Lawson, Rawlinson and Hargreaves bought out Birkett and Foxcroft, and in 1772, Rawlinson and Hargreaves bought the Astley share. By the 1790s, it appears to belong to James Hargreaves, Henry's son. By the late 1820s, George Crossfield & Co. were running it until 1834.[187]



Extract from Mackreth's 1778 map showing the second sugarhouse, close to Germany Bridge, and Robert Lawson's house and extensive garden over the mill race. The site of the first sugarhouse has new uses, but is called Sugar House Yard.

Broken red pottery sugar loaf moulds were found in great quantities on the site of the second sugarhouse during the construction of the Co-operative Society garage in 1929. They are

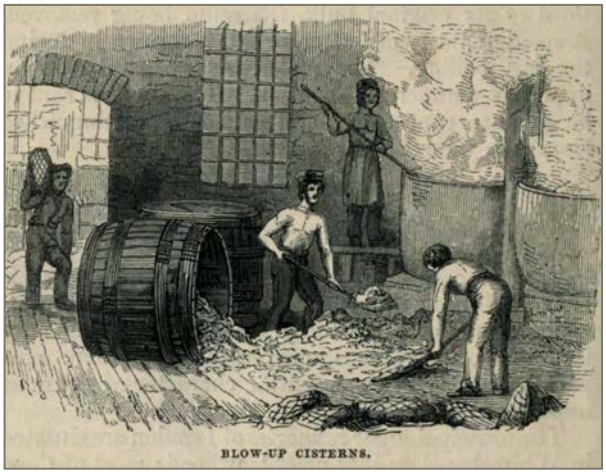
[185] White, op. cit., p. 57 & Park, C, *William Stout (1666-1752): More than just a shopkeeper*, 2020, p. 54

[186] Elder, M., 'A Georgian Merchant's House in Lancaster: John Rawlinson, A West-Indies Trader and Gillow Client', *Contrebis*, 2020 v38, p. 4

[187] Mawer, op. cit., pp. 37-8 & p. 100

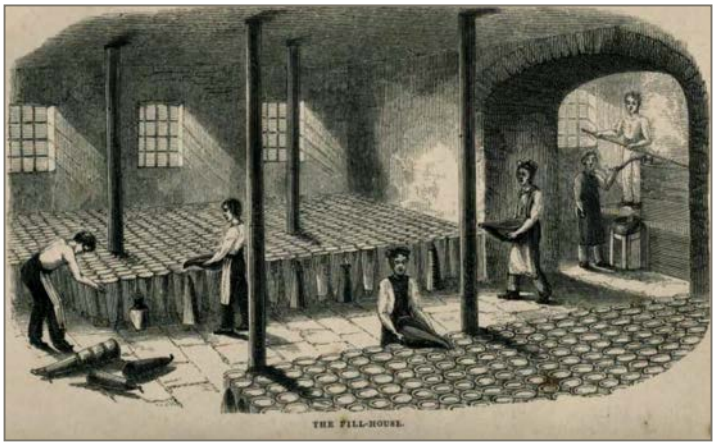
comparable with moulds found in the West Indies.[188]

Raw sugar, a product of the slave trade, was shipped from from West Indies to Britain in huge quantities, arriving as a moist brown muscovado packed into large wooden barrels (hogsheads). The muscovado would have been emptied onto the floor and then shovelled into large open-top copper cisterns set above open fires, where it was dissolved in lime water. Large quantities of bullock's blood (previously egg white) which would collect the impurities from the sugar solution, were scraped off the top. The process was repeated this several times, then the water would need to be removed by boiling it at 240°F.



Emptying the hogsheads and shovelling the muscovado into the cisterns (*The Useful Arts and Manufactures of Great Britain*, 1846)

The conical sugar loafs were produced by pouring the very hot liquid from a copper basin into the tall earthenware moulds which were lined up in rows. Drainage holes allowed the syrup to escape, which was collected and later reboiled with raw sugar to produce lower grades of sugar. After a few days the loaves, a white clay and water would be added to filter out any remaining syrup and molasses. They would then be removed from their moulds, neatened off and baked in an oven at 140°F. The whole process would take 2-3 weeks of intensive work, and then the next 'refine' would begin.[189]



The fill house where the liquid sugar would be poured into conical moulds (*The Useful Arts and Manufactures of Great Britain*, 1846)

The process of making sugar was hot and hazardous one for the workers, the sugarbakers, of the C17, C18 and C19. Whilst many sugarhouses used local labour, some locations used labour from other countries. The idea of sugar refining had come from Europe; an industry dominated by Amsterdam and Hamburg. Many Dutch and German refiners came over to set up their own

[188] HER PRN 2371-MLA2371 & White, A., 'Lancaster and the West Indies', *Contrebis* 1982 v9

[189] Mawer, op. cit., pp. 57-60

sugarhouses, or to run new sugar houses, particularly for London merchants.[190] However, research by Dr Andrew White and Bryan Mawer has identified German sugar refiners known to have worked in Lancaster. in the mid-C18 and the first half of the C19.[191]

Whilst sugarbakers have been identified as having arrived from most parts of Germany, it is from Hamburg and the Hanover area that most came, resulting in a significant German community developing in Britain by the end of the C17. The German population in Britain grew throughout the C18, particularly in 1708/09 from the Palatinate, partly due to Queen Anne's offer to send newcomers to the British colony in Carolina - many wishing to escape religious persecution and economic crisis in the Palatine. However, when between 13,000 and 15,000 Palatines arrived in London, they faced widespread persecution, and soon left London, most travelling to north America and southern Ireland. Nevertheless, the C18 saw patterns of German migration to Britain become established for a variety of reasons, including the opportunities offered by industrialisation, transmigrants en route to north America and craftsmen who wished to remain in the country. Sugarbakers fall into the third category, and their numbers increased in the mid-C18, and more so during the Napoleonic Wars.[192]

A further catalyst for the German migration to Britain was certainly the accession of the Elector of Hanover as King George I, following the death of Queen Anne in 1714, which was to see the country ruled by German kings for more than a century[193]

It is interesting to note that one of the earliest bridges over the Mill Race, which can be identified on Speed's 1610 map as the most upstream bridge, became known as Germany Bridge. Mackreth's 1778 map is the first to name it, but it is not clear when the name was acquired or why. It has been suggested that it perhaps coincided with the accession of George I,[194] which seems very likely, but perhaps its proximity to the sugarhouse, with its German refiners, is not a coincidence. The road leading to the bridge is called Germany Street on all maps from Clark's 1807 map until its final appearance on the 1910 OS map. After that, it is known as Bulk Road. Anti-German sentiment during the First World War resulted in this re-naming.

In the absence of censuses during the C18, it is impossible to establish the number of Germans

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[190] Ibid, p. 10

[191] White, op. cit., 2003, p. 9 & Mawer, op. cit., p. 38

[192] Panayi, P., in Panayi, P. ed., *Germans in Britiain since 1500*, 1996, p. 6

[193] Mawer, op. cit., p. 10

[194] Horsfield, op. cit., p. 26

living in Lancaster. Even following the first British census in 1801, the census did not generally record the number of people of non-British birth, this only happened from 1861. However, we do know that from 1861 until 1891, Germans formed the largest continental grouping in the country.[195] Census information reveals a number of German immigrants and their families living in and around Lancaster at this time, though not as sugarbakers, since the sugarhouse had closed by this time. The 1881-1911 censuses reveal a number of pork butchers in Lancaster. Of the 545 male patients listed in the the 1891 census records for the County Lunatic Asylum in April and May of that year, approximately 14 of them were born in Germany.

[195] Panayi, P., 'The Settlement of Germans in Britain during the Nineteenth Century', IMIS Beiträge, Heft 14, June 2000, Institute for Migration Research and Intercultural Studies, p. 26 [https://www.imis.uni-osnabrueck.de/fileadmin/4_Publikationen/PDFs/imis14.pdf accessed June 2021]

4.4. C19 Court, Yard and Alley Housing

During the course of the C19, Lancaster's population grew rapidly, from 9,030 in 1801, to 31,224 in 1901.[196] This was a result of the town's industrialisation and urbanisation.

Homes needed to be found for the booming worker population, and resulted in high-density housing which was quick and easy to build for rental profit. This sort of housing tended to be found in courts, yards and alleys, which would be squeezed in behind street frontages. Examples of back-to-back, blind-back or single aspect, and cellar living could be found in Lancaster, and within the HSHAZ area. Mason Street and Moss's Yard included back-to-back housing, Swan Court was blind-backed and cellar dwellings could be found in Pitt Street.[197] Due to the overcrowding that resulted, they were to become known as 'slums'.

The mill race area contained vast numbers of this sort of courtyard housing, both due to its location close to the industry and the area's slower development compared with the town centre, meaning that there was land available to pack them into.

Most of this housing was swept away in the early C20, between the wars, though some were replaced by other buildings at the end of the C19, including Gillows works. However, there is a partial rare survival of a court to the rear of no.133 St Leonard's Gate, Swan Court. Some of the worker housing survives in Calkeld Lane too.



Mason Street, Moss;s Yard and Pitt Street on the 1892 OS map, 1:500 (Lancaster Library). Back-to-back dwellings can be found in Mason Street and Moss's Yard

The maps of the period do show this housing, but most of the courts and yards are not named; the sheer number of them would make it difficult at the scale of the maps. However, many can be identified on the 1849 1:1,056 map and the 1892 OS 1:500 map.

It is the census records which paint a picture of the social make-up of these areas and the population density, but it is also the first-hand descriptive accounts which come from Richard

[196] Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 191

[197] Owen, R., *Report on the State of Lancaster,* Health of Town's Commission, 1845 (Royal College of Surgeons) [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/muzugf5g/items?canvas=1 accessed 15/5/21], p. 22

Owen's *Report of the State of Lancaster*, for the Health of Town's Commission, in 1845, which really bring them to life. The collection of photographs taken by Sam Thompson in the 1920s, prior to their demolition, also provides an invaluable record of many.



St John's Yard, also known as Nile Court, close to the east end of St John's Church in 1927, Sam Thompson (UAD ref. 293)

The map below shows the locations much of the Mill Race HSHAZ's court and yard housing during the C19.

The social make-up of these courts is striking. The census returns, from 1841 onwards, show that they were populated by a very similar cross-section of trades. They include lots of mill workers: cotton weavers, card room hands, silk twisters, silk piecers, table baize grainers, as well as the sorts of trades you would expect for this particular area, cabinet makers and their apprentices, coach builders, blacksmiths, foundry labourers, stone masons' labourers, agricultural labourers, charwomen (cleaners), seamstresses, some receiving parish relief and lunatic asylum attendants.

The C19 mapping, particularly the OS surveys, show us the layouts of the courts and yards, and the fact that most were accessed via covered entrances from the street, many being very narrow passages. However, it is Richard Owen's 1845 report, which involved an inspection of the poorer districts of the town, the majority of them in the vicinity of the Mill Race area, accompanied by Mr Charles Ricketts, the resident medical officer of Lancaster Infirmary, and occasionally by architect Edmund Sharpe, which provide a first-hand account.

Croft's Yard, is described as being accessed via a tunnel entry (20 ft long and 1 yard wide) from St Leonard's Gate.[198] Another, accessed from Damside Street, was entered by a covered way which they could not pass through without stooping.[199]

All courts and yards in the report tended to follow similar layouts, with the key features being a privy, or privies, with an adjacent midden-stead (a refuse heap containing decomposing animal and vegetable matter) which was usually exposed. This would be removed periodically, ranging from

[198] Ibid, p. 15

[199] Ibid, p. 23

every 3 months to 3 years![200] It would usually be sold to local farmers, and the residents would remove it by the barrow-full down the narrow passages to the street, where it would be carted away by the farmer. The residents would be paid a small sum for the waste, in addition to the labour.[201]

Residents of the courts would access their water from two sources: wells, brought up by pumps on the whole, and roof water, via spouts into cisterns or water butts.[202] Most courts and yards had their own pump. The locations of the pumps are identified on the 1849 OS 1:1,056 scale map. However, as many of the inspections revealed, the pumps were often not in working order. In which case, the residents needed to resort to common pumps, which in the mill race area tended to be those at Stone Well and Calkeld Well. As Owen also points out, those courts and yards in the neighbourhood of these wells, c. 200 houses, did not have their own pumps, and were expected to use these common pumps anyway.[203]

The water from the wells was considered to be too hard for washing clothes, and so the residents would have to purchase soda to soften the water, subjecting them to a tax of 1p/week. However, once softened, the dirt was harder to remove and the soda washed the colour from the clothes.[204]

It is these sorts of details of the living conditions experienced by the many living in the mill race area which make make Owen's report so illuminating. He also comments on the toll that these conditions take on the residents, making reference to the wives of the operatives, upon whom the impact was,

-manifest in the sordid, sickly, querulous slaterns, into which women of originally cleanly and orderly habits had sunk, with obvious signs of habitual resort to intoxicating stimulants, combining to render the interior of their abodes as intolerable to the husband and the children as the exterior was disgusting.[205]

Admittedly, this comment was made in relation to their inspection of a court off Mason Street (which ran parallel to the southern boundary of what was to become the Gillow's factory site, on the land between North Road and St Leonard's Gate). This particular court, unnamed, is described as being below the level of the street and the floors of the houses always damp. This is exacerbated at high tide when the sewage from the mill stream would

[200] Ibid, p. 14

[201] Ibid, p. 15

[202] Ibid, p. 18

[203] Ibid, p. 19

[204] Ibid, p. 15

[205] Ibid, p. 17

be forced up through the gully-holes, flooding the yard. To make matters worse, the water pump was out of order when they visited, and they were told that the water is unfit for drinking in any case, having been polluted by the "surrounding drainings."[206]

The mill race is mentioned throughout the report as one of the main source's of the town's poor health and increasing mortality rate, given that the entire contents of the town's sewers, other than that on Bridge Lane, were discharged into it. Owen points out that many of the wells in and around St Leonard's Gate have been polluted by it and,

It affects the cellars and foundations of the adjoining houses, and is probably a chief cause of the occurrence of typhus fever in its vicinity, as in Dam-side-street, to parts of St Leonard-gate.[207]

Concerns over the health of the town are what prompted the study, following a number of epidemics during the C18 and C19, including typhus, infleunza, and cholera in the 1830s. The Health of Towns Commission had been appointed in 1843 to look at 50 towns with high mortality rates. Its purpose was to look at street conditions, such as paving and cleaning, drainage and water supply and the construction and ventilation of new buildings.[208]

Edwin Chadwick's report on *The Sanitary Condition of the Labouring Population of Great Britain* of 1842 had already identified high mortality rates in many of Britain's industrial towns, including Lancaster (Dr de Vitre had provided the report on Lancaster).[209] Chadwick, like Owen, was strongly in favour of providing proper drainage and water supplies, as well as proper ventilation.

Owen's inspection of Dye House Lane led him to the conclusion that,

The aggravation of the ills of poverty by the defective arrangements for the removal of excreta was perhaps nowhere more strikingly manifested than in the case of four abodes in Dye-house-lane: where in consequence of the confined space, the privy and ash-heaps were accumulated in the cellars.

He goes on to say that the usual reason given for keeping doors and windows closed was the bad smell outside. However, in this case, a contraption had been made to ensure that the outer door was

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[206] Ibid, p. 17

[207] Ibid, p. 14

[208] Stewart, E. J., *Courts and Alleys: A history of Liverpool Courtyard Housing*, Museum of Liverpool, 2019, p. 91

[209] Chadwick, E., *Report to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department from the Poor Law Commissioners, on an inquiry into the sanitary condition of the labouring population of Great Britain* ; with appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament, by command of Her Majesty, July, 1842. (London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine) [https://wellcomecollection.org/works/j23vgsgx/items?canvas=292 accessed 16/5/21]

kept open as the stench inside was so bad, especially during wet weather. The rent there was low, 1s. 9d. per week, as a result. One of the residents was said to be "an almost constant patient at the Dispensary for dyspepsia and gastric irritation."[210]



Dye House Lane in 1927, Sam Thompson (UAD ref. 279)

In a very unfortunate case in Crooked Billet Yard, off Lower Church Street (see map below), which was described as a narrow cul-de-sac,

One abode, of which the door and only windows opened against the midden-heap, had supplied the Dispensary with an interesting but fatal case of purpura haemorrhagica, in a child: the mother, in the same abode, had been carried off by puerperal fever of the typhoid type.[211]

Many of the inspections include accounts from Rickett on the occurrence of residents' visits to the town's Dispensary, which served to provide the sick poor with medical advice and medicine free of charge. There had been a dispensary in the town since 1781. In 1815, a House of Recovery was opened in addition, as it was recognised that there was a need accommodate inpatients, particularly to isolate those with contagious fevers, though it had only five beds.

Interestingly, Lancaster's first Dispensary had been a room on the Green Ayre, which is said to have been where no. 63 North Road now stands, before moving to Castle Grove (the home of Dr David Campbell) in 1785, and then 19 Castle Hill[212]. The site of the House of Recovery had been in Plumb Court, off Rose Street, a cul-de-sac at the end of Plumb Road.[213] This network of streets was sited on the land currently used as car parking off Bulk Street, in the Canal Quarter, and part of the Moor Lane Mills South site. However, in 1832, the two medical centres were amalgamated and the Lancaster Infirmary was established on Thurnham Street.

Richard Owen and Edmund Sharpe were instrumental in reforming the public health of Lancaster, as well as physicians such as Dr de Vitre. In his report, Owen recommended that

[210] Owen, op. cit., p. 16

[211] Ibid, p. 23

[212] Rhodes, B., & Wessels, Q., in Wessels, Q. ed., *The Medical Pioneers of Nineteenth Century Lancaster*, 2018, p. 40

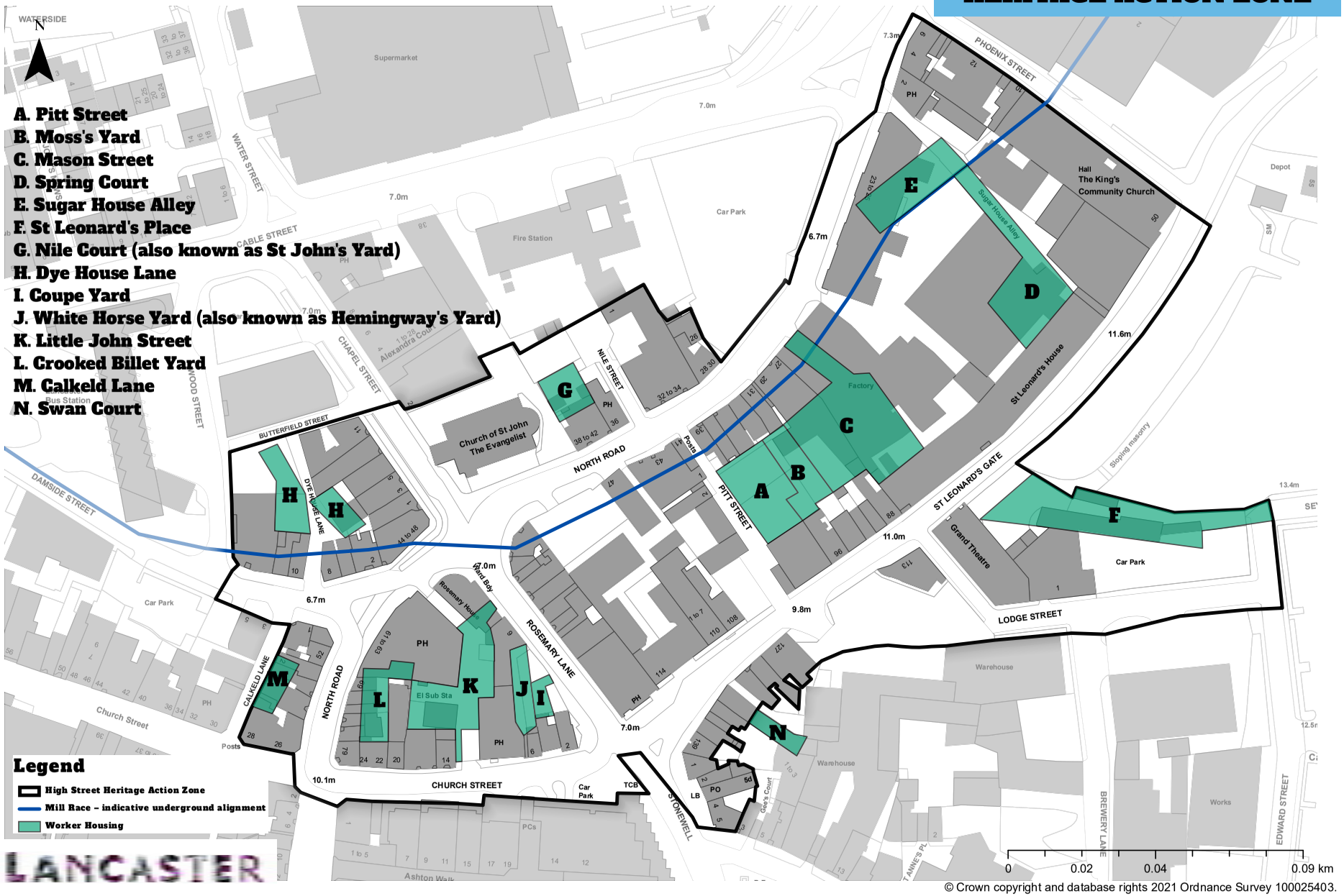
[213] Ibid, p. 45

every house should have an internal water supply and flushing drains, taking the water well away from the properties. It took several years, with Sharpe working tirelessly in a political (he was mayor for some of this period) and practical (measuring river flows and investigating the springs at Clougha Fell) capacity to see sanitary reforms. Eventually, in 1854 the first houses were connected to a new water supply and a new sewerage system was in place. The death rate began to fall, though it was many years before all the houses were connected.[214]

[214] Horsfield, K., 'Lancaster's Water and Sewerage Systems - Part One: The Politics', *Contrebis* 2005 v30, pp. 29-30

Lancaster High Street Heritage Action Zone- C19 Worker Housing

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE



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5. Issues and opportunities (CMP Stage 2)

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6. Policies (CMP Stage 2)

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1778 Mackreth (Lancaster Archaeological and Historical Society (LAHS) website: https://lahs.archaeologyuk.org/mackreth.htm)

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1821 Binns

1824 Baines

1845 OS map (published 1849), 1:1056 (HER)

1877 Harrison & Hall

1892 OS map, 1:500 (HER and Lancaster Library)

1891 OS map (published 1895)

1910 OS map

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