



HM Government

LANCASTER Hi!STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE

MILL RACE AREA CONSERVATION MANAGEMENT PLAN Part 1 (Adopted September 2023)



Historic England

**LANCASTER
CITY COUNCIL**

Promoting City, Coast & Countryside

FOREWORD

The Mill Race Area is an often-overlooked area of Lancaster's centre that encapsulates the history of the city. There is a perception that this area is somewhat peripheral to the city centre and has consequently been afforded less attention than other parts. However, what this conservation management plan (CMP) demonstrates is that the area retains its multi-period character in terms of its street layouts, property boundaries and mix of building ages. It is significant as a place of early industry due to the presence of the mill race which has dictated the layout which we see today. It also has a story to tell about how the city developed, both in times of prosperity and decline.

The area was awarded a High Streets Heritage Action Zone (HSHAZ) in recognition of the some of the challenges this area faces, and the changes occurring within the neighbouring Canal Quarter.

This CMP seeks to ensure that the area is managed appropriately both for the life of the HSHAZ programme and beyond. However, it is hoped that it will also be used by others as an evidence base and point of reference to better understand the area, enabling its built heritage to be sustained and enhanced for the benefit of all.

Councillor Jean Parr

Cabinet Member with particular responsibility for Planning and Placemaking

CONSULTATION & ADOPTION

The Mill Race Area CMP was adopted by the Council on 25 September 2023.

A public consultation period for the draft Part 1 was held for six weeks during July and August 2021.

Draft Part 1 was subsequently amended and consulted upon again alongside draft Part 2 and the Summary Document over six weeks during November and December 2022. This included two drop-in events; at St John's Church on 5 November, and at the City Museum on 7 December 2022. Following subsequent amendments, the CMP was formally adopted in the autumn of 2023.

WHY IS THE MILL RACE AREA SO SIGNIFICANT?

The Mill Race Area encapsulates Lancaster's history:

- **It retains its multi-period character:** its street layouts, property boundaries and mix of building ages. We know from below ground archaeology that the area is likely to include part of the Roman settlement.
- **It is the location of Lancaster's early industry.** A cornmill was built over the mill race around 1574. Dyers and tanners operated from the area, drawing water from the mill race. Sugar refiners, dyers, tanners and furniture makers benefitted from being near the river.
- **It has strong maritime connections.** Lancaster was an important port for West Indian trade during the C18 and maritime industries thrived. Wealthy merchants lived here, and they, together with mariners, gave generously to the new St John's Church and are commemorated there. The Ship Inn dates from the later C18 and took its name from the nearby shipyard (Brockbank's).
- **It is associated with Lancaster's role in transatlantic slavery.** Enslaved Africans produced sugar, dyes and mahogany wood used by local businesses. Resident George Burrow owned plantations in the Virgin Islands and received compensation when slavery was abolished in 1833. Slave-ship owners and importers of slave-produced goods, the Butterfields, built 7-11 Chapel Street, and Butterfield Street is named after them.
- **It was a hub for small and large-scale nineteenth century manufacturing.** Manufacturers produced carriages and harnesses, railway carriages, high quality furniture and stained glass. Surviving buildings include small-scale workshops around Pitt Street and Lodge Street and the grander Gillows Works complex.
- **It was home to the workers.** The area's population quadrupled in the 1800s. Worker housing developed piecemeal, creating courts, yards and alleys. Most worker housing has been demolished but there are some rare survivals. Bylaw housing was built to improved standards. Lodge Street has an early surviving example.
- **It inspired nineteenth century reformers.** Poor sewerage and dirty drinking water contributed to the high mortality rates there in the 1800s. Richard Owen's 1845 *Report on the State of Lancaster* resulted in improvements. Congregationalists established Centenary Chapel and School at 50 St Leonard's Gate in 1873 to supply "grace and religious education" to the growing population. Teetotallers established a coffee tavern there, drawing workers away from the beerhouses, taverns and inns.
- **It contains the work of notable architects.** St John's Church, with its landmark tower added by Thomas Harrison, provides a focal point. There are a number of buildings by the Sharpe, Paley & Austin firm, in its various forms, including the Gillow Showrooms, Phoenix Street Drill Hall and the Atkinson & Co. motorcar showroom. Their contemporary, Edward Howard Dawson, was responsible for the Phoenix Rooms Coffee Tavern and the Sunday School extension at 50 St Leonard's Gate.

- **It has strong connections to the armed forces.** Volunteer soldiers trained at Phoenix Street Drill Hall (1894). They evolved into the 5th Battalion the King's Own Royal (Lancaster) Regiment and were mobilised there in 1914 before being deployed to the Western Front. An Admiralty Recruiting Office also opened in St Leonard's Gate. Waring & Gillows produced aeroplane parts, camouflage nets and ammunition chests during both wars. Sadly, St Leonard's Gate and associated courts suffered the greatest number of casualties of any Lancaster street during the First World War.
- **It became a home for learners.** The area declined in the 1960s, which saw the closure of Waring and Gillows. Residents moved to new housing estates and terraces were demolished in anticipation of a relief road. The newly established Lancaster University made use of a number of the area's larger buildings, including St Leonard's House and the Centenary Church.

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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. The HSHAZ boundary map can be found below which includes the indicative line of the mill race channel.

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. Many of these would also be considered 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 2011², 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.

Lancaster is very fortunate to benefit from an Urban Archaeological Database (UAD); selected as one of England's 30 most important historic towns and cities to receive funding from English Heritage (now Historic England) for one in 2009. It brings together all the archaeological and historical data for Lancaster, presented as an interactive map. The UAD was compiled by Oxford Archaeology North (OAN). It has recently been made publicly accessible as part of the *Beyond the Castle* project, with funding from the National Lottery Heritage Fund.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 (now the Regional Heritage Centre) has resulted in 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 Vision (formerly Lancaster Civic Society), Lancaster and District Heritage Group (LDHG) and Lancaster Black History Group (LBHG). 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 has been 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>

The aim of the CMP is:

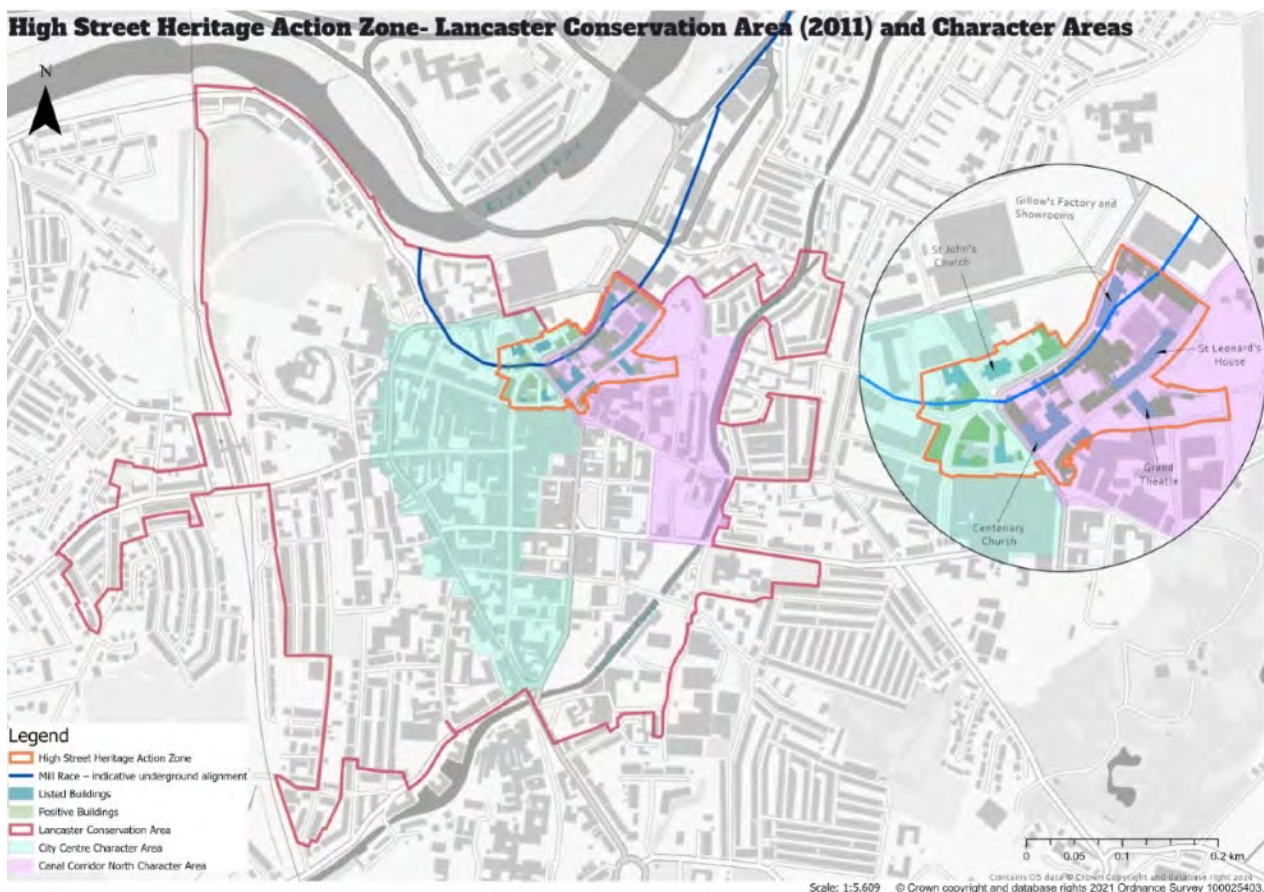
**TO MANAGE CHANGE APPROPRIATELY
TO SUSTAIN, ENHANCE AND PROMOTE THE MILL
RACE AREA'S BUILT HERITAGE FOR THE BENEFIT
OF ALL**

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

Part 1 includes a general assessment of the significance of the site by looking at its heritage values or interests (section 3). These are looked at by street, and then as an area as a whole.

Part 2 sets out the nine objectives of the CMP, discusses the key issues faced by the area and identifies opportunities and policies to help achieve the overall aim.

The final section provides a Summary Policy Implementation Plan, intended to guide future decision-making within the area.



1.4. Acknowledgements

Special thanks must go to a number of individuals who have been very generous with their time and knowledge of the area. In particular, Peter Iles of Lancashire Archaeology Service, historian Colin Stansfield for his research on architects in the area, Dr Fiona Edmonds for her comments on Lancaster's early and medieval history, as well as to Rachel Roberts, Rachael Bowers, and the wider Lancaster City Museums team for their supporting research and for sharing information and images from their archives. The help of the team at Lancashire Archives, especially John Rogan and David Tilsley, has been much appreciated. We have greatly benefitted from the amazing work previously undertaken by Colin Stansfield to make the Lancaster Building Plan Register information accessible. A special thank you is also due to Les Coffey. Many building owners in the area have a real interest in the history of their buildings and of the area, and particular thanks are due to Peter Hearne, Anthony Gregg and John Holt for sharing their knowledge and for allowing access to buildings and to original documents relating to their properties. Thank you too to John Angus and Les Jacobs for passing on their knowledge of buildings in the area. Huge thanks are also due to Lancaster Black History Group, especially those involved in the excellent Lancaster Slavery Family Trees Community History Project. Particular thanks go to Dr Sunita Abraham for always including us in the events in which their project's amazing research and other

achievements were shared. Professor Imogen Tyler's insights and guidance on revealing the important threads of connection between Lancaster's involvement in the transatlantic slave trade and its industrial and welfare heritage have been invaluable.

1.5. Abbreviations

BNA - British Newspaper Archive

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)

CCT - Churches Conservation Trust

CMP - Conservation Management Plan

HE - Historic England

HER - Historic Environment Record

HSHAZ - High Streets Heritage Action Zone

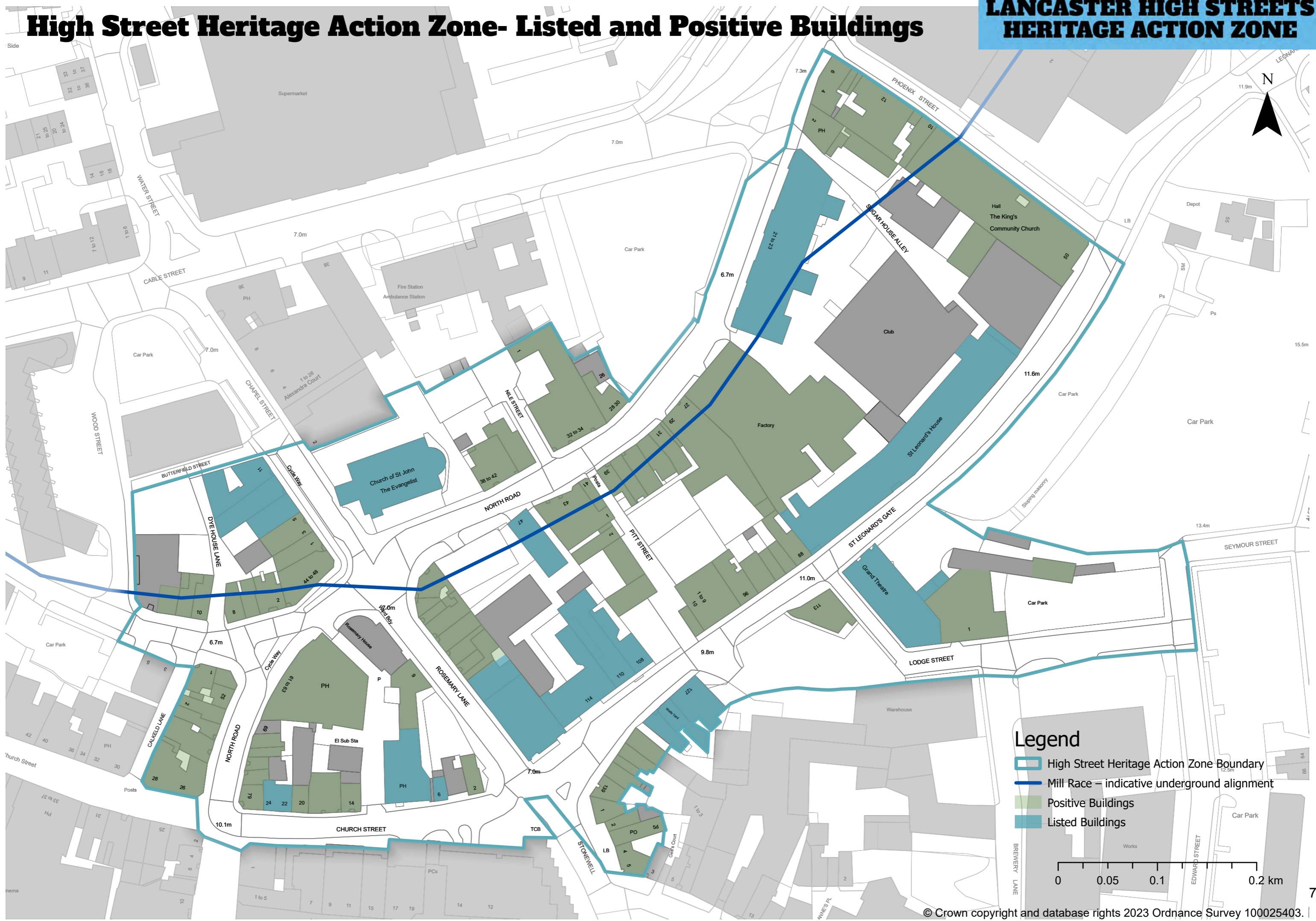
LBHG - Lancaster Black History Group

OAN - Oxford Archaeology North

UAD - Urban Archaeological Database

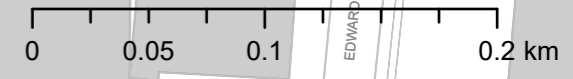
High Street Heritage Action Zone- Listed and Positive Buildings

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE



Legend

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



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.

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 marked⁴. Evidence of these ancient boundaries was revealed in excavations on the former Mitchell's Brewery site in Church Street,⁵ for example.



Figure 1: 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

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

⁴Oxford Archaeology North (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 may date 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,¹⁰ and the twice-yearly assizes continued to be held in Lancaster, as they had during the C13.¹¹ Lancaster's role as the judicial capital of Lancashire was established.

The Tudor period is considered to have been one of economic stagnation for the town and one during which it fell into a general state of disrepair. For example, the house of the Dominican or Black Friars was lost in 1539 during the Dissolution of the monasteries. However, it was nearly 250 years before this large site was redeveloped.

Despite being a quiet country town, the presence of the Castle resulted in a struggle for its possession during the Civil War. The Castle had been in Royal hands at the outbreak but was soon taken with ease by the Parliamentarians. A failed attempt to recapture the Castle by the Earl of Derby, resulted in wide-spread destruction in retaliation. Following the restoration of the Stuarts in 1660, Lancaster Castle was demilitarised and became a places of trial and detention of alleged insurgents.¹²

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

⁸ OAN, op. cit., 2008, para. 2.1.24

⁹Hartwell, 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 Parker, J. (ed.), 'Assizes at Lancaster: 4 John-26 Henry III', in *Lancashire Assize Rolls*, [<https://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/lancashire-assize-john-edw1/pp1-4>]

¹² Mullet, M., 'Lancaster Castle and the British Civil Wars, 1642-1651', *Contrebis*, v.37, 2019

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.¹³

However, Lancaster holds the unfortunate title of having been the fourth largest slave trading port in England, after London, Bristol and Liverpool during the 1750s. Lancaster merchants developed extensive commercial networks in the West Indies and Americas through the importing of slave produced goods and the export of manufactured goods to Africa. It is thought that at least 122 ships sailed from Lancaster to the coast of Africa and the town's merchants were involved in the capture and selling of an estimated 30,000 people.¹⁴

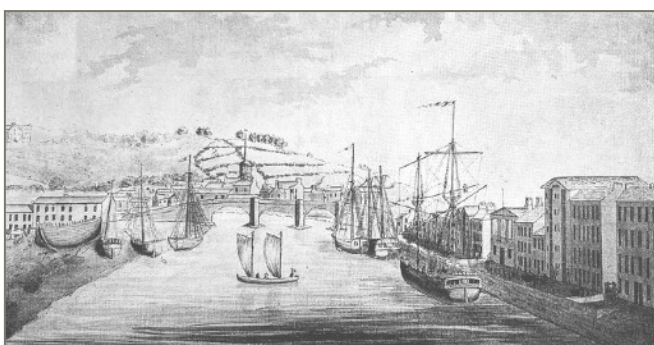


Figure 2: St George's Quay towards the old bridge, c. 1790, Gideon Yates

This decade saw great 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).



Figure 3: 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

¹³ White, op. cit., 2003, p. xi

¹⁴ Tyler, I., *Stigma: The Machinery of Inequality*, 2020, p. 54

families, specialising in table baize, oilcloth and linoleum¹⁵. 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, as well as the military barracks, constituted ten percent of the borough's population.¹⁶

The Storeys and Williamsons dominated 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 uses, such as Moor Lane Mills, and White Cross Mills.

The University has had, and continues to have, a hugely positive impact on many aspects of the city (see section 2.3.5.4).

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.¹⁷

Lancaster's Roman fort was an auxiliary one, unlike those of York and Chester which were legionary. However, it is significant as one of only three known to have been rebuilt in the C4 for coastal defence along the Irish Sea.¹⁸ Whilst York and Chester retain some of their original street patterns, it is much less common for a town based

¹⁵ Winstanley, M., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 173

¹⁶ Ibid, p. 185

¹⁷ OAN, op. cit., 2008, para. 2.1.2

¹⁸ Dr Fiona Edmonds, comments made in an email dated 13.08.21

on a smaller fort, like Lancaster, to still have streets following ancient lines.¹⁹

of the many changes were peculiar to Lancaster.”²²

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. However, the result of this seems to have been that many of the mid-C18 public buildings and private buildings survived in use rather than being replaced by later C18 and C19 work²⁰. Lancaster is unusual in that a multi-layered history can be perceived in the city to a greater extent than in many other towns and cities in North-West England.²¹

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

¹⁹ White, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 13

²⁰ Peter Iles, comments provided on 01.09.21

²¹ Dr Fiona Edmonds, comments made in an email dated 13.08.21

²² 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, and retains a multi-period character (see Appendix D).

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.

Whilst there is evidence of prehistoric activity from the Neolithic period (4000-2500 BC) onwards in the city, no occupation sites have been identified. This is not unexpected, however, given the extent of Roman and later activity which will have disturbed earlier remains.²³

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*²⁴, 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 the UAD map shows (Appendix C), reveals a settlement pattern along Church Street, as well as Penny Street. Evidence of burials have been found at the southern end of Penny Street, which shows that this was the extent of the settlement to the south. Legally, you could not bury in a Roman town. The current thinking is that the cemetery/town boundary is the line of Spring Garden Street/ George Street²⁵ (see Figure 4).

²³ P. Iles in correspondence.

²⁴ 'Vicinus' is a specific legal term for a Roman settlement that has been granted specific rights and responsibilities; it is not known if Lancaster had been given this status although it is certainly possible. The word is used as a convenient shorthand for an organised settlement of the period chiefly associated with the Roman governance and occupation of the country and utilising Roman building designs and methods. Not all inhabitants would have been Roman citizens (indeed they may have been a minority) but Roman law, lifestyles and culture would probably have been the norm and people from across the whole empire may have visited or settled here. (Peter Iles in correspondence, 2022)

²⁵ P. Iles in correspondence.

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.²⁶ 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.²⁷

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. Unfortunately, no archaeological works were undertaken before or during the development of the St Nicholas Arcade and car park complex. However, close to the HSHAZ area, Roman finds were made in 1812, where amphora fragments, and other pottery, as well as querns and millstones have been found.²⁸

The Roman river shore appears to have run from the base of Castle Hill (Bridge Lane/Three Mariners) and round the foot of the scarp between Church Street and Damside Street. The eastern and northern edges are less well defined,

but as an approximation the mill race could be taken as the centre of the channel. There is currently no definitive information for the Roman crossing point of the river (it can reasonably be assumed that there was one) or any Roman quayside or harbour structure.

Remains in the field behind St George's Quay have been said to be Roman and possibly associated with the waterfront, but this is yet to be confirmed.²⁹

An early route providing access from Church Street to the river can be seen on Speed's 1610 map (Appendix A) in the location of Calkeld Lane. It is one of the oldest named streets in the town. *Calkeld* derives from the Old Norse for 'cold spring'. This does not, of course, necessarily make it pre-Norman, however.³⁰

²⁶ Shotter, D., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 15

²⁷ Ibid, p. 20

²⁸ UAD ref. 96 and UAD ref. 415

²⁹ Peter Iles, comments provided 1/9/21

³⁰ Ibid, p. 8

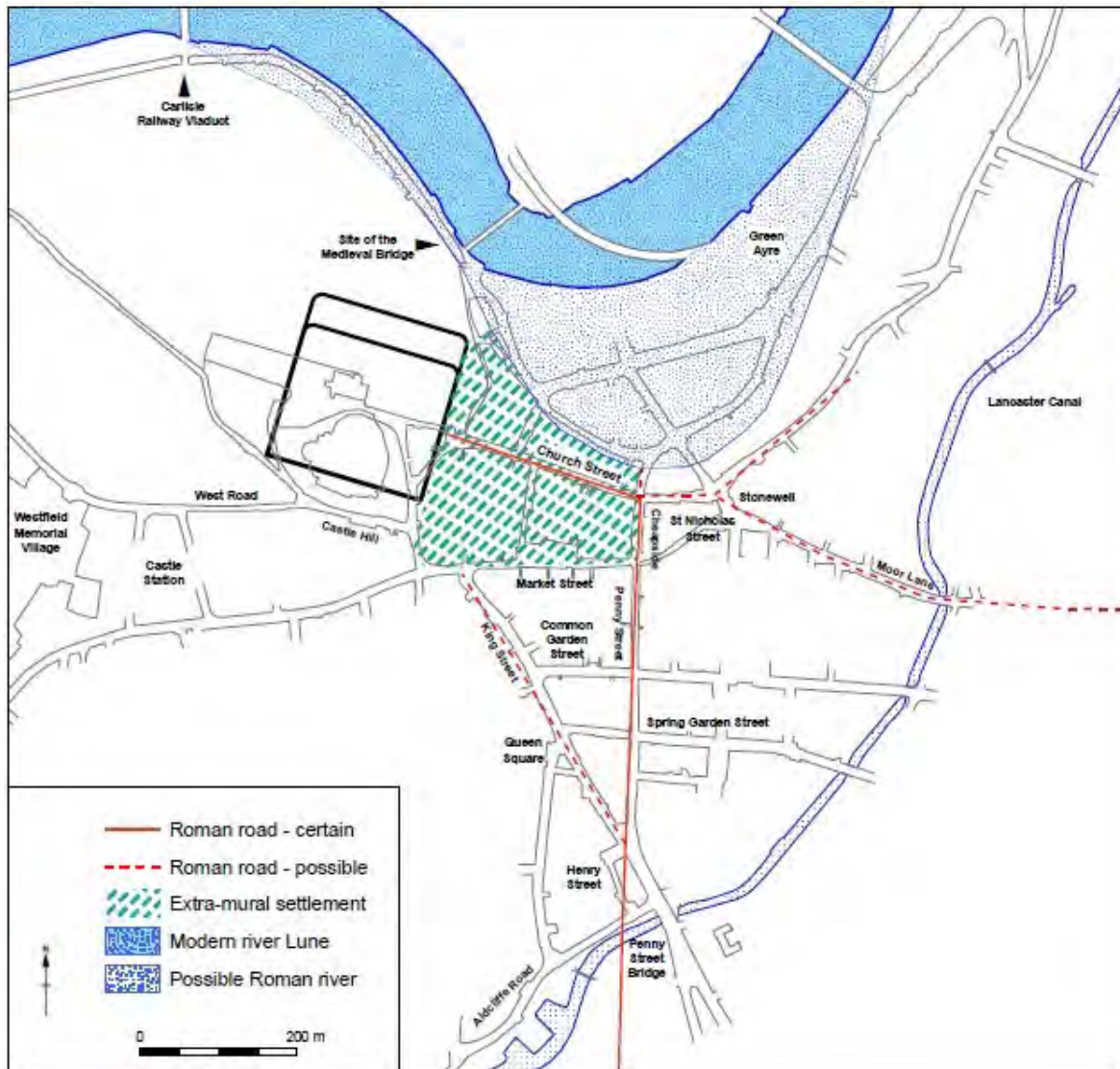


Figure 4: Roman Lancaster from Iles, P., & Shotter, D., *Lancaster's Roman Cemeteries*, 2009

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,³¹ 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.³² The site of the hospital was outside the borough boundary, on what is today known as Factory Hill. Its site is marked on the 1848 OS map (1:10,560).

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 1199³³, 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 streets³⁴, 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,³⁵ 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 its exit just upstream from the Millennium Bridge. Between it and the river is land known as the Green Ayre. 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 C12.³⁶ A study of medieval deeds (many of which are unpublished) may enable the mill to be located.³⁷ However, what we can say with certainty is that in

³¹ Shotter in White ed., *op. cit.*, 2001, p. 33

³² 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]

³³ Hartwell & Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 362

³⁴ White, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 14

³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 49

³⁶ Ranulf, Earl of Chester gave the Priory rights to the emoluments from Lancaster Mill in 1149 (Horsfield, 2001).

³⁷ Dr Fiona Edmunds in an email dated 13.08.21

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.³⁸ 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. Today, the site of the mill is partially beneath no.s 12-16 Damside Street, and beneath the road itself. [see Appendix A]

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 C17.³⁹ On Speed's map, it discharges into the mill race via an open channel which follows the line of Rosemary Lane.

Many of the fluctuations in the building line, such as the stepping forward of the building at no. 1 Stonewell, have survived.⁴⁰ In addition, Mackreth's 1778 plan shows where an historic plot boundary survives today in the walled curtilage of the former workshop building, to the east of the Grand Theatre, in St Leonard's Place.⁴¹

³⁸ Horsfield, op. cit., p. 10

³⁹ *Lancaster: Canal Corridor North - Assessment of Heritage Values & Significance*, The Conservation Studio & The Architectural History Practice, July 2011, para. 2.12

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, para. 2.51

⁴¹ *Ibid*, para. 2.17

⁴² White, op. cit., 2003, p. 33

⁴³ White, A. *Lancaster's Historic Inns*, 2009, p.130

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 there was demand for small cottages to rent, known as 'court' and 'yard' developments, which later became slums.⁴² The rear land was also 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.



Figure 5: Stonewell House lintel of 1701, to the rear of 139 St Leonard's Gate

Stonewell is an example of where this was happening in the 1640s, in what was later to be known as Swan Court (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.⁴³ 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 they created. Access to water was also required, and a deed of 1729 mentions a water course.⁴⁴ A large pit was discovered in Chapel Street close to St John's tower containing cut sheep bones, thought to be evidence of neat's foot oil extraction, used in the tanning process.⁴⁵

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 C17.⁴⁶ No. 6 Church Street, also a former house, now a restaurant/takeaway, is likely to be early C18.



Figure 6: Gideon Yates' View of Stonewell, 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 (Figure 7) and Mackreth's maps (Appendix A). However, Yates is known to have moved buildings about in his paintings, so this should not be assumed to be an entirely accurate representation.

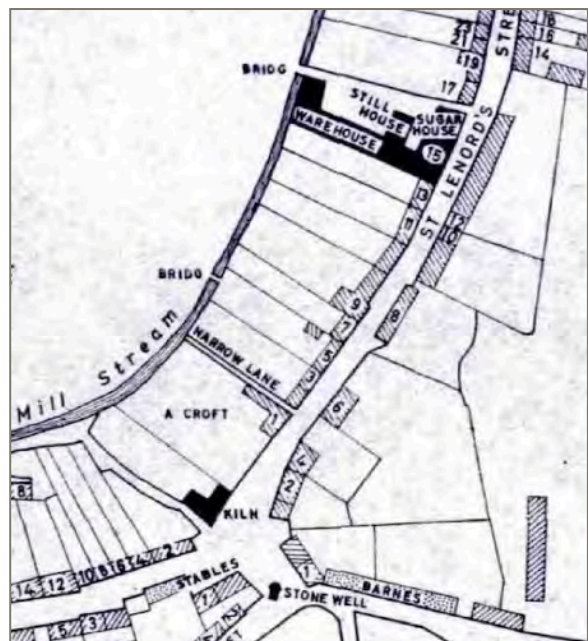


Figure 7: Detail from Docton's 1684 map showing the Kiln and the first Sugarhouse

By 1684, the open channel from Stone Well appears to be in culvert, and a 'kiln' can be seen

⁴⁴ CCN, op.cit., para. 2.52

⁴⁵ UAD ref. 393 pit discovered in 1988. White, A., 2004, p. 54

⁴⁶ White, op.cit. 2009, p. 140

on the corner where the Centenary Church now stands. The kiln is thought to have been associated with a soapery and kelp house.⁴⁷ Kelp was probably burnt as ash, as an alkali source for making soap.

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 only indication on the map that Lancaster's trade with the West Indies had begun [See Sugarhouses].

The Green Ayre had been open land, mainly used for recreational purposes, as the Buck Brothers' 1728 panorama (Figure 1) illustrates, 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, fine furniture, pans and kettles, as well as pottery from the Lancaster Potworks on St George's Quay⁴⁸. 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 cloth and rope making⁴⁹. Ropeworks appear to have been widespread, particularly in St Leonard's Gate and close to the old mill dam.⁵⁰

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.

This new trade offered many opportunities, and resulted in much material wealth for the town, including fine Georgian architecture. However,

⁴⁷ A 1795 indenture describes a house, shop and yard, and soapery, with an associated yard at the corner of Chapel Street and North Road, and a building described as a kelp house on the opposite side of the road, UAD ref. 395

⁴⁸ Blenkinship, B., & Hobson, M. S., *Lancaster Delftware: an 18th-century pottery (1754-c. 1786)*, 2022

⁴⁹ 'Map One: Lancaster Sailcloth Premises 1808' in Price, J., 'Industry and Changes in its Location in Nineteenth Century Lancaster, Contrebis

⁵⁰ White, A., 2004, p.55

much of this wealth was the product of the slavery business (the importation of goods produced by enslaved people), the slave trade and slave ownership (a number of Lancastrians were plantation owners).⁵¹



Figure 8: Plan detail from a 1755 description of the mill (UAD 529)

The importation of plantation goods produced by enslaved people in the West Indies and Americas also fostered specialist manufacturing for which the HSHAZ area became a hub for sugar processing and dye associated trades. 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 Transatlantic Trade). By 1794, there were at least 11 other cabinet making workshops in the town.⁵² Several were in the HSHAZ area.

As well as clear evidence of tanning taking place in this area, dyeing was another process found here, as suggested by Dyehouse Lane name. This lane can be first seen on a 1742 plan of 'Lots or Parcels of ground', along with a dye house on the opposite side of the mill race to the mill.⁵³

Eighteenth century dye-making was reliant upon overseas trade for importing of natural dyestuffs, which included tropical woods, such as dyewood.⁵⁴ Dyeworks were often built adjacent to watercourses due to the quantities of water required in the dyeing process.⁵⁵

A plan of the site dated 1755, also shows the mill and dye house were adjacent, with 'Butterfield's Dye House' on the north side of the mill race.⁵⁶

The town's mill was demolished in 1769. However, the dyehouse still appears to be standing, isolated, on Mackreth's 1778 map (Appendix A).

⁵¹ Tyler, I., 'Decolonising Lancaster: a Preliminary Resource List for local teachers and community groups working on Lancaster's Slavery and Plantation histories', www.stigmamachine.com

⁵² Dalziel, N., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 126

⁵³ This plan forms part of the deeds to 7-11 Chapel Street (provided by Peter Hearne)

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Phelps, P., Gregory, R., Miller, I., Wild, C., *The Textile Mills of Lancashire: The Legacy*, Oxford Archaeology North and Historic England 2018, p.50

⁵⁶ UAD ref. 529

This dyehouse was replaced by a new dyehouse which formed part of a development with dwellinghouses by the Lancaster Corporation,⁵⁷ over the top of the mill race, c.1800. These buildings survive today at no.s 2-12 Damside Street.



Figure 9: Brockbanks' Yard on the Green Ayre looking towards St George's Quay, c. 1806. Attributed to John Emery (Lancaster City Museums)

2.3.3.2. Expansion

The development of Green Ayre, which had previously been used largely for recreation, gathered pace during the C18. From 1730, Brockbanks had their shipyard and woodyard there, which can be seen on Mackreth's 1778 map. Brockbanks was responsible for building many ships used in the direct trade of plantation produced goods, but some were also used in the transportation of enslaved people. A painting dated 1806 showing a ship under construction in the yard is thought to be the slave ship *Trafalgar*.

If it is, then it might have captured one of the last purpose-built slave ships under construction, just before the Slave Trade Abolition Act of 1807.⁵⁸ It was painted by John Emery (1777-1822), a comic actor, who travelled to Lancaster to perform at the Theatre Royal⁵⁹ (Grand Theatre).

As well as shipbuilding, the Green Ayre was developed for housing by the Corporation from the 1740s, for the growing population. Private individuals also developed there, for example at the west end of Cable Street. The extent of the town's expansion by the turn of the century is illustrated on Clark's map of 1807 where existing buildings are shown as filled blocks and development plots are outlined (many were never built in the form shown). [See Appendix A]

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 1742.⁶⁰ The three buildings are listed. No. 11 had a warehouse added in the late C18. They are now shops with living accommodation above.

⁵⁷ *Lancaster Gazette*, 28 June 1834, (British Newspaper Archive)

⁵⁸ Research by Isabella Tyler, for the Lancaster Slavery Family Trees Community Research Project, 2021

⁵⁹ The Theatre was re-named the Theatre Royal in 1803, following a visit from H.R.H Prince William of Gloucester. However, as A.G. Betjeman points out in *The Grand Theatre, Lancaster: Into the Third Century* (2008), the new title was totally illegal since there is no evidence that Letters Patent were granted to the theatre (p. 13)

⁶⁰ <https://www.theglassworksapartments.co.uk/history> (accessed 8/5/21)

St John's Church was also developed on the Green Ayre in 1754-5, and was known as the Corporation Church, containing the Corporation Pews, reserved for the town's dignitaries⁶¹. 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. Attributed to architect Henry Sephton of St Helens, the tower was added by Thomas Harrison 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.⁶²

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. It is first listed as an inn from 1772, though the current building dates from 1889.⁶³

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.



Figure 10: The Grand Theatre in March 2023, built 1782

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

⁶¹ Church of St John the Evangelist, The Churches Conservation Trust, 2011

⁶² Giles, C., *Discovering Historic Lancaster: a visitor's guide*, English Heritage, 2012, p. 8

⁶³ White, A., *op. cit.*, 2009, pp. 121-2

(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.⁶⁴

The Theatre (later to be known as the Grand Theatre) was built on St Leonard's Gate in 1782 (Figure 10), funded by public subscription, and managed by Austin and Whitlock, who were responsible for a number of other northern theatres⁶⁵. It had a number of owners, including Edmund Sharpe who bought it in 1843. Edmund Sharpe (1809-1877) was a Lancaster-based architect responsible for founding the practice Sharpe, Paley and Austin⁶⁶, one of the most successful Victorian architectural firms, with a national reputation. Sharpe was also an engineer, businessman, politician and sanitary reformer.

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.⁶⁷ The Theatre Tavern, which was also opposite the theatre, is thought to have been on the site now occupied by the 1920s extension to the Gillow Works. In 1802, the tavern was extended by innkeeper Joseph Redmayne⁶⁸ and became known as the George Inn.⁶⁹ However, the building appears to have been owned by Richard Gillow. Prior to its use as an inn or tavern it had been the residence of a succession of Catholic priests from the early 1700s.⁷⁰ The mission chapel, known as 'The Barn'⁷¹ could be found in a discreet location behind on what was to become Mason Street. By 1784, 400 Catholics are recorded as having worshipped there. However from 1799, the new chapel and priest's house were built on Dalton Square (Palatine Hall), with financial assistance from Richard Gillow.

⁶⁴ White A., *Life in Georgian Lancaster*, 2004, p. 16

⁶⁵ CCN, op. cit., para. 2.61

⁶⁶ The firm took a variety of names over its its life as the members of the practice changed over the years, with sons taking over from fathers, for example. It was also known variously as Paley & Austin, Austin, Paley & Austin and Austin & Paley.

⁶⁷ White., op. cit.,2009, p. 123

⁶⁸ Father of Leonard Redmayne, the Lancaster partner of the firm Redmayne, Whitesides & Ferguson who purchased the Gillow business in 1813)

⁶⁹ 'Joseph Redmayne, Theatre Tavern, Leonard-gate, Lancaster', *Lancaster Gazette*, 4 Sep 1802 (BNA) & Cross Fleury, 1891, p.172

⁷⁰ *Aspects of Lancaster: Discovering Local History*, Wilson, S. (ed.), 2002 & *St Joseph's: The History*, Crowley, J

⁷¹ Cross Fleury, 1891, p.169

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 Fryerage⁷², and St George's Quay, but also out into the former fringes of the countryside.⁷³

Elegant new town houses were appearing up the hill on Church Street, 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 out, "On the other hand, few wealthy people could be found in Stonewell or Rosemary (known as 'Stinking') Lane, where life expectancy was short."⁷⁴ 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 (Figure 73), 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 its proximity to the river, so its popularity may have been mixed.⁷⁵



Figure 11: 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.⁷⁶ The Music Room (grade II*), which today stands in Sun Square is a former garden pavilion c.1730, dating from before the garden's subdivision.

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

⁷² This site had been the house of the Dominican Friars until it was lost during the Dissolution in 1539, see section 2.1.

⁷³ White, op. cit., 2003, p. 33

⁷⁴ White, op. cit., 2004, p. 18

⁷⁵ CCN, op. cit., para. 2.57

⁷⁶ Ibid, para. 2.24

trade had become focused around Liverpool and Bristol, and many of the Lancaster merchants had transferred their interests to Liverpool. A major contributor was the difficulties of navigating up to the town's existing quay as the sizes of the ships began to increase. After 1815, Lancaster's maritime trade began to decline.⁷⁷ 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.⁷⁸ 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 continued to take place on the Green Ayre into the 1840s.⁷⁹ Significant numbers of wood yards can be seen on the 1849 OS map (1:1,056). [See Appendix A]

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, though this new transport link was unfinished for over 20 years. The canal's purpose had been to link the

⁷⁷ Winstanley, M., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 174

⁷⁸ Ibid

⁷⁹ Ibid, p. 175

⁸⁰ Ibid, p. 182

⁸¹ Price, J., 'Industry and Changes in its Location in Nineteenth Century Lancaster', *Contrebis* 1995, v20, p. 40

coalfield at Wigan with the limestone around Kendal, bringing coal north to the booming industry and lime for agriculture in the south. This earned it the name the 'Black and White Canal' locally.

Compared with East Lancashire, however, cotton manufacture was not a great success and through the mid-C19 it was absorbed by the Storeys and Williamson's oilcloth businesses,⁸⁰ as Grey Cotton was to be used as the backing for oil cloth. This guaranteed the future of the canal-side mills⁸¹ and their expanding empires were to dominate Lancaster employment in the late C19.

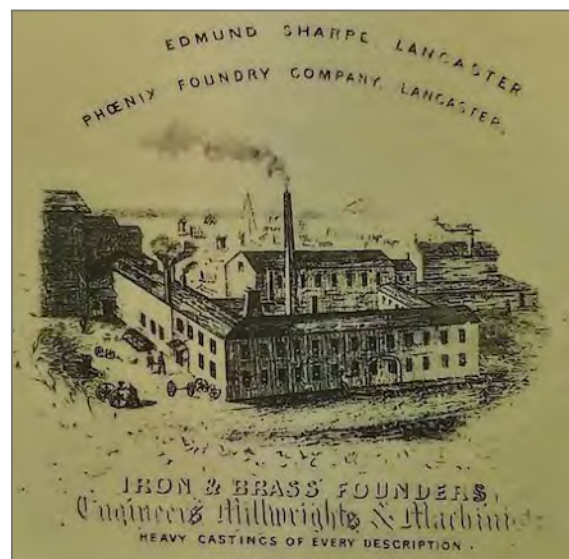


Figure 12: An advert for Edmund Sharpe's Phoenix Foundry, mid-C19 (Lancaster City Museums)

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 1861.⁸²



Figure 13: William Richmond's carriage showroom, dated 1899, designed by architect J. Parkinson

2.3.4.1. Adapting businesses

Despite the arrival of the railway (to a terminus in South Road) in 1840, extended to the new Castle Station and across the Lune by 1845, 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.⁸³ 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 second Sugar House site off St Leonard's Gate, as did the adjacent Phoenix Foundry (Figure 12), which was involved in producing rolling stock for the Little North Western Railway.⁸⁴ By the 1860s, the Lancaster Carriage and Wagon Works was established to the east of Green Ayre Station⁸⁵, which became a major employer in the area.⁸⁶

Coach making continued in the area, however, and they could be found in and around St Leonard's Gate, offering a variety of horse-drawn vehicles including Brougham, Phaeton and Landau carriages. Throughout the C19, a series of coach makers ran the business which was to become known as the North Lancashire Carriage Works (NLCW). It appears to have been established in 1797 by Peter Cooper who was operating from 98 St Leonard's Gate, next door to the Shakespeare Tavern⁸⁷. Subsequent proprietors operated from there (John Goodfellow, Richard Dunn, J. & I. Hartley⁸⁸) before the Hartleys built a new carriage works on a plot

⁸² Ibid, p. 41

⁸³ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 176

⁸⁴ Price, J., op. cit., p. 41

⁸⁵ This station opened in 1849 as part of the line from Poulton-le-Sands (later Morecambe to Leeds (route completed in 1850).

⁸⁶ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 178

⁸⁷ Lancaster Gazette, 31 July 1802, 25 January 1806, 17 August 1822 & 14 Sep. 1822 (BNA)

⁸⁸ Notices in the Lancaster Gazette 17 Aug 1822, 15 April 1826 & 17 May 1856 (BNA)

of land to the rear of the theatre (known as The Music Hall by then) in the 1850s⁸⁹, on what is now known as Lodge Street. From 1870 the business was owned by William Harrison & Co. and it became known as the NLCW. By 1874 William Richmond was the proprietor⁹⁰ and the buildings underwent alterations in 1883.⁹¹ By 1899 Richmond had also built a carriage showroom just round the corner at 113 St Leonard's Gate (Figure 13), with the initials 'WR' and '1899' carved on the left-hand capital.⁹²

Other coach-builders operating in the area included William Gilchrist in Nile Street from 1856, having taken over Thomas Malley's coach building business, into the 1860s,⁹³ before establishing the Castle Coach Works near the Castle Station (though by 1913 the firm was operating from 98 St Leonard's Gate⁹⁴). Peter Jackson was also coach building in Damside Street (now North Road), on the corner of Nile Street in 1856, and Colman and Townley, also making coaches and harnesses, is listed as operating from Spring Court (now Sugar House Alley) in Kelly's 1898 Directory.

2.3.4.2. Purpose-built premises

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

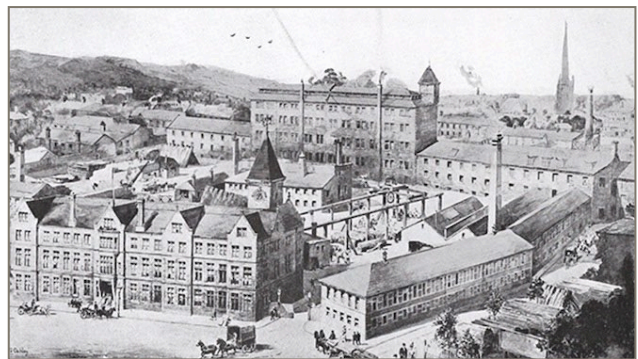


Figure 14: The Gillow Works and showrooms, 1898

elsewhere within this area, including in St Leonard's Place. The former workshop building there also dates from the late C19, and a furniture maker is listed as the occupier in the 1891 Cook's Directory.⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Dodd, M., *Digested History of the Building Housing the Musicians' Co-op*, unpublished.

⁹⁰ Lancaster Gazette, 10 Sep 1870, 2 Aug 1873 & 7 Nov 1874 (BNA)

⁹¹ November 1883 plans, MBLA 9, Plan no. 559, Lancashire Archives

⁹² Plans and building notice for carriage showroom, 1899 (MBLA 24, Plan no. 1760, Lancashire Archives), CCN, op. cit., para. 2.72

⁹³ Lancaster Guardian 25 October 1856 & 14 November 1857 (BNA)

⁹⁴ Bulmer's History and Directory of Lancaster and District, 1913 (Lancaster Library)

⁹⁵ CCN, op. cit., Gazetteer, p. 103

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 Abbott & Co. Ltd's stained glass workshop.

Mitchell's brewery expanded from the 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.⁹⁶



Figure 15: Baxter's retail development on the corner of Stonewell and Moor Lane, c.1900, Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection

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.



Figure 16: 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

New purpose-built retail premises were developed at no. 1 Stonewell by Mr Kendrick, an

⁹⁶ Ibid, para. 2.85

ironmonger, in 1876 and no.s 3-5 Stonewell in c. 1883 by the Baxters, linen and woollen drapers.⁹⁷

There 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.⁹⁸



Figure 17: A rare survival: Swan Court, to the rear of 133-37 St Leonard's Gate

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."⁹⁹

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."¹⁰⁰

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 (presumably the coach-builder operating from 98 St Leonard's Gate) was responsible for the Mason Street housing development after 1837,¹⁰¹ which included some back-to-back housing, which was fairly unusual in Lancaster. This ran along the south western boundary of the Gillows site.¹⁰² The development

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 109

⁹⁸ Ibid, para. 2.41

⁹⁹ White, op. cit., 2003, p.38

¹⁰⁰ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 194

¹⁰¹ Oxford Archaeology North, *Gillows Building, 23-25 North Road, Lancaster* (Historic Building Survey Report), OA Reference No. L11062, February 2019, para. 3.2.9

¹⁰² A further example of this can be seen in the remains of Dickson's Yard, which featured back-to-back housing, at the junction of Parliament Street and Bulk Road (P. Iles in comments provided on 16.12.2022).

incorporated the former Catholic mission chapel which, prior to its conversion by Dunn, had been used by Gillows & Co. as a furniture warehouse. Cross Fleury states that the Gillow employees referred to the building as 'The Temple' owing to its "original character".¹⁰³

The site which was to become the busy Gillows Works 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 showroom 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, 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.

Edmund Sharpe built a pair of 3-storey cottages on north side of the Theatre in 1840, to raise revenue to support the 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 1835¹⁰⁴. 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.¹⁰⁵



Figure 18: Sharpe's Theatre cottages

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

¹⁰³ Cross Fleury, *Time Honoured Lancaster*, 1891, p. 172

¹⁰⁴ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., pp. 184-5

¹⁰⁵ CCN, op. cit. para. 2.73

waste.¹⁰⁶ Bylaw housing was introduced by local authorities following the 1848 Public Health Act and 1858 Local Government Act to improve housing standards, drainage and sanitation. Lancaster's bylaws date from after 1859.¹⁰⁷

2.3.4.6. Health

In the 1840s, there was concern, especially amongst the physicians, including Edward Denis de Vitre (1806-1878)(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.¹⁰⁸

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.

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..."¹⁰⁹

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 resolved¹¹⁰

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 putting many coaching inns out of business, the removal of soldiers from billets in inns to specialised barracks, and 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.¹¹¹ 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, describing a new practice of employers paying their workers' wages on a

¹⁰⁶ CCN,op.cit., p.20

¹⁰⁷ CCN, op. cit., p.12

¹⁰⁸ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., p. 209

¹⁰⁹ 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]

¹¹⁰ Horsfield, op. cit., p. 46

¹¹¹ White, op. cit., 2009, pp. 41-2

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.”¹¹²



Figure 19: EH Dawson’s 1888 Sunday School Building, St Leonard’s Gate

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 1865,¹¹³ as well as a Coach Makers’ Arms at 91 St Leonard’s Gate from 1881. However, 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 1906.¹¹⁴ Another beerhouse in the area which is thought to date from the mid-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.¹¹⁵

Temperance groups were active within the HSHAZ area, and a coffee house was built on the Parliament Street corner of Phoenix Street in 1887 for the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company.¹¹⁶ Established in 1878, this was their fifth coffee house.¹¹⁷ In 1892 Edward Howard Dawson ARIBA designed the adjoining Phoenix Rooms for the company, where functions could be held. Today this building is used as student accommodation. The temperance movement had previously brought another group to the area. In the 1870s, the High Street Congregationalists had split over the issue of ‘total abstinence’ from drink. The stricter group broke away¹¹⁸ and decided to establish a new mission church and school in the east end of the town to cater for the growing

¹¹² 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/j23vgsqx/items?canvas=292> accessed 16/5/21], p. 250

¹¹³ White, op. cit., 2009, p. 74

¹¹⁴ White, op. cit., 2009, p. 76

¹¹⁵ White, op. cit., 2009, p. 127

¹¹⁶ Colin Stansfield who has carried out extensive work on Lancaster architects alerted us to this.

¹¹⁷ ‘Opening of a New Coffee Tavern’, *The Lancaster Gazette*, 28 May 1887 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹¹⁸ Gedge, P., ‘The Churches of Lancaster - Their Contribution to the Landscape’, *Contrebis*, v.25, 2000, p.17

worker population, to be known as the Centenary Congregational Church.¹¹⁹ In 1872 they purchased the former Lawson mansion (50 St Leonard's Gate), with Paley & Austin appointed to carry out the adaptation, which opened in November 1873. The congregation soon outgrew the building, however, and so the site at Stonewell was purchased in 1877, and the Gothic Centenary Congregational Church by JC Hetherington and GD Oliver of Carlisle,¹²⁰ was completed in 1881. The St Leonard's Gate church became the school, which also later required additional space, and was extended to the front in 1887 (completed 1888) to the design of Edward Howard Dawson (Figure 19).

By then they had 569 pupils on their books, ranging from 2-13 years. EH Dawson's father, Edward Bousfield Dawson of Aldcliffe Hall, funded the new extension.¹²¹ It was his father, John Dawson, who is thought to have funded the High Street Independent chapel in 1772.

2.3.5. Twentieth century

The historic centre remained largely intact 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 the Second World War. The 1960s and 70s saw much change in the area, with the clearance of the workers' housing on the north east side of St Leonard's Gate for the planned eastern relief road, which was never built. St Nicholas Street was lost in 1967-71 for a new retail development.¹²²



Figure 20: The production and inspection of bi-plane wings at Waring and Gillows, Lancaster, 1917 [Historic England ref. BL23741/036], thought to be in the 'Old Mill' on North Road.

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

¹¹⁹ The Lancaster Gazette, 1 November 1873 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹²⁰ Hartwell & Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 362

¹²¹ The Lancaster Gazette, 24 March 1888 and 1 December 1888 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹²² This 'modern' development was undertaken before heritage became a matter considered as part of the planning process. However, it did lead to instances of 'rescue' archaeology being undertaken in haste, such as that during the Mitre House development (and other similar redevelopment elsewhere), which ultimately resulted in the foundation of archaeological units such as the Cumbria and Lancashire Archaeological Unit (CLAU, later Lancaster University Archaeological Unit and then Oxford Archaeology North) and the eventual incorporation of heritage into planning legislation and guidance (Peter Iles comments provided on 16.12.22).

residents of the overcrowded courts and yards were also leaving.¹²³ However, much 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 1920.¹²⁴



Figure 21: Waring & Gillow 1919 hangar-style building, photographed c.1960

Despite the loss of the Wagon Works on Caton Road in 1909,¹²⁵ 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 1897. A large reinforced

concrete framed building extended the factory, St Leonard's House, along the St Leonard's Gate frontage in the 1926, designed by Jennings & Gray Architects of Canterbury.¹²⁶ 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.¹²⁷

The 1919 curved-roof building on North Road built over what was once Mason Street, has a resemblance to an aircraft hangar, and has a Belfast truss roof.¹²⁸ It is possible that this is related to Gillows work building aircraft parts during the First and Second World War.

The continuation of the HSHAZ area's relationship with transport can also be seen in its links with the motorcar. By 1901, the Lodge Street North Lancashire Coach Works was also occupied by the Lancaster & Morecambe Motor Car Co. Ltd, alongside William Richmond's coach building. In

¹²³ Ibid, p. 195

¹²⁴ Constantine, S. & Warde, A., in White ed., op. cit., p. 244

¹²⁵ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 178

¹²⁶ Building plans and notice for proposed factory for Messrs Waring & Gillow, Plan no. 3535, Lancashire Archives

¹²⁷ <http://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/dd5a752e-48b5-4eb4-ae01-56d69c93f81d> accessed

¹²⁸ Timber Shed, North Road, 15 September 1919, Plan no. 3082 (Lancashire Archives)

addition, one of the earliest purpose-built motorcar showrooms in the country was approved in 1902 to plans by Austin & Paley for William Atkinson.¹²⁹ As well as selling well-known brands, they also produced their own car, the John O'Gaunt. The building 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 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. James Atroy of Preston rented the hall for use as a cinema until 1912. It continued to be used for showing films until 1922.¹³⁰ 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. However, the hall hosted many different events; playwright and political activist George Bernard Shaw was a

speaker there at an event arranged by the Trades' Council in January 1905.¹³¹

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 (Lancaster) 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 1894 Drill Hall on Phoenix Street is an example of that, as the headquarters of the Lancaster Rifle Volunteers.

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.¹³² It is very likely that many from the area were part of that Battalion. One such soldier was Private Matthew Farrell (Figure 22), 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 16.¹³³

¹²⁹ Hartwell & Pevsner, *op. cit.*, p. 395

¹³⁰ Stansfield, C., 'The Earliest Cinemas in Lancaster', *Contrebis* 2017 v35, p. 66

¹³¹ Lancaster Standard and County Advertiser, 20 January 1905 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹³² https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Phoenix_Street_drill_hall,_Lancaster

¹³³ 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.¹³⁴



Figure 22: 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*)

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.

The area's connection with the armed forces is strengthened by the fact that the Admiralty Recruiting Office for the Royal Navy during the First World War was at 92 St Leonard's Gate.¹³⁵ In 1919, men demobilised from the Royal Navy were being invited to rejoin until the end of March 1920. Young men to be employed as stokers were urgently required. The recruiting office by then was next door at no. 94. Presumably, the location of the offices was selected based on the demographic of the area.¹³⁶

2.3.5.3. Decline

Despite the manufacturing prosperity of the 1950s and early 1960s, which saw the home furnishings market really take-off at home and internationally, production facilities began to

¹³⁴ *Streets of Mourning*, *Mapping Loss: Communities in War and Peace*, <https://wp.lancs.ac.uk/greatwar/the-worst-affected-streets/> [accessed 17/5/21]

¹³⁵ Detail provided by John Holt and *Lancashire Evening Post*, 12 October 1914 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹³⁶ *Lancashire Evening Post*, 11 June 1919 (British Newspaper Archive)

close down or become reduced in scope from the 1960s. Demand for certain products changed, but changes in ownership also resulted in rationalisations.¹³⁷ This had a direct impact on the HSHAZ area.

Waring & Gillows was acquired by Universal Stores in 1961 and closed on 31 March 1962, resulting in the unfortunate loss of 300 jobs¹³⁸. 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. More recently it has been converted back into 'academic' use as student accommodation.

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."¹³⁹ However, the volume of traffic using the gyratory today means

much of the area has become traffic-dominated and the two sides of the Mill Race Area have effectively become severed. The congestion, air pollution and lack of safe navigation for pedestrians are once again problems for the area which need addressing. [See Part 2, Issue 3: Traffic and Public Realm]



Figure 23: 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 of an eastern relief road. Though this was never built, it resulted in the clearance of much of 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 cottages and the last remaining house on Lodge St, no. 1, which is 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.

¹³⁷ Constantine, S. & Warde, A., in White ed., op. cit., pp. 260-1

¹³⁸ Ibid, p. 261

¹³⁹ Ibid, p. 263

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.

2.3.5.4 University

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.¹⁴⁰The University's new Bailrigg campus opened towards the end of the 1960s, so these uses were fairly short-lived. However, the Student Union's Sugarhouse nightclub still makes use of a former Gillow building on the site of the town's first sugarhouse today and it is clear that the area is seeing a resurgence of its university ties once again. The area has seen large numbers 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 former Phoenix Rooms, 112 and 114 St Leonard's Gate, and the former warehouse to the rear (47 North Road), as well as some new builds.

Since the 1980s, the C19 Lodge Street carriage works, 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.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lancaster_University [accessed 17/5/21]

¹⁴¹ 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 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.

The Roman town seems to have been concentrated along Church Street, but what we do not know is where its actual edges were. The southern cemetery flanks Penny Street, from at least Common Garden Street south. The northern edge must have been along the riverside, i.e. Damside Street, but the east and west sides are unknown. A guess at its extent is can be seen on the map in Figure 4.

What we do know is 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 making this area of land accessible.

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 in the 1850s.

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

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.¹⁴² 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 workshop building in St Leonard's Place, and in the unusual shape of the building at 113 St Leonard's Gate. Docton and Mackreth's maps are

¹⁴² White, *op. cit.*, 2003, p. 33

particularly helpful in illustrating this (Appendix A).

In addition to these main routes are the narrow lanes, which still survive, including Calkeld Lane, Dye House Lane, Pitt Street and Nile Street. These lanes provided north-south access; Calkeld Lane being one of the earliest routes in the HSHAZ, and can be seen on Speed and Docton's maps appearing to provide access to the mill.

Narrow Street on Docton's map may represent Pitt Street, though they do not clearly align on the map overlay shown in Appendix B. Nile Street was blocked at its northern end by the city's new fire station in the 1960s. 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 were once a number of court and yard developments in the HSHAZ, many of these were cleared between the wars, though a number were demolished in the early 1880s, and again in the 1920s to enable the expansion of the Gillows Works. However, Swan Court does survive to the rear of no. 133 St Leonard's Gate. Despite these clearances, there is still a density to much of the area, and a close grain.

It was the clearances in the 1960s and 70s which had the most noticeable impact, particularly on the continuous frontages. These remain as gap

sites today and have undoubtedly had a negative impact on the area, not only on its character and appearance, but also in terms of the reduced activity in the area. However, even with these vacant sites there is still a noticeable lack of useable open space. There is an opportunity to address this and enhance the area (see Part 2).

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 of architectural value, 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 1848 OS map (1:10,560), and were in operation until the 1870s and 80s. Williamson Park now occupies the sites. Quarrying of stone in Lancaster ceased in 1938, though continued in the district, a quarry at Ellel only closing in 1985.¹⁴³



Figure 24: Late C18 polished freestone

These quarries had a ready supply of ashlar blocks, which can be seen on the front elevations of many C18 and C19 buildings in the area, these are often flush-jointed ‘polished freestone’ but other examples of dressing techniques can be found.



Figure 25: Early C19 punch dressed and bordered local sandstone

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, usually blue/grey (Burlington) and sometimes green (Westmorland) which would often be laid in diminishing courses, as the stone slate was, and by the end of the century it was common-place in the town.¹⁴⁴ 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

¹⁴³ Gardner, S, *Natural Stone Source Directory*, Lancaster City Council

¹⁴⁴ White A., *The Buildings of Georgian Lancaster*, 2000, pp. 6-7

former houses are both grade II listed. No. 8 forms part of the Stonewell Tap.



Figure 26: 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 (Figure 60). An even larger late C18 three-storey merchants' house can be seen at no. 127 St Leonard's Gate (former Tramway Hotel) (Figure 75). This five-bay, three-storey house was built using ashlar to the front, and also has quoins and partly coped gables and kneelers. An adjacent pair of more modest three-storey houses of a similar date, were converted into shops with c. 1900 shopfronts (Figure 27).

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



Figure 27: No.s 129-131 St Leonard's Gate. Late C18 houses with C.1900 shopfronts

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 (Figure 28), 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.



Figure 28: 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), and thought to be the work of architect Henry Sephton of St Helens. The elegant and prominent tower was added later, in 1784, by Thomas Harrison. Its distinctive apsidal east end dates from the 1920s. This grade II* listed building has the impressive interior you might expect from a Georgian church, with galleries and fine box pews likely to be by Gillows. It also contains Shrigley and Hunt stained glass from 1870 in the north chapel and north aisle,¹⁴⁵ as well as windows thought to be by Lancaster's Seward & Co.¹⁴⁶



Figure 29: 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 and the third longest continually operating theatre in the country

¹⁴⁵ Hartwell & Pevsner, op. cit. pp. 371-2

¹⁴⁶ Stansfield, C., *A Photographic Catalogue of Stained-Glass Windows by A Seward of Lancaster*, LAHS, 2021

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p. 397

¹⁴⁸ <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1288711>

outside London. Whilst it has been altered several times, with the front dating from 1884, the recently conserved south west elevation, which was HSHAZ grant assisted, displays its Georgian origins. It has an impressive free Renaissance style interior too, which dates from after a fire in 1908.¹⁴⁷

Another prominent spire with the HSHAZ is that of the late C19 Centenary Church, built by the Congregationalists in 1877-81 to serve the growing community in this part of Lancaster, after the congregation outgrew the chapel and school at 50 St Leonard's Gate originally created to celebrate the centenary of the Independent Chapel on High Street in 1873. Built in free Early English (Gothic) style, using rock-faced coursed sandstone with ashlar dressings¹⁴⁸, 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.



Figure 30: 98 St Leonard's Gate, a, late C18 workshop building used by a series of coach builders throughout the C19, now student accommodation

2.5.3. Warehouses and workshops

The earliest surviving warehouse and workshop buildings within the Mill Race Area appear to be those at 41 (Figure 50) and 47 North Road, to the rear of no. 11 Chapel Street and 98 St Leonard's Gate (Figure 30), all of which appear to date from around the late C18 and can therefore be seen on Mackreth's 1778 map.



Figure 31: Late C18 warehouse to the rear of 11 Chapel Street.

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 (see Figure 50).



Figure 32: 47 North Road in the foreground, with new infill student accommodation beyond

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 C19.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ <https://historicengland.org.uk/listing/the-list/list-entry/1290590>

To the left-hand side of the entrance to Dye House Lane from Damside Street is another former warehouse (recently revealed) at no. 14-16, which is likely to date from the late C18 or early C19. Attached is a pair of former houses, which form a group with the other former houses on the opposite side of the Dyehouse Lane entrance. 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.



Figure 33: No. 10-16 Damside Street, on the site of the town's former mill, over the mill race

Built by the Lancaster Corporation c. 1800 over the top of the mill race, at its widest point, they were built as a group of dwelling houses and a

dyehouse. No. 2-4 was originally the dyehouse (now Cunningham's Jewellers).



Figure 34: 2-4 Damside Street. watercolour from notebook of T. Cunningham c. 1887, pre-shopfront (G. Byron)

Damside Street throughout the C18 and C19, especially towards Fleet Square (where the bus station is located) was heavily built up with warehousing and dwellings alongside one another.

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 (Figure 16), 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.¹⁴⁹ 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 are 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.



Figure 35: Former Gillows factory, St Leonard's Gate. 1881/2 building with 1920s extension, and recent attic addition.

The largest buildings within the Mill Race Area, are those which form part of the former Gillows Works, now 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, added in 1926, is a reinforced concrete framed building which doubled its size. It was constructed by contractors R.L. Dilworth Ltd.¹⁵⁰ Its ten bays are 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 & Austin¹⁵¹. 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.



Figure 36: Gillows showrooms, North Road, in 1917 (Historic England ref. BL23741/001)

¹⁴⁹ CCN, *op. cit.*, Gazetteer, p. 109

¹⁵⁰ Building plans and notice for proposed factory for Messrs Waring & Gillow, 1925/6, Plan no. 3535, Lancashire Archives

¹⁵¹ Colin Stansfield believes that the showrooms may be the work of architect George Tunstal Redmayne, former pupil of and assistant to Alfred Waterhouse

2.5.5. Revivalism of the late C19 and early C20

Several other buildings within the HSHAZ area are attributed to the Sharpe, Paley and Austin practice, 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. Austin & Paley's plans were approved in 1902 for this building which is thought to be one of the earliest purpose-built car showrooms in the country.



Figure 37: Austin & Paley's Baroque Revival car showroom, c. 1902

Another Paley, Austin & Paley building, designed in a Baroque Revival style in 1893 (completed by February 1894),¹⁵¹ is the Drill Hall on Phoenix Street, built for the Rifle Volunteers of the King's Own Royal Lancashire Regiment. This single storey frontage, which rises to two storeys at the entrance, responding to the incline of the street,

¹⁵¹ Plans approved 17 March 1893, *Lancaster Gazette*, 25 March 1893, 'New drill hall' in use by February 1894, *Lancaster Guardian*, 10 February 1894 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹⁵² *Lancaster Gazette*, 1 October 1892 (British Newspaper Archive)

is particularly distinctive with its four scrolled gables but its scale gives the street a friendly, domestic feel. However, Austin & Paley were not the only ones to embrace the revivalism fashion during the late C19 and early C20. The area is notable for the number of revival style buildings within it.



Figure 38: Drill Hall, Phoenix Street c. 1894

The adjacent former Phoenix Rooms, on Phoenix Street, dates from 1892, and was built for the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company and designed by another local architect, Edward Howard Dawson ARIBA.¹⁵² This was also designed 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.

Also the work of EH Dawson is the former Sunday School extension at the opposite end of Phoenix

Street (Figure 19). This was completed in the following year (1888),¹⁵³ but in a very different style, a neo-gothic style, using Dawson's characteristic red and buff sandstone chequerwork.



Figure 39: Former Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company premises, Phoenix Rooms, designed by EH Dawson, 1892

Adjacent to the Centenary Church are the 1899 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. Designed by Robert Walker of Windermere,¹⁵⁴ it is constructed using rock-faced and ashlar sandstone, like the attached Centenary church, though stylistically it clearly differs but also draws from the revival styles that were so popular at the turn of the century.

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.



Figure 40: Cromwell Buildings, alongside the Centenary Church, Rosemary Lane

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 and its setting, 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 St John's and at the entrance to Nile Street, which also generally retains its setted surface. However, the use of wide deep yellow lines, rather than the

¹⁵³ *Lancaster Gazette*, 24 March 1888 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹⁵⁴ Stansfield, *op. cit.*, p. 66

narrower primrose lines often used in conservation areas detracts from the appearance of the setts.

Stone setts appear to have survived in most of the courts and lanes, including Calkeld Lane, though these were re-laid in the 1990s, but they can also be seen in part in Dye House Lane, in Pitt Street and Swan Court. Others can be seen at the splayed entrances to lanes or buildings with carriage openings, including St Leonard's Gate and Lodge Street.



Figure 41: Nile Street setts (looking towards North Road)

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. Wooden blocks were used in place of stone setts at the top (south) of Penny Street, which are thought to have been used to reduce the noise of horse and cart traffic. It is possible that they may have been

used elsewhere too, including outside the higher status houses on St Leonard's Gate.¹⁵⁵



Figure 42: Setted entrance to Pitt Street from St Leonard's Gate

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, the east side of North Road (the later section between Cheapside and Damside) and Lodge Street.



Figure 43: Stone setts on Damside Street (Doris Florence Cunningham in front of 2-4 Damside St, c. 1930s, G. Byron)

¹⁵⁵ Peter Iles in comments provided 16.12.22

2.6.1. Views

There are many views worthy of note within the Mill Race Area, a number of them are indicated on the map below¹⁵⁶. 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 (see Appendix E). 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.

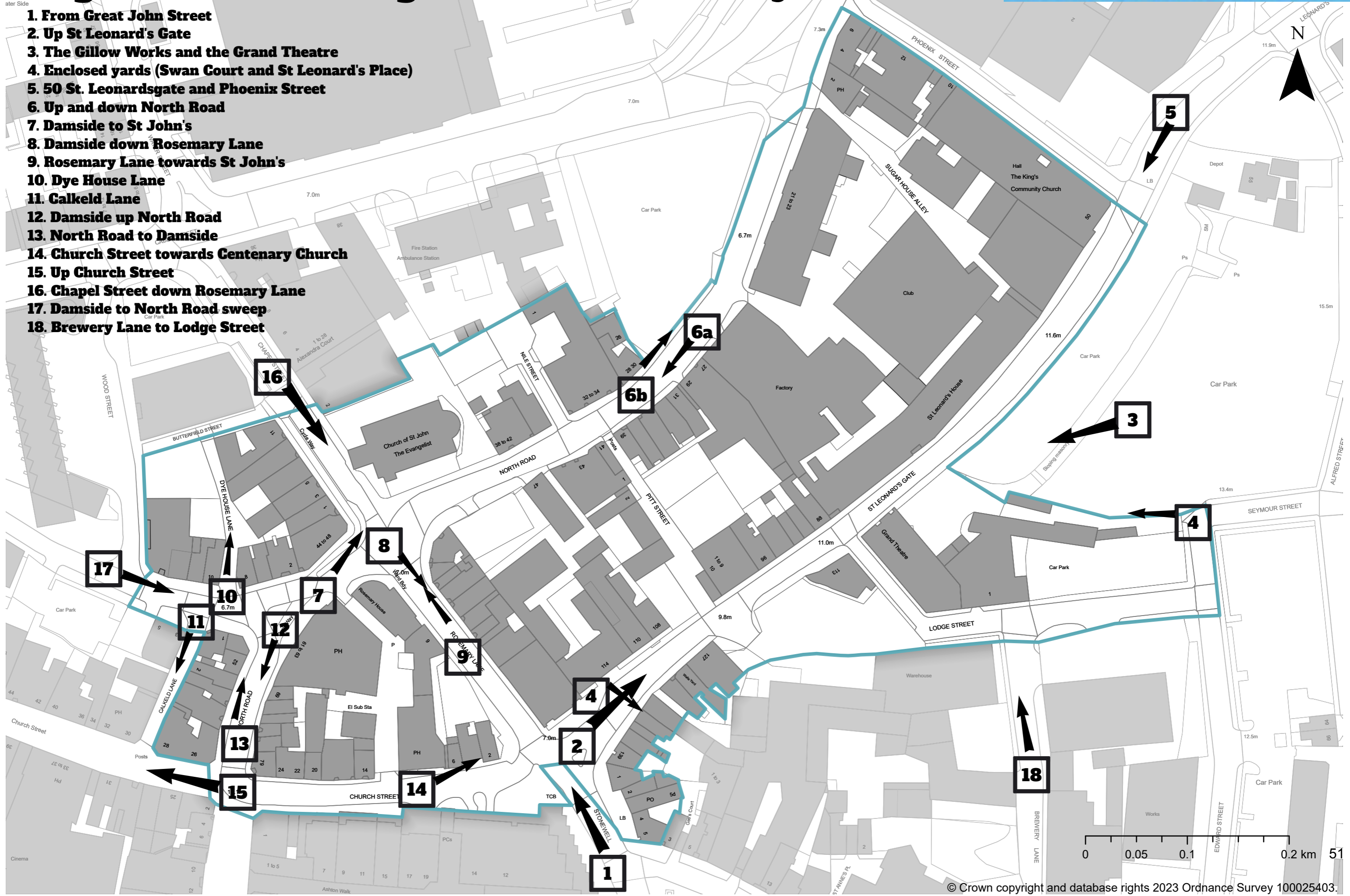
Glimpses into the more confined spaces of Dye House Lane and Swan Court too are no less important which give an important reminder of the small-scale industry on the backland and of court and yard housing that was so prevalent in the area.

¹⁵⁶ Appendix E makes reference to these key views in relation to how each street contributes to the character and significance of the Mill Race Area.

High Street Heritage Action Zone- Key Views

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE

1. From Great John Street
2. Up St Leonard's Gate
3. The Gillow Works and the Grand Theatre
4. Enclosed yards (Swan Court and St Leonard's Place)
5. 50 St. Leonardsgate and Phoenix Street
6. Up and down North Road
7. Damside to St John's
8. Damside down Rosemary Lane
9. Rosemary Lane towards St John's
10. Dye House Lane
11. Calkeld Lane
12. Damside up North Road
13. North Road to Damside
14. Church Street towards Centenary Church
15. Up Church Street
16. Chapel Street down Rosemary Lane
17. Damside to North Road sweep
18. Brewery Lane to Lodge Street





1



4



2



5



3



6a



4



6b



7



11



8



12



9



13



10



14



15



16



17



18

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”.*¹⁵⁷

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. Significance derives not only from a heritage asset’s physical presence, but also from its setting.”¹⁵⁸

How it is assessed

In 2008, English Heritage set out an approach for thinking systematically and consistently about heritage values that can be ascribed to a place in its *Conservation Principles* document. It set out four values: Evidential, Historical, Aesthetic and Communal. These are broadly in line with those set out in the NPPF.

Whilst the Historic England guidance is still considered current, it should be noted that in their recent advice note on *Statements of Heritage Significance*, it is the NPPF heritage values which are referred to¹⁵⁹ and are now more commonly used. The heritage values in this document will therefore refer to the NPPF heritage interest terms, the full definitions of which are set out in the *Planning Practice Guidance*¹⁶⁰. They are defined here as follows:

¹⁵⁷ Clark, K., *Informed Conservation*, English Heritage, 2001, p. 12

¹⁵⁸ Annex 2: Glossary, *National Planning Policy Framework*, Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, July 2021

¹⁵⁹ *Statements of Heritage Significance: Analysing Significance in Heritage Assets, Historic Advice Note 12*, Historic England, 2019

¹⁶⁰ *Planning Practice Guidance: Historic Environment: Paragraph: 006 Reference ID: 18a-006-20190723*, Revision date: 23 07 2019

- **archaeological** – a place which holds, or potentially holds, evidence of past human activity worthy of expert investigation at some point.
- **architectural and artistic** - this is about the design and general aesthetics of a place. They can arise from conscious design or fortuitously from the way the heritage asset has evolved, which can include their contribution to the townscape. More specifically, architectural interest is an interest in the art or science of the design, construction, craftsmanship and decoration of buildings and structures of all types
- **historic** - an interest in past lives and events. Heritage assets can illustrate or be associated with them. Heritage assets with historic interest not only provide a material record of our nation's history, but can also provide meaning for communities derived from their collective experience of a place and can symbolise wider values such as faith and cultural identity.

Setting:

As the NPPF states, significance is also derived from a heritage asset's setting, which it defines as:

*The surroundings in which a heritage asset is experienced. Its extent is not fixed and may change as the asset and its surroundings evolve. Elements of a setting may make a positive or negative contribution to the significance of an asset, may affect the ability to appreciate that significance or may be neutral.*¹⁶¹

In an urban setting such as the HSHAZ, with the number and proximity of heritage assets involved, the setting is inextricably linked to townscape considerations and of the character and appearance of the conservation area. There may be elements of conscious design, or those which are fortuitous, and might include attributes such as street surfaces.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Annex 2: Glossary, *National Planning Policy Framework*, Ministry of Housing, Communities & Local Government, July 2021

¹⁶² *The Setting of Heritage Assets: Historic Environment Good Practice Advice in Planning 3*, Historic England, 2017, para.8, p.4 and para. 9, pp.5-6

Levels of significance:

This assessment of significance is intended to provide an overarching analysis by street in a *local* context and to identify how they contribute to the character and significance of the Mill Race Area of the Lancaster

Conservation Area.¹⁶³ This assessment also provides an indication of what the streets' main interests are and to signpost where further research might be required. Where individual buildings have been looked at in greater detail this information will be used to inform the list of non-designated heritage assets (NDHAs) as well as the HER.

An overall conclusion about the level of significance is given on a seven-point scale from 'Very High' to 'None'. This scale has been based on that set out in the *Canal Corridor North Assessment of Heritage Values and Significance* study from 2011, which is the only area-wide assessment of heritage values to have been carried out in the city to-date.¹⁶⁴ Given that the HSHAZ and the CCN area, now known as the 'Canal Quarter', overlap it is right that this assessment

should be calibrated against it; the levels of significance have therefore been attributed on a relative basis, with reference to the Mill Race Area and the Canal Quarter. However, they should also be viewed in the context of the wider Lancaster Conservation Area.

- **Very High:**¹⁶⁵ This is the highest level of significance, and would be attributed to those heritage assets of clear national importance, such as grade I and II* listed buildings (including St John's) or scheduled monuments, and include those with potential international importance.
- **High:** This level of significance would be attributed to grade II listed buildings. There are 18 grade II listed buildings in the area, and most are important for their architectural and artistic value, as well as their historic and archaeological value. This level also includes buildings or streets which have been found to possess high levels of historic, architectural, artistic and archaeological value following recent investigation.

¹⁶³ A recommendation for a new 'Mill Race Character Area' is made in Part 2 of this CMP. See Appendix E for a summary of the Mill Race Area's significance and character and how each street contributes.

¹⁶⁴ The *Canal Corridor North Assessment of Heritage Values and Significance (2011)* document forms part of the evidence base of the Local Plan, informing the evidence for strategic policies and land allocations.

¹⁶⁵ This has been added to the scale as the CCN study area did not include any highly graded listed buildings or scheduled sites.

- **Medium to High:** Buildings, features or spaces of clear local, regional and potentially national value. May include less significant parts of listed buildings, such as later additions. Assets in this category make a positive contribution to the townscape and to an understanding of the area's evolution.
- **Medium:** Buildings, features or spaces of local value. Assets in this category may well make a positive contribution to the townscape and to an understanding of the area's evolution.
- **Low to Medium:** Buildings or spaces of some archaeological value, but due to the low level of architectural, artistic or historical value, significance is limited.
- **Low:** Buildings or spaces with a low level of architectural, artistic, historic or archaeological value and unlikely to yield more information.
- **None:** Buildings, features or spaces of no heritage value. These may also have an adverse impact on the overall heritage value of the

townscape or the setting of other buildings.

Building integrity:

In most cases, buildings have only been assessed externally for the purposes of this document. Therefore, their interiors have not been a consideration.¹⁶⁶

The degree of alteration which a building has experienced, though not necessarily its condition, affects the level of significance attributed to a building. However, some changes to unlisted buildings, such as windows, which could easily be reversed with support from the HSHAZ scheme, have not necessarily been an impediment to attributing a higher level of significance.

Not surprisingly, the listed buildings retain a high degree of physical integrity, certainly externally, and usually internally too. Fewer examples of this can be seen in the unlisted buildings in the area, though the original uses of many can still be read. However, those that remain most unaltered externally tend to be those that have not been adapted for retail purposes, such as the Drill Hall and former Phoenix Rooms (Lancaster Coffee Tavern Co.) or those

¹⁶⁶ It should be noted, however, that interiors can also contain important heritage features, ranging from decorative schemes and plaster mouldings, to their floorpan and circulation pattern. They are important in establishing original uses, as well as later alterations and adaptations. Even when not described in the building description, internal fixtures and fittings are protected in Listed Buildings and should not be altered without formal consent. Original roof timbers (as well as ceiling/floor beams) can also be used to help date structures by dendrochronology.

which were designed with shopfronts, such as the Cromwell Buildings. However, very few of those have retained their original or historic windows. Most of these are late C19 or early C20 buildings.

Most former houses in the area have been altered to become commercial premises, and many have shopfronts. Several fine historic shopfronts survive, but most have been replaced and many have undergone poor quality interventions, including inappropriate replacement windows and doors, signage, security measures and other advertisements. Poor quality repairs, including cement re-pointing on historic buildings which originally used lime mortar, and a lack of maintenance is also evident in the area (see Part 2), particularly in the case of the vacant buildings.

To the rear of a number of the buildings, there are examples of some poor-quality modern outriggers and repairs.

The public realm has been much altered and historic street surfaces lost, other than in the more secondary routes or courts and yards, where the stone setts and some stone paving and kerbs remain.



Figure 44: James Cunningham outside his shop, 2-4 Damside Street, c.1920s (G. Byron)

The refurbishment of many of the buildings is eminently achievable, and many of the unsympathetic interventions could be reversed. This includes the reinstatement of historic window patterns and materials, shopfronts, and other details such as rainwater goods. In a number of cases, photographic evidence of historic windows and shopfronts exist, for example (e.g. Figures 44 & 45).

Works of repair to roofs and rainwater goods, repointing and general redecoration would greatly enhance the appearance of the area. Grants for repair works are available for the life of

the HSHAZ scheme, subject to available funding, and it is hoped that these will assist in halting and reversing the decline which can be seen in the area.
(see Part 2)



Figure 45: No.s 1-5 Stonewell in 1963 (Lancaster City Museums). Particularly useful for showing the historic fenestration.

3.1. Assessment by street

The area's significance has been assessed by street and within that, some individual buildings have been looked at in greater detail. 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 and used for recreation. The road was constructed in the 1770s to ease the passage through the town to Thomas Harrison's 'New Bridge', Skerton Bridge. It formed part of Damside Street until the 1880s. The original Damside Street follows the line of the mill race, and the southern side is thought to broadly represent the Roman river shore (see Figure 4).

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.¹⁶⁷ 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.



Figure 46: The Old Mill, Gillows former sawmill and workshop

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. However, prior to its development in the 1830s, Mason Street was also the site of a c.1740 Catholic mission chapel, its discreet location and appearance required given it pre-dated the 1791 Reform Act. The building is thought to survive, albeit in a much altered state, to the rear of The Old Mill within the former Gillow Works site, which would make it the only remaining known post-Reformation Catholic building in Lancaster built before the 1791 Reform Act.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ UAD ref. 456 (Sugar House Bridge) and UAD ref. 453 (Lawson's Bridge over Mill Race) and Horsfield, K., 2001, Chapter 5.

¹⁶⁸ Gardner, N., The Coulston Family's Part in the Catholic Revival in Lancaster, *Contrebis* Vol. 23, 1998, p. 48

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".¹⁶⁹ Nile Street also had some court and yard housing; Nile Court, close to St John's, which was photographed by Sam Thompson. The *archaeological* potential of the area should therefore be considered **high**, as should North Road's *historic* 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 St John's and 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.



Figure 47: No.s 31-33 North Road in 1889, prior to the alterations that year, Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection

The road also illustrates Lancaster's role as a place of transit, located on the north-south route,

¹⁶⁹ Stewart, E. J., *Courts and Alleys: A history of Liverpool Courtyard Housing*, Museum of Liverpool, 2019, p.28

¹⁷⁰ Fleury, C., *Time-Honoured Lancaster: Historic Notes on the Ancient Borough of Lancaster*, 1891 (1974 reprint), p.454

¹⁷¹ Lancaster Gazette, 30 March 1889 and 15 May 1889 (British Newspaper Archive)

¹⁷² Conversion of former hotel to shop and flats units, planning application no. 1/77/134, Lancaster City Council

accommodating long-distance travellers passing through the town. Many of the street frontage properties on the south east side of the road date from before 1845 and are former houses with later shopfront insertions, including no.s 27-29, and no.s 31-39. No. 31-33 is the former Ship Inn, formed from two properties dating from the late C18. Its name reinforces the area's maritime connections. Fleury states that it was "so called owing to it being contiguous to the old ship yard."¹⁷⁰ The front elevation and interior were altered in 1889, by the owner, William Mitchell,¹⁷¹ from when the current shopfronts date (they originally had stained glass windows in the arched transom lights). However, at least two photographs exist of the Ship Inn prior to the alterations (Figure 47). The interior was altered and again when converted to flats and the rear elevation re-built in 1977/8.¹⁷²

In more recent times, these buildings have seen uses reflecting the city's growing diversity and the establishment of this area as a student hub. In 1985, the city's first takeaway, Ali Baba's, opened at no. 31 where it remained for 35 years. It is fondly remembered by its many loyal customers and its communal value is therefore considerable.

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.



Figure 48: No.s 37 and 39 North Road (front and rear) originally one house.



Figure 49: No. 37 North Road c.1950s. Eccles had been there since at least 1913 (Lancaster City Museums)

No.s 37 and 39 appear to have been one property originally (as the 1849 OS map (1:1,056) shows), a three-bay, three-storey house, but divided into two (see Figure 48) and the front elevation altered by the 1890s for retail purposes, though the first floor window to the central bay became a blind window, rather than in-filled as we see today. No. 37 has lost its historic shop front (see Figure 48),

though that at no. 39 largely survives. A photograph of the historic shopfront at no. 37 shows us what it was like (Figure 49).

This prominent 3-storey terrace which can be clearly identified on Binn's 1824 map has seen many uses and undergone repeated adaptations as the area has changed. However, it makes an important contribution to the townscape, and reflects the area's past.

No.s 41-45, a c.C18 workshop building (no. 41) with attached C19 shop units, has also seen a variety of uses. It is distinctive as one of the only two-storey buildings on the street, with no. 34 opposite, giving it a pleasing domestic scale. Now empty, it was used by Lile Tool Shop from 1887 until 2014; a specialist retailer which supplied many of the craftspeople at Gillows with their tools. It saw a number of different proprietors in that time, including Barbour, Young and Banks.



Figure 50: 41-45 North Road now vacant. The former Lile Tool Shop for over 100 years, as well as being used for small-scale industry

The upper floors saw many uses by craftspeople and artists, which included the workshop at no. 41. The 1913 trade directory lists a Shoe, Boot, Clog and Patten Maker at no. 41 (James

Alexander) and a Shoe and Boot Maker at no. 45 (William Snowball), though had been used as a tailors (William Nicholson) prior to that (1904), and as a Dressmakers and Costumiers in 1934 (Miss L. Foster). No. 41 also saw 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.¹⁷³



Figure 51: Barbour's Lile Tool Shop, 43-45 North Road (credit Andrew Reilly)

These buildings form part of the entrance to Pitt Street, where small-scale industry and craftspeople were once ubiquitous, as it was in Nile Street opposite. Celebrated cabinet maker,

Isaac Greenwood (1753-1818), who worked for Gillows and for himself, purchased two plots on Pitt Street in 1782, from merchant James Isherwood, on which to build his workshops.¹⁷⁴ Very few of these buildings survive today, but no. 41 North does give a sense of that, together with no. 3 Pitt Street. This late C19 courtyard development, was once a forge, a bakery and used in the production of machinery (Lancaster Engines and Harrison & Hutchinson Ltd).¹⁷⁵ Nile Street also had a smithy in the late C19, together with carriage makers and a warehouse built in 1885 for Henry Welch, a grocer and tallow chandler, where candles would be made (34 North Road).¹⁷⁶ The warehouse openings can be seen to the rear of the property. It was later owned by corn and flour factors Creighton & Co. who also owned the C18 warehouse at 47 North Road. No. 34 is now used as a gym.



Figure 52: Welch's former grocery warehouse, Nile Street

¹⁷³ Lancashire Evening Post, 31 May 1919

¹⁷⁴ British and Irish Furniture Makers Online: bifmo.history.ac.uk/entry/greenwood-isaac-1753-1818

¹⁷⁵ Information provided by local property owner John Holt.

¹⁷⁶ Extension of business premises for H. Welch, by J. Parkinson architect, 1885 (Plan ref. 653, Lancashire Archives)



Figure 53: Gillow's saw mill (looking NW) in 1917 before the adjacent hangar-style building was erected, but the Mason Street housing cleared (Historic England, re. BL23741/005)

North Road, together with Pitt Street and Nile Street, 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 blacksmiths) 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, and form the setting for the other heritage assets along this road. The contrast in scale only serves to reinforce the success of the Gillow firm during the late C19. The architectural qualities of the listed buildings,

alongside many of the simpler smaller-scale, but still distinctive, buildings on the street, contribute to the area's varied and industrial townscape character.

One such building is that known as the 'Mill' at the entrance to the Gillows Works. This was used as the sawmill, 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.¹⁷⁷

The curved-roof 1919 aircraft hangar style building next door (Figure 21) may be related to Gillows' wartime work which included building aircraft parts during the First and Second World War. These two smaller-scale former industrial buildings make a significant contribution to the character and appearance of the the area, and form an important part of the Gillows group. Despite their condition, they should be seen as adding to, rather than detracting from the significance of the listed Gillows buildings, both for their historic, architectural and artistic interests, which should be ascribed a medium-high significance. The road's overall *architectural* and *artistic* value should be ranked as **high**.

3.1.2. North Road (SW section)

¹⁷⁷ OAN, op. cit., 2019, pp. 16-17

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



Figure 54: 'North Road' ghost street 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 Calkeld Well and the town's mill, and likely since the Roman period, making the *archaeological* 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 (Figure 50). An inn had existed on the site since 1752, with water for the brewing taken from the well.



Figure 55: Former White Hart Hotel, corner of North Road and Church Street, 1892, Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection

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.

Further down the hill on the east side of the road, is the location of the town's first Dispensary (no. 63), founded on 10 January 1781.¹⁷⁸ The Dispensary was established in a room in a building that once stood on the site now occupied

¹⁷⁸ Wessels, Q. (ed.), *The Medical Pioneers of Nineteenth Century Lancaster*, 2019, p. 39

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, later used as showrooms for the Electricity Board. This building, together with the the other commercial premises which form an attractive group, dating from the mid-late C19 as former houses and shops, give this part of North Road a **medium to high** significance for its *architectural* and *artistic* value.



Figure 56: Atkinson's garage and car showroom in 1927, from *Sales Particulars Lancaster: garage and showroom of William Atkinson and Sons, North Road and Penny Street 1927 DDX 116/16/63* (Lancashire Archives)

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 2-16 Damside Street. Between no.s 8 and 10 is the entrance to Dye House Lane. Dye House Lane is

¹⁷⁹ Owen, op. cit., p.16

¹⁸⁰ UAD ref. 136 (Mill, Green Ayre, Lancaster)

¹⁸¹ Horsefield, op. cit., p.8

first seen on a 1742 plan, but was further developed for small-scale industry and housing by the time of Clark's map, and throughout the C19. Census information shows that the lanes were 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 on the State of Lancaster*.¹⁷⁹

The basal features of the town's former C16 (post-1574) cornmill, which was demolished in 1769, are believed to survive beneath the groundwater level, below no.s 12-16 Damside Street, as well as the street itself.¹⁸⁰ 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; its name deriving from the Norse words for 'cold spring'.¹⁸¹



Figure 57: Dyer and Town Councillor, Jeremiah Wane (1787-1852) by Louis Pierre Spindler, 1841 (Lancaster City Museums)

Regardless of whether the Mill Race represents roughly the waterfront during the Roman period, or was a meander channel at that time, the area 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 *archaeological value is high*. The area's *historic value 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.¹⁸² It is also therefore associated with Richard Owen.

This was also the location of the town's dye houses during the C18 and C19. Its location presumably selected due to its proximity to large quantities of water for the dyeing process. The original dyehouse was located on the north side of the mill race and appears to have been owned by merchant Thomas Butterfield. This was replaced by a new dye house, c 1800, now no. 2-4 Damside Street, built by Lancaster Corporation and leased to Jeremiah Wane for the much of the C19 (Figure 57). However, it was bought by Thomas Cunningham, also a dyer, in 1887, whose son established a watchmakers and jewellers in the premises. This is thought to be the oldest surviving business in the Mill Race Area (Figure 58).

The east side of Calkeld Lane is illustrative of the area's poorer mid-C19 housing, which the 1841 Census shows 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 few streets within the HSHAZ which have setted surfaces, adding to the area's artistic value and to its setting.

As regards architectural significance, the group of mirrored pairs of former houses, including the former dyehouse, dating from c.1800 (no.s 2-12) can be seen facing up North Road towards



Figure 58: 2-4 Damside Street, the former Dye House has been Cunninghams, a jewellers, since the late C19.

¹⁸² Owen, op. cit., p. 19

Cheapside. They all have later 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 streetscene alongside the group of later ashlar fronted properties which sweep up the hill towards Church Street. This area's *architectural* value is **medium to high**.



Figure 59: Calkeld Lane, with surviving C19 worker housing with re-laid setts (c.1990s)

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 1741,¹⁸³ 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 the highly significant St John's Church, and together form an important group, adding greatly to the character of the area. Their *architectural* significance is **high**.



Figure 60: No.s 7-11 Chapel Street, grade II listed mid-C18 houses with late C18 warehouse to the rear of no. 11

The area possesses **high** significance for its *historic* value too, due its association with merchant and slave trader Thomas Butterfield and for illustrating how 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

¹⁸³ White, op. cit., 2000, p. 47

makers' workshops, a school and a stained-glass workshop.¹⁸⁴ 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 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 1842.¹⁸⁵ The *archaeological* value of this area is **high**.

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 and in late C19 photographs (Figures 61 & 62)

Rosemary Lane is clearly shown on Docton's 1684 map, and was known as Stinking Lane, during the C18. It is 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.



Figure 61: Chapel Row on the curved sweep of Rosemary Lane/ North Road, opposite St John's, late C19. Replaced by the Cromwell Buildings in 1899 (Lancaster City Museums)



Figure 62: Rosemary Row, on the site now occupied by the Cromwell Buildings, late C19 (Lancaster City Museums)

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 archaeological** value, and the UAD states that it is

¹⁸⁴ Ibid, p.47

¹⁸⁵ UAD ref. 54

an area of high prehistoric and Roman potential.¹⁸⁶



Figure 63: Passage to the left of no. 6 Rosemary Lane leading to Hemingway's Yard, 1964 (Lancaster City Museums)

By 1845, the west side of the road had seen further development, including the pleasing three bay, three-storey building at no. 6, which survives and first appears on the 1849 OS map (1:1,056), along with the two-storey former houses which project off the south-west corner of the property at an angle (see Figure 63). In the C19 this formed an alley with another line of buildings running parallel to it.

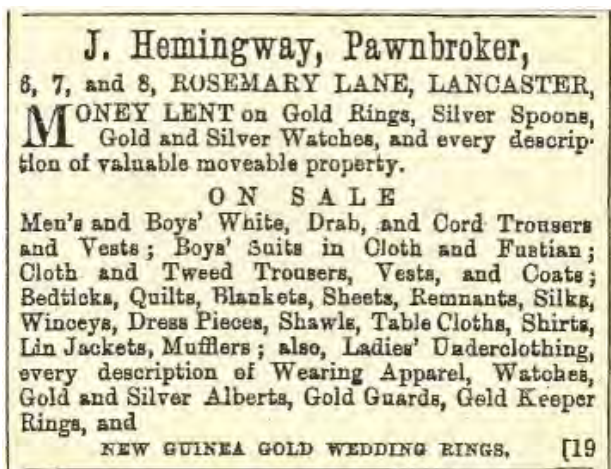


Figure 64: Newspaper advert for Joseph Hemingway, Pawnbroker (Lancaster City Museums)

¹⁸⁶ UAD ref. 60

¹⁸⁷ Roberts, R., *Lancaster Mill Race Area, History and Research Guide*, Lancaster City Museums, 2021, p.43

This is named White Horse Yard on the 1892 OS 1:500 map, but was also known as as Hemingway's Yard. It was home to a bread baker and his family in the 1881 Census. There still is a covered access to it from Church Street, down the side of the White Horse (now the Stonewell Tap) (Figures 65 & 66).



Figure 65: Hemingway's Yard (formerly White Horse Yard) in 1927, Sam Thompson (UAD ref. 296)

The Hemingway name comes from J. Hemingway, a pawnbroker operating on Rosemary Lane in the 1880s (Figure 64), in the adjoining no. 6 which survives today. "Pawnbrokers were an important resource for the low earning residents of the mill race area. Here belongings could be traded for money when times were hard, but they were also an important source of all sorts of goods that could be found at other retailers."¹⁸⁷



Figure 66: Hemingway's Yard today, with passage leading to Church Street

Whilst most of the worker housing has been swept away, the two-storey former houses which can be partially seen in Figure 57, survive. The passageway from Church Street remains, as does one of the buildings associated with the Hemingway name. The small-scale of the site on which numerous households resided is also illustrative of sort of the compact sites which the worker population often inhabited. The *historic* value of Rosemary Lane is considered to be of **medium** significance.

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 Hemingway's 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.

Down the right-hand side of no. 6 Rosemary Lane was an alley leading to Little John Street, an extensive and 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 .

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). 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 (the modern replacement shopfronts and windows above could be reversed) and addresses the curve of the street. Modern Rosemary House opposite attempts to respond to this in its scale and form. The *artistic* and *architectural* value of this area should be ranked as of **medium** significance.

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.¹⁸⁸ For this reason, it is clear that the *archaeological* potential of Lower Church Street is **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.



Figure 67: C17, C18 and C19 buildings in Lower Church Street (credit Johnny Bean Photography)

Architecturally, this particular street represents a wide range of different building periods (as Appendix D illustrates). The buildings have seen varying degrees of alteration, but some of this is reversible and they make an important contribution to the townscape and to the area's character and appearance. Their *architectural*

values should be ranked as **high** for the range of architectural periods represented.

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 (Figure 6). Some of the HSHAZ's oldest buildings can be found here, at no. 2 (unlisted, early C18), no. 6 (grade II, early C18), and no. 8 (grade II, late C17), now the Stonewell Tap, though originally the White Horse, an inn from 1806. The Stonewell Tap includes an early C19 three-storey house which once formed a pair (see Figure 68). No. 8 is thought to be a rare surviving seventeenth-century building.¹⁸⁹ The covered passage through no. 6, adjacent to no. 8, provided access to White Horse Yard, or Hemingway's Yard (see Rosemary Lane).

No. 22-24 Church Street, an early C19 high-status house, now a shop, is an example of rebuilding which took place along this stretch of Church Street. This grade II listed ashlar three-storey, three-bay house has a double-depth plan. Adjacent to this are some purpose-built late C19 shops with accommodation above. The access to the rear of the properties, and the court and alley housing beyond, was once much narrower. No. 12 Church Street incorporated a covered passage leading to Little John Street (Figure 68). It formed

¹⁸⁸ OAN, op. cit., 2008, p. 8

¹⁸⁹ White, op. cit., 2009, p. 140

a pair of houses with no. 10 which is now part of the Stonewell Tap. No. 12 appears to have been demolished in the early 1960s. Evidence of where the building was attached at first floor level can be seen on the gable end of no. 14 (which itself replaced an earlier, lower, building, the corner of which can be seen in the foreground of Figure 68), where a stone fire surround survives. Little John Street was 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 development of court housing, Crooked Billet Yard.



Figure 68: No. 12 Church St & passage to Little John St, c. 1870-80. Demolished c. 1960-63. No. 10 survives (Stonewell Tap) and no. 14 in the foreground was replaced in c. 1885 (Lancaster City Museums)

The *historic* interest of Lower Church Street should be considered **high** for what its surviving multi-period character illustrates about the status

of this area of Lancaster and the town's evolution more generally.



Figure 69: Lower Church Street in 1964. No. 2 appears to be an early C18 building which, like grade II listed no. 6, had a very large gable chimney stack, since removed. St Nic's has replaced most of the buildings on the left-hand side of the road (Lancaster City Museums).



Figure 70: The Stonewell 'nose' from the corner of Lower 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.¹⁹⁰ Fortunately, most of the Stonewell properties are also un-cellaried. On the

¹⁹⁰ Shotter in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p.15

basis of this, the archaeological interest 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, and was probably occupied before the Norman Conquest. However, 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. It was the point at which a spring emerged which ran down into the mill race.

Richard Owen's report reveals that the well served a wide area during the mid-1800s. We also know that the spring was still considered to offer health benefits during the late 1800s (Figure 71). Stonewell's *historic* value is also considered **high**.

STONEWELL MINERAL WATER MANUFACTORY.

SODA WATER
SELTZER WATER
SEIDLITZ WATER
POTASS WATER
TONIC WATER

CARBONISED or Plain Aerated Water. The above Drinks are made from the Spring of Stonewell, long noted for its Invigorating and Strengthening properties. Filtered and Aerated by Improved Machinery.

Saccharine Drink, Lemonade, Tonic Lemonade, Ginger Beer, Gingerade, Champagne Cider, Nectar, and all other kinds of Drinks Manufactured by Steam Power. Trade Supplied.

R. BAXTER.

Figure 71: Baxter's Stonewell Mineral Water, Lancaster Gazette, 11 October 1879, British Newspaper Archive

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 1921.¹⁹¹ The tramcars and tramlines can be seen in numerous historic photographs of the area, and the lines can be seen on the 1891 and 1913 OS maps (Appendix A). Lancaster Corporation Tramways operated an electric tramway service in Lancaster between 1903 and 1930 but the two tramways were never connected. The LCT terminated in Dalton Square.¹⁹²



Figure 72: Last Horse Drawn Tram to Morecambe, Stonewell 31 Dec 1921. No. 1 Stonewell can be seen on the left of the picture (Lancashire County Council Red Rose Collection)

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, as the 1963 photograph

¹⁹¹ <http://www.tramwaybadgesandbuttons.com/page148/styled-79/styled-66/page493.html> [accessed 6/6/21]

¹⁹² <http://www.tramwaybadgesandbuttons.com/page148/styled-79/page300/page300.html> [accessed 10/1/23]

shows (Figure 45). The building footprint on the other corner , no. 4-5 , changed in c.1883 with the Baxter's, a family of grocers (Figure 71) and linen and woollen drapers, redevelopment of the site.

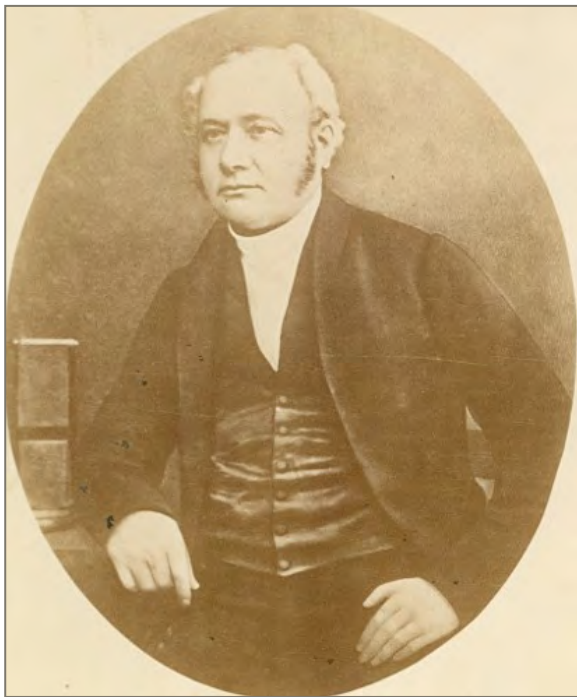


Figure 73: Thomas Edmondson (1792-1851), c.1850 (Red Rose Collection)

These purpose-built shops with domestic accommodation above replaced the much earlier Stonewell House which was the birthplace of Thomas Edmondson (b. 1792), giving Stonewell an important historical association. The son of a Quaker grocer, John Edmondson, Thomas was the inventor of the printed railway ticket and later of a machine, which he patented, that printed tickets in batches with serial numbers. These became the standard for British and other railways across the world. A stone plaque on the Moor Lane elevation marks the site of Thomas' birthplace. No. 1 and no.s 4-5 feature as

landmark buildings within key views of the area. Stonewell's *architectural* and *artistic* values are considered to be of **medium** significance.



Figure 74: Side elevation of the former Lawson house (with flat roof) which once fronted St Leonard's Gate, later converted into the Congregational Church and School by Paley & Austin.

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, outside of the cellared areas, 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.¹⁹³

¹⁹³ White, A., in White ed., op. cit., 2001, pp. 64-5



Figure 75: No. 127 St Leonard's Gate (grade II), the former Tramway, now student flats

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 Mackreth's map is that upon which the Sunday School at the corner of Phoenix Street sits (no. 50 St Leonard's Gate). The Sunday School frontage was added in 1887 (the work of Edward Howard Dawson, see Figure 19) to the former Lawson mansion (see also Phoenix Street), close to the site of the town's first sugarhouse. It has been suggested that the Lawson mansion may be the work of Richard Gillow, given some of the architectural detail surviving to the rear of the building.¹⁹⁴ This

¹⁹⁴ Suggested by historian Colin Stansfield in various correspondence.

¹⁹⁵ Roberts, R., *Lancaster Mill Race Area: History and Research Guide*, Lancaster City Museums, 2021, p. 17

requires further research. There is also potential to find evidence of the sugarhouse on the adjacent site, though the terraced housing which previously occupied the site is likely to have been cellared. Nevertheless, the *archaeological* potential here is **high**.

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 a double-pile plan five-bay, three-storey building (Figure 75). 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. The hotel closed in the 1980s and it remained vacant until relatively recently when it was converted into student flats. Other houses of a high social status can be seen on the opposite side of the road, nos 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.

James Booth (Figure 76), collector of customs for the Port of Lancaster based at the Custom House on St George's Quay, lived at no. 108. He bought the house in 1792, and married Esther Brockbank (of the shipbuilding family) in the same year.¹⁹⁵

This further strengthens the area's ties to Lancaster's maritime heritage.

Next to no. 127 is pair of more modest three-storey late C18 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 road, on the north side, are a series of terraced houses, all of 3-storeys, dating from the early C19.



Figure 76: James Booth, Customs Collector for the Port of Lancaster (1780-1815) (Lancaster City Museums)

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.¹⁹⁶ 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 Mackreth's 1778 map, with its covered passage, providing access to Pitt Street, which led to terrace of early C19 terraced houses (since demolished), and later to some courts and yards, and to North Road (originally Damside Street) beyond. As with some of the other lanes in the area, Pitt Street retains its traditional setted surface, adding to the area's artistic value and setting.



Figure 77: 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 built with ground floor shops. The front elevations are faced in ashlar and the terrace makes a positive contribution to character of the area, though they are in need of investment. No. 133 is significant as

¹⁹⁶ White, op. cit., 2009, p. 123

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.



Figure 78: Swan Court, a rare surviving early C19 speculative worker housing development (taken from 1 Stonewell)

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', three-storey cottages is an example of housing that was once common in Lancaster, and in other industrial towns across northern England, and elsewhere. However, they 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, adding to the artistic value and setting. 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 and replacing an earlier timber-framed house¹⁹⁷.

The *historic, archaeological, architectural* and *artistic* values of this part of St Leonard's Gate should be viewed as **highly significant**. It is also worth noting that many 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 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 hugely significant and has high historic, architectural, artistic 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

¹⁹⁷ CCN, op. cit., p. 15

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.



Figure 79: The entrance to Sugar House Alley from North Road

Another building on the SE side which escaped the 1960s clearance is William Richmond's 1899 carriage showroom. The firm's carriage works 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 *architectural* value and strong contribution to the townscape.¹⁹⁸

Opposite the theatre and cottages is St Leonard's Gate's most substantial street frontage, the imposing and striking grade II listed 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. Their involvement, as noted above, with ship furnishing and the construction of aeroplanes and other items during the wars also adds to their significance. This complex should be viewed as having high significance for its architectural, artistic, historic and archaeological values. 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 1926. 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.

Sugar House Alley, is a covered passage through St Leonard's 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, though the historic value of this area is **high**.

A building of high significance for its architectural, artistic and historic values is the area's second

¹⁹⁸ See also CCN, op.cit., p. 84

Congregational Centenary Church dating from 1877-81. It is an imposing building with real presence on the corner of St Leonard's Gate, and the tower, with its tall spire, is certainly a landmark. As a church it holds wider values, but it was also used by Lancaster University in its early days, as were a number of other buildings in St Leonard's Gate, giving the area a greater meaning for Lancaster University and its early alumni. More recently it has been used as a pub but has remained empty since 2015 and is deteriorating.

It is clear that St Leonard's Gate should be viewed as having heritage **high** 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 clearance as it was attached to the mid-C19, though altered in 1883, purpose-built carriage

works, and has most recently been used as a rehearsal and recording studio (by Lancaster Music Co-op). The area was to become associated with the carriage building industry locally, and its *historic* value is considered to be **medium to high**. The double gable provides an attractive backdrop to the view down Brewery Lane from Moor Lane. Its *architectural* value is considered to be of **medium to high** significance. The single remaining house at no. 1 has clearly lost its context, though is considered to have some historic value as an example of early bylaw housing. It retains some original windows, giving it some evidential value. However, this area generally is thought to have **high archaeological** value. It is built on the site of an C18 garden and may yield information about post-medieval, medieval, or perhaps earlier phases.¹⁹⁹



Figure 80: Former North Lancashire Carriage Works, Lodge Street

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.

¹⁹⁹ CCN, op. cit., para. 4.53

Also known as Lawson Swain Yard, it had a wider entrance at the other end of the yard, leading onto Edward Street. The boundary walls remain, and includes evidence of fireplaces on the northern side. The ginnel and courtyard is a rare survival in an area which once had many courts and yards, and adds to the area's character and appearance. 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. It has **medium** significance for its *architectural* value and **medium to high** for its *historic* value. Its archaeological value is high, especially for the medieval and post-medieval layout of garden plots and yards.²⁰⁰ It is a rare survival within an area of otherwise cleared land.



Figure 81: C19 former workshop building, St Leonard's Place

3.1.10. Phoenix Street

Phoenix Street has a particularly interesting past, and should be ascribed a **high** significance for its

historic value, especially for its associative value and the group value of the buildings on its west side. The creation of Phoenix Street can be dated to the mid-C19, around the time that Edmund Sharpe became proprietor of the Phoenix Foundry, from which the street takes its name. The ironworks dated from the 1830s and lasted for almost 100 years. By 1894 it was said to have been one of the largest foundries in Lancashire, employing around 200 men and boys. The foundry is known to have produced mortar shells and shrapnel for the Crimean War, the columns for Lancaster's gas works, dock machinery at Glasson, as well as the pipes to bring clean drinking water from the fells into the town, helping to alleviate Lancaster's sanitation problems in the mid-C19.



Figure 82: Phoenix Foundry workers c.1880 (Lancaster City Museums)

The foundry was built on land which once formed part of the former Lawson mansion's extensive pleasure grounds, and was adjacent to the town's second Sugarhouse. The whole site was cleared in the 1930s and redeveloped by Pye Motors (Figure

²⁰⁰ Ibid, para. 4.50

85). The site is now occupied by a retail park which turns its back on the rest of the street.

On the south-west side of the road survives the C18 former Lawson mansion. The side elevation can still be identified on Phoenix Street, though in a much altered state. The most significant detailing can be found on the north west elevation (not visible from the street). There is a suggestion that Richard Gillow may have been the architect due to the similarities with his houses at 1-3 Cable Street (the moulded window architraves in particular) and the Maritime Museum (Palladian window)²⁰¹. Its *archaeological* potential is also **high**. However, in addition to this possible association with Richard Gillow, is the association with the Lawsons, a merchant family known to be involved in the early importation of plantation produced goods, and the town's sugar production, and therefore involved in the slavery business. However, a subsequent owner of the Lawson mansion was George Burrow. Burrow was several times Mayor of Lancaster, owner of White Cross Mill, and the owner of five plantations in the Virgin Islands, and therefore large numbers of enslaved people. He is a claimant and beneficiary of the compensation paid by the Government following the abolition of slavery in 1833.²⁰² This building is illustrative of the wealth that was generated at an individual level, but also of how

this area became favoured by the wealthy merchants who wished to operate alongside their dwellings. By the C19 it was clearly becoming an area where the working classes lived alongside the industry.

In addition to the property and land associated with the mansion, Burrow also owned the adjacent terrace of ten dwellings and a further ten dwellings in Spring Court behind.²⁰³ It is also known that he leased an office to Edmund Sharpe for his architectural practice from 1835²⁰⁴, though it is unclear which property. However, Burrow was to lose much of his estate in 1849 following the bankruptcy of a business partner. He spent his final years living in Fenton Street, which is also where Edmund Sharpe built his house (no. 10).

In 1850, Thomas Winder Faithwaite bought the mansion, though he sold the house without the associated buildings and grounds in 1872, which by then had been developed. It was bought by a group from the Congregational church. They appointed Paley & Austin to adapt the building, creating a mission church and school. However, the congregation had outgrown the building by 1877, buying the plot at Stonewell for a new building, at which point it was turned into a Sunday School. By 1887, it was decided to extend the school infilling the front garden (Figure 19).

²⁰¹ Colin Stansfield is currently researching this, various correspondence.

²⁰² UCL Legacies of British Slave-ownership Database entry: <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/30073>

²⁰³ The Lancaster Gazette, 6 April 1850 (British Newspaper Archive)

²⁰⁴ Information provided by Colin Stansfield in correspondence

Edward Howard Dawson ARIBA (Figure 88) was appointed architect. His mature style has been likened to that of Paley & Austin and his work is often mistakenly attributed to them.²⁰⁵ He was held in high regard by his contemporaries (E.G. Paley was one of his ARIBA proposers), but is now little known. He died tragically early, aged just 32 in 1896, but it has been suggested that it is highly likely that he would have joined Harry Paley on the death of Austin, had he lived.²⁰⁶

EH Dawson was also the architect of the Phoenix Rooms, completed in 1892 for the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company, built in a pleasing Neo-Baroque style (Figure 39). The building is illustrative of the temperance movement's active role in the area. The resident of the adjacent house (no. 10) in the 1901 Census was a 'coffee house manageress', Mrs Mary Howson.

Paley, Austin & Paley were responsible for the adjacent Baroque Revival Drill Hall which was built a little later for the Rifle Volunteers of the King's Own Royal Lancashire Regiment, dated 1894. 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 King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster) in 1908, and were deployed to the Western Front in 1914. For this reason the Drill Hall must also be seen as providing a place of memorial, particularly for those whose family members were involved with the Volunteers there, giving it high communal value.



Figure 83: Entrance to the Drill Hall, now the King's Community Church

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

²⁰⁵ The grade II listed Storey Home in Lancaster, part of the Royal Albert Asylum, has incorrectly been attributed to Paley & Austin in the listing, and this should be amended. It was the last scheme he worked on before his death in December 1896. He did not live to see the building completed, but it was built to his design.

²⁰⁶ Price, J., 'Edward Howard Dawson ARIBA 1864-1896', *Contrebis*, v. 31, 2006-07.

EH Dawson's architectural achievements were listed in an obituary in the *Lancaster Standard & County Advertiser* (8 January 1897, British Newspaper Archive) which states that following his training, he practised from Market Street Chambers for eight or nine years, and that "He was architect for several additional buildings at the County Asylum; for Congregational churches at Grange and Carnforth; for branches of the Lancaster Bank at Morecambe, Carnforth, and South Shore, Blackpool; for county police stations at Skerton, Cabus and Aldcliffe; for the Phoenix Hall and adjoining dining and coffee rooms; for the dining apartments the Wagon Works; for the cemetery buildings at Scotforth and many other erections".

community for hosting events, such as concerts, dances and meals, and it is possible that it was also used in this way. However, at the beginning of the First World War, the Drill Hall was extended into the Sunday School building, which provided additional facilities, including offices.²⁰⁷

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 chapel, as can be seen from Paley & Austin's arched windows, some of which remain today to the rear of the building in the vestry extension (Figure 84).



Figure: 84 The Club Room, Phoenix Street Drill Hall, 1936 (King's Own Museum, Accession Number KO0499/03 and KO2490/274-11)

Paley & Austin's work is also evident in the background of a photograph recording the demolition of the Phoenix Foundry and construction of Pye Motor's new building in the 1930s (Figure 85).

In 1951, the double pitched roof was removed, and it was replaced by a flat pre-cast concrete roof. The walls were lowered for its installation and for a fire escape (Figure 74). This was the work of architect Albert C. M. Lillie of Lillie & Kirkham of Dowry House, Bamber Bridge.²⁰⁸ 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.



Figure 85: The cleared Phoenix Foundry site during the 1930s, looking towards the former Centenary Chapel & School (previously the Lawson Mansion), by this time it formed part of the Drill Hall (credit Susan Kennedy, Lancaster Past & Present)

Despite the loss of much of the C18 mansion, *architecturally and artistically* these buildings form a **highly significant** group. Whilst they are not listed, the extant buildings are largely the collective work of Paley, Austin & Paley and Edward Howard Dawson, all built within a few years of each other, and each built in a slightly different revival style. They make a hugely positive contribution to the townscape, and therefore the character and appearance of the

²⁰⁷ *Historic England Advice Report 06 July 2016: Drill Halls: Phoenix Street, Lancaster; Case No. 1431628(HER PRN39919-MLA37)*

²⁰⁸ Research provided by Colin Stansfield

Conservation Area. The Sunday School building is a prominent building at the gateway to the town from the east.

The *archaeological* 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.

3.1.11. Summary of street heritage values and their overall contribution to the character and significance of the Mill Race Area

Street	Archaeological value	Historic value	Architectural and artistic value	Level of contribution to the Mill Race Area*
North Road (NE), Pitt Street & Nile Street	High	High	High	High
North Road (SW)	High	Medium-high	Medium-high	Medium-high
Damside Street, Calkeld Lane & Dye House Lane	High	High	Medium-high	High
Chapel Street	High	High	High	High
Rosemary Lane	High	Medium	Medium	Medium
Lower Church Street	High	High	High	High
Stonewell	High	High	Medium	Medium-high
St Leonard's Gate	High	High	High	High
Lodge Street & St Leonard's Place	High	Medium-high	Medium-high	Medium-high
Phoenix Street	High	High	High	High

* See Appendix E for a summary of the significance and character of the Mill Race character area, and how each street contributes to the area's character and appearance.

3.2. Statement of significance

3.2.1. Archaeological

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. Where cellars are or have been present, the likelihood of earlier archaeological remains being discovered will be low. However, the cellars can also yield information. 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. Historic

The area has a rich history spanning several periods for which the *illustrative* value is **high**, from the survival of Roman routes and medieval street pattern and a 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.

As well as the clear association with the successful Gillow firm, with their prominent factory and showroom buildings helping to characterise the area, they also had earlier connections with the area having owned buildings and timber yards in this area from the late C18. There is another potential connection to Richard Gillow since he may have been the architect of the Lawson Mansion; further research is required. However, Gillows also strengthened the area's association with Lancaster's transatlantic trade. Not only were they relying on local merchants to import plantation goods on their behalf, but recent research has also revealed that Robert Gillow also had 1/12 shares in a Lancaster slave ship, the *Gambia*, captained by Robert Dodson.²⁰⁹

The area is one which is very much associated with Lancaster's mercantile heritage, and the town's trade with the West Indies and the Americas. John Lawson, a St Leonard's Gate merchant, who ran the town's first sugarhouse next door to his house during the late C17, and developed Lawson's Quay which eased the passage of the plantation produced hogsheads of sugar to the warehouses, was also an eminent

early Quaker, famously rescuing founder George Fox from an angry mob and offering him refuge in his St Leonard's Gate house in 1652. Later, it was Robert Lawson who developed a mansion there with extensive pleasure grounds. Another merchant, George Burrow, Mayor of Lancaster on three occasions and owner of White Cross Cotton Mill, subsequently owned the Lawson mansion. However, as a claimant and beneficiary of the financial compensation paid to owners when slave-ownership was abolished in 1833, the area's connection to slavery is even deeper. The Butterfields too, merchants and slave traders whose ships were responsible for transporting large numbers of enslaved people during the mid-C18 are connected to the area. 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 families²¹⁰, many of whom helped fund the building and its contents, gives this area even stronger connections, as does James Booth's ownership of 108 St Leonard's Gate. He was customs collector at the Custom House on St George's Quay in the late C18 and early C19, and married into the Brockbank shipbuilding family

However, this area also has a strong association with Edmund Sharpe (b.1809), not only a notable

²⁰⁹ New research by Melinda Elder and Susan Stuart referenced in Taylor, T., & Tyler, I., 'Building Slave Ships in Lancaster: Brockbank Shipyard and Brockbank Avenue' from <https://www.lancasterslaveryfamilytrees.com/building-slave-ships-in-lancaster-brockbank-shipyard-and-brockbank-avenue/>

architect, who took a house with offices on St Leonard's Gate in the 1830s (leased to him by George Burrow), 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 on 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. The *associative* value of the area is **high**.



Figure 86: Edmund Sharpe, Illustration for *The Builder*, 24 December 1870 (Credit *Look and Learn* (History Picture Archive))

3.2.3. Architectural and artistic

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.

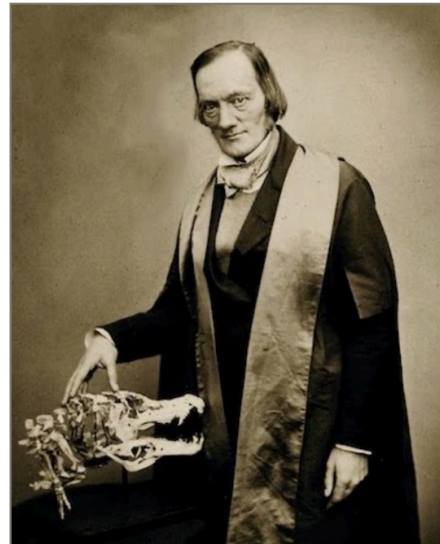


Figure 87: Sir Richard Owen, 1855 by Maull & Polybank (credit: National Portrait Gallery)

A number of the buildings in the area would rank as having **high** architectural value, including St John's Church (which on its own is 'very high'), 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 notable groups of buildings in the area which should be considered of **medium to high** architectural value, including the early C19 former houses and dyehouse on Damside Street, former residential and commercial properties on North Road (SW) and St Leonard's

Gate. There are groups of smaller-scale late C19 industrial buildings in the area whose architectural and artistic value is also considered to be medium-high, including the Old Mill and hangar-style building at the entrance to the former Gillows Works, the former North Lancashire Carriage Works on Lodge Street together with its associated showroom on St Leonard's Gate, and the former cabinet-maker's workshop building in St Leonard's Place. A number of late C19 and C20 buildings are also notable for their architecture, including Austin & Paley's Baroque Revival former car showroom on North Road and Paley, Austin & Paley's Drill Hall on Phoenix Street, together with Edward Howard Dawson's Sunday School extension fronting St Leonard's Gate and the former Phoenix Rooms, also designed by him for the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company in 1892, which have been ascribed high significance as a group.



Figure 88: Edward Howard Dawson (1864-1896), (Red Rose Collection, ref. NLA20111104009)

The artistic interest of the area, or aesthetic value, is reflected in its rich and varied, but largely industrial townscape character. Some of the most prominent buildings, such as those of the former Gillows works, consciously designed to reflect their successful business, certainly add to this industrial aesthetic, but so too do the fortuitous enclosed and more intimate spaces, such as Dye House Lane, St Leonard's Place and Swan Court. These are a product of the town's early narrow plots, but also a result of the small-scale industry and worker housing that developed in the area during the C18 and C19. The retained traditional surfaces add to the aesthetic of the area, particularly the surviving setts.

The eighteenth century buildings found at the southern end of St Leonard's Gate, together with the Chapel Street development and St John's Church, and the Grand Theatre, are outward indicators of the town's prosperous period during the second half of the C18, and have a more planned feel to them (the development of Green Ayre was planned and laid out by the Lancaster Corporation and private individuals). The traditional surfaces adjacent to these buildings have largely been retained too. Overall, the *artistic* or aesthetic value should be seen as **high**.

4. Key themes

4.1. The Mill Race

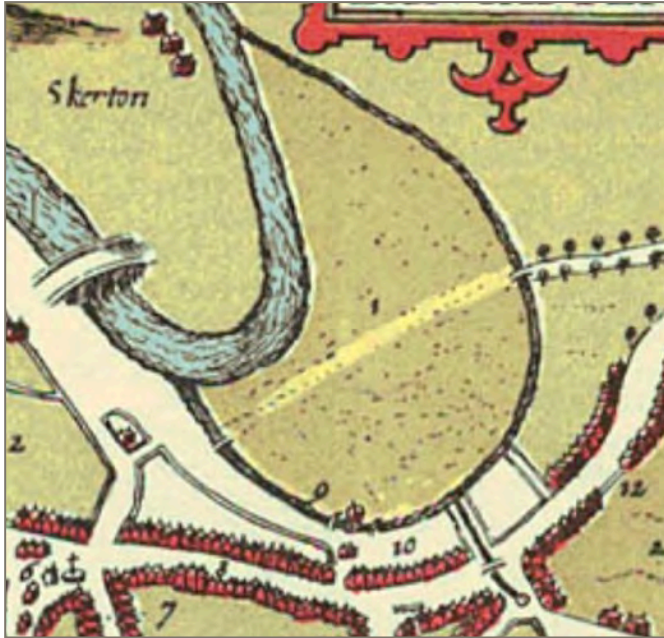


Figure 89: Mill race detail from Speed's 1610 map showing the mill, and Calkeld Lane

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.²¹¹ 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 just upstream of the Millennium Bridge, 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 (Appendix A). 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.²¹²

It is generally accepted that the Green Ayre was under water in Roman times. This would have made supplying the Roman fort easier as the ships could have travelled further upstream.²¹³ As an approximation the former mill stream could be taken as the centre of the channel during the Roman period (Figure 4).

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.²¹⁴

What we do know is that the loop was adapted at some point to power the mill in the town, as we

²¹¹ Horsfield, K., *The Lancaster Mill Race: With notes on the Green Ayre*, 2001, p. 26

²¹² *Ibid*, p. 4

²¹³ *Ibid*, p. 4

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, p. 4

know it today; there is just uncertainty surrounding when. We know that there were one or more mills present in the Middle Ages,²¹⁵ 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.²¹⁶ 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.

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.

Shortly after this, a dispute arose with the Corporation over the fishing rights which, very helpfully, resulted in the production of 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.

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 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,²¹⁷ when much of the



Figure 90: Plan of the Lune c.1754 produced as part of the Bradshaw Fisheries dispute. This copy relates to the Bradshaw v. Buckley case of 1782 (Lancashire Archives, DDX 70/22)

²¹⁵ Ibid, p. 9

²¹⁶ Ibid, p. 12

²¹⁷ UAD ref. 529 Plan, Drawing and Description of Lancaster Mill

Green Ayre was being developed. By 1769 it was agreed that the mill should be demolished.²¹⁸



Figure 91: The East Prospect of the Mill dated 1755, from a 1755 description of the mill (UAD 529)

The Corporation sold off plots on the Green Ayre, as well as developing some itself, 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 (Appendix A).

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.²¹⁹

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.²²⁰ 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 (this was the most upstream bridge crossing the mill race, now part of Bulk Road). 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.²²¹

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):

The progressive growth in the town and consequent increase in the offensiveness of the mill-race, which may be compared to a prolonged

²¹⁸ Horsfield, 2001, op. cit., pp. 18-22

²¹⁹ Ibid, pp. 31-33

²²⁰ Ibid, p. 35

²²¹ 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

*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.*²²²

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.*²²³



Figure 92: Extract from the 1849 OS map 1:1,056 (HER), showing the mill 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-cleansing flow, even when the volume of water passing through was small. It was laid to provide a continuous fall.²²⁴

²²² Ibid, p. 12

²²³ Ibid, p. 19

²²⁴ Horsfield, op. cit., p. 37

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.²²⁵ 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 panorama of 1728 shows people meeting, walking and exercising their horses (Figure 1). William Stout in his autobiography talks of walking there by day in summer and by moonlight in winter.²²⁶ There are also references to horse racing having taken place there, particularly around 1730.²²⁷



Figure 93: 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 (Lancaster City Museums)

²²⁵ Ibid, p.28

²²⁶ Ibid, p.48

²²⁷ Ibid, p. 49

The Green Ayre always appears to have been subject to flooding, even before it was developed. William Stout in his autobiography stated that in 1701 the highest ever flood recorded had been 4ft 6in deep.²²⁸ The flooding experienced in the lower part of Lancaster in recent years, particularly during Storm Desmond in 2015, has resulted in a number of schemes to help prevent future events from having such a devastating impact on homes and businesses in the area [see Part 2, Issue 9: Flooding and Climate Change].

²²⁸ Horsfield, p. 51

4.2. Transatlantic Trade

The Mill Race HSHAZ area has close links with Lancaster's transatlantic 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 enslaved people out of Africa.²²⁹

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 enslaved people, it must be remembered that the manufactured goods being exported from Lancaster were being exchanged for products made or gathered by a slave economy, including tobacco, sugar, rum, dyewoods and mahogany.

John Hodgson, probably the first owner of Lancaster's original sugar house, and John Lawson, are thought to be among the first Lancaster merchants to become involved in the plantation trade, or *slavery business*²³⁰. Hodgson was responsible for the town's first shipment of tobacco from Virginia in the 1670s.²³¹

The first sugar imports to Lancaster are thought to have arrived onboard the 50-ton *Lambe* from Jamaica in 1687.²³² 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.²³³

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),²³⁴ was involved in trade with the West

²²⁹ 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)

²³⁰ Professor Imogen Tyler discusses the distinctions between the *slavery business*, *the slave trade* and *slave ownership* on her website <http://stigmamachine.com>: see 'Decolonising Lancaster: a Preliminary Resource List for local teachers and community groups working on Lancaster's Slavery Plantation histories', 13 July 2020

²³¹ Dalziel, N., in White, A. ed., *A History of Lancaster*, 2001, p. 119

²³² *Ibid*, p. 119

²³³ Elder, op. cit., 2006 & Dalziel, in White ed., op. cit., p. 119

²³⁴ Oxford Archaeology North, *Gillows Building, 23-25 North Road, Lancaster* (Historic Building Survey Report), OA Reference No. L11062, February 2019, para. 3.2.9

Indies in the 1730s. He not only imported mahogany for his furniture business, but also rum, sugar and cotton from Jamaica.²³⁵ The voyages would be timed to coincide with the 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.²³⁶

Robert Gillow 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.²³⁷

However, recent research by Melinda Elder, and Susan Stuart, has revealed “that Gillows also had 1/12 shares in one Lancaster slave ship, the *Gambia*, captained by Robert Dodson”.²³⁸

As well as the exportation of fine furniture for the plantation owners, and other luxury goods, including Delftware from the C18 Lancaster Pothouse on St George’s Quay, outgoing cargoes on Lancaster ships involved in the direct trade with the West Indies might include items for the enslaved people 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 transatlantic trade; the small-scale manufacturers were also among those who benefitted.



Figure 94: "Sugar Cane Harvest, Jamaica, 1820s", *Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora*, <http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/1111>

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 the enslaved people on the West Indian plantations (the 1696 slave code of Jamaica, which became the West Indian standard, required masters to provide a

²³⁵ Bowett, A., 'The Jamaica Trade: Gillow and the use of Mahogany in the Eighteenth Century', *Regional Furniture*, 1998 v12, p.17

²³⁶ *Ibid*, p. 16

²³⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 16-18

²³⁸ Taylor, T., & Tyler, I., 'Building Slave Ships in Lancaster: Brockbank Shipyard and Brockbank Avenue' from <https://www.lancasterslaveryfamilytrees.com/building-slave-ships-in-lancaster-brockbank-shipyard-and-brockbank-avenue/>

cap or hat, as well as clothing), so there was high demand.²³⁹

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.²⁴⁰ 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.²⁴¹

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*.²⁴² This trade involved the export of locally produced goods from Britain for the purchasing of enslaved people from Africa's west coast, transporting them 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 the enslaved people. Sugar and rum tended to be mainstays, but also mahogany for the cabinet-making for the return cargoes.²⁴³

One particular Lancaster-born slaver, Miles Barber, is responsible for having established one of the most significant commercial slaving hubs in the history of British involvement in the Atlantic

²³⁹ Workman, C., 'Lancaster's Felt-Hat Industry', *Contrebis* 2018, v36, p. 54

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, p. 55

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, p. 57

²⁴² Dalziel, in White ed., *op. cit.*, p. 121

²⁴³ Elder, *op. cit.*, 2006

slave trade, “This place of horrors was called ‘Factory Island’, and was located on one of the Iles de Los, group of islands off the African coast of Guinea, at the mouth of the Sierra Leone River. Over the course of the following decades Barber developed and managed an estimated eleven slave factories and barracoons along this stretch of the West African coast, and by 1776 was being described by his contemporaries as the owner of ‘the greatest Guinea House in Europe.’”²⁴⁴

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 enslaved people.²⁴⁵

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 1747.²⁴⁶ William was part-owner of at least five

slaver ships, making 20 voyages between 1751 and 1773: *Castleton* (70 tons, Gambia, 180 enslaved people, 1756), *Lowther* (50 tons, Windward, 180 enslaved people, 1756), *Molly II* (70 tons), *Norfolk* (100 tons) and *Reynolds II* (100 tons).²⁴⁷ 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 1787.²⁴⁸

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.²⁴⁹ 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

²⁴⁴ Tyler, I., *Stigma: The Machine of Inequality*, 2020, p. 13

²⁴⁵ White, A., *Lancaster: A History*, 2003, p. 63

²⁴⁶ Schofield, M. M., ‘The Slave Trade from Lancashire and Cheshire Ports outside Liverpool’, c. 1750-1790, *Transactions*, 1976, v26, p.46

²⁴⁷ *Ibid*, p. 47 & p. 66

²⁴⁸ <https://www.theglassworksapartments.co.uk/history> accessed June 2021

²⁴⁹ <https://www.slavevoyages.org>, accessed 5/6/21

Rosemary Lane, and three on Chapel Row²⁵⁰ (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.²⁵¹

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 trade's abolition in 1807.²⁵²

However, in addition to those who captained, worked on or invested in the slave ships, or those local men who travelled to work in the West Indies or on the American mainland as factors for Lancaster merchants, there were also some Lancastrian plantation owners, and therefore owners of enslaved people.

It is acknowledged that the Rawlinsons co-owned a sugar plantation in Grenada, Goyave, making them legal owners of the enslaved people working for them.²⁵³ In addition, a branch of the family also owned a cotton plantation in Guyana (then Demerara) in the early C19.²⁵⁴



Figure 95: "Sugar Plantation, St. Croix, Danish West Indies, ca. 1840", *Slavery Images: A Visual Record of the African Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Early African Diaspora*, <http://slaveryimages.org/s/slaveryimages/item/1441>

However, recent research has revealed that merchant George Burrow, who received financial compensation for the loss of his 'property' at his plantations in the Virgin Islands, including Tortola and Saint Croix,²⁵⁵ when slave-ownership was legally abolished in 1833, was a subsequent

²⁵⁰ Ibid.

²⁵¹ Elder, op. cit., 2006 & Dalziel, in White ed., op. cit., p. 121

²⁵² Elder, op. cit., 2006

²⁵³ Elder, M., 'A Georgian Merchant's House in Lancaster: John Rawlinson, A West-Indies Trader and Gillow Client', *Contrebis*, 2020 v38, p. 4

²⁵⁴ Tyler, I., 'Decolonising Lancaster: a Preliminary Resource List for local teachers and community groups working on Lancaster's Slavery Plantation histories', 13 July 2020 (<http://stigmamachine.com>)

²⁵⁵ LRO DDX 70/ACC881/box 29 - Various mortgages and leases relating to plantations in Tortola and Saint Croix from the late C18 to mid-C19 of Messrs Burrow and Nottage

owner of the Lawson mansion on St Leonard's Gate.²⁵⁶ He has an entry on the UCL's Legacies of British Slave-ownership database and received his compensation payments in 1836. We do not know when he purchased the St Leonard's Gate property, but it was sold in 1850²⁵⁷ after he lost much of his estate due to the bankruptcy of his business partner in 1849.²⁵⁸

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 patrons²⁵⁹, including Abram Rawlinson MP who gave the organ (the organ case is mahogany, by Gillows) in 1785.

Inside the church and in the churchyard there are memorials and gravestones to families and individuals involved in Lancaster's burgeoning port and trade, including Captain Greenwood, James Clark of Jamaica, John Nunns (a Skerton sea captain interred in Trinidad) and John Lowther, a merchant who died in St Thomas (West Indies). The Brockbanks, who built many of the

Lancaster traders' ships, are commemorated, as are the Satterthwaites and John Belsey, the Port of Lancaster's Collector of Excise.²⁶⁰ 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*.²⁶¹

In fact, as Professor Imogen Tyler puts it, "it would be difficult to find a Lancaster elite whose wealth and power wasn't derived from what is often euphemistically referred to as the West Indies trade."²⁶² It is also very common to find that the wealthy men who benefited from slavery, more often than not, were involved in the local political life, and were often mayors. "Some invested their inherited fortunes in the development of local mills and businesses. It was the profits from slavery that financed the industrialisation of England and the development of its civic infrastructure and welfare estate. The history of slavery is the history of capitalism, and it remains, as the American novelist and essayist James Baldwin put it, 'literally present in all that we do'."²⁶³ Much of Lancaster's built heritage is

²⁵⁶ *The Lancaster Gazette*, 6 April 1850 and 4 December 1875 (British Newspaper Archive)

²⁵⁷ *The Lancaster Gazette*, 6 April 1850 (British Newspaper Archive)

²⁵⁸ <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/30073>

²⁵⁹ No doubt many of these families, and others, employed enslaved people in their properties. The records of baptisms of 'coloured servants' (usually associated with manumission) at the Priory Church make this almost certain (Peter Iles in comments provided on 16.12.23)

²⁶⁰ Clark, G., *St John's Lancaster: A Georgian Town Church*, Lancaster Civic Society Leaflet 16, 2015 v2, revised 2020.

²⁶¹ *The Lancaster Slave Trade, Abolition and Fair Trade Trail*: https://visitlancaster.org.uk/wp-content/files_mf/1608030019TownTrailinA4pages2020.pdf

²⁶² Tyler, I., *Stigma: The Machinery of Inequality*, 2000, p.55

²⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 14

connected to the story of slavery and, as a city, Lancaster is just at the beginning of its journey of revealing this often hidden heritage and finding ways of doing reparative history within the community. [See CMP Part 2, Issue 6: Understanding and Interpretation].

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.

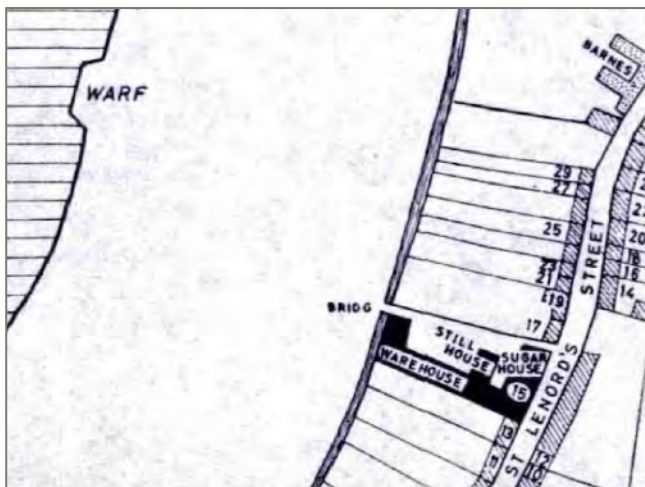


Figure 96: Extract from Docton's 1684 map showing the Sugarhouse, bridge over the mill race and wharf, which was to become known as Lawson's Quay

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.²⁶⁴ [See Transatlantic 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 'Wharf' on the Lune just to the north west of the site. Lawson may have obtained permission from the Corporation to build a wharf in 1680, and he had already built the bridge to gain access to the Green Ayre.²⁶⁵ 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/-.²⁶⁶

²⁶⁴ Mawer, B., *Sugarbakers: From Sweat to Sweetness*, Anglo-German Family History Society, 2011, p. 10

²⁶⁵ White, A., *Lancaster: A History*, 2003, p. 57

²⁶⁶ 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.²⁶⁷

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., thought to be John's son²⁶⁸. By then, the town's second Sugarhouse had been established on the site adjacent to Robert Lawson's large pleasure grounds.

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 Grenada²⁶⁹), 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.

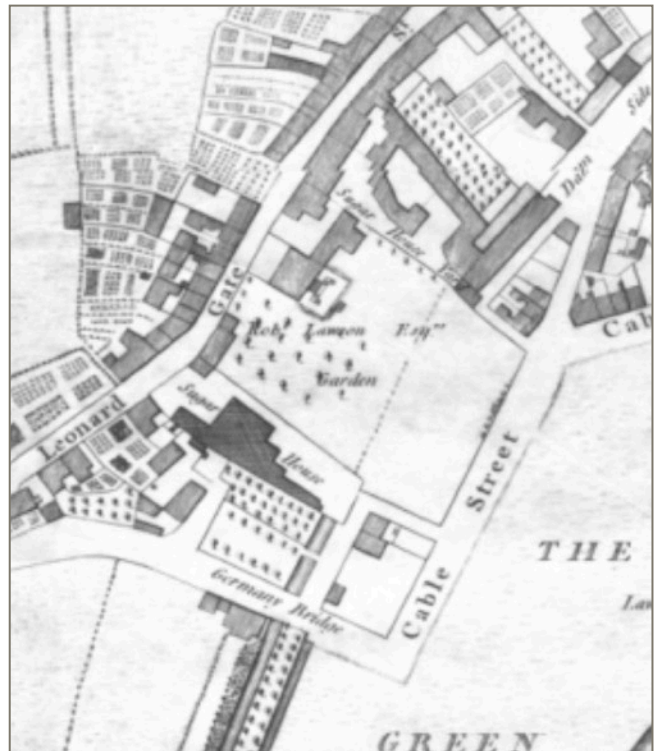


Figure 97: Extract from Mackreth's 1778 map showing the second sugarhouse, close to Germany Bridge, and Robert Lawson's house and extensive garden over the mill race. The site of the first sugarhouse has new uses, but is called Sugar House Yard.

George Crossfield & Co. were running it in the late 1820s until 1834.²⁷⁰ However, from 1840, the building was repurposed as a railway carriage workshop by Messrs Dunn, Son & Co. until it was

²⁶⁷ White, op. cit., p. 57 & Park, C, *William Stout (1666-1752): More than just a shopkeeper*, 2020, p. 54

²⁶⁸Duggan, M., *Sugar for the House: A History of Sugar Refining in North West England*, 2013, p.133

²⁶⁹ Elder, M., 'A Georgian Merchant's House in Lancaster: John Rawlinson, A West-Indies Trader and Gillow Client', *Contrebis*, 2020 v38, p. 4

²⁷⁰ Mawer, op. cit., pp. 37-8 & p. 100

destroyed by fire in 1848. It then became part of the Phoenix Foundry Works.²⁷¹

Broken red pottery sugar loaf moulds were found in great quantities on the site during the construction of the Co-operative Society garage in 1929. They are comparable with moulds found in the West Indies.²⁷²



Figure 98: Emptying the hogsheads and shovelling the muscovado into the cisterns (*The Useful Arts and Manufactures of Great Britain*, 1846)

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

²⁷¹ 'Local Intelligence: Destructive Fire', *Lancaster Gazette*, 8 September 1848 (BNA)

²⁷² HER PRN 2371-MLA2371 & White, A., 'Lancaster and the West Indies', *Contrebis* 1982 v9

²⁷³ Mawer, op. cit., pp. 57-60

was repeated several times, then the water would need to be removed by boiling it at 240°F.

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, a white clay and water would be added to the loaves 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.²⁷³



Figure 99: 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 a 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 sugarhouses, or to run new sugar houses, particularly for London merchants.²⁷⁴ 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 C19.²⁷⁵

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. The sugarbakers fall into the third category, and their numbers increased in the mid-C18, and more so during the Napoleonic Wars.²⁷⁶

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 century²⁷⁷

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,²⁷⁸ 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.

²⁷⁴ Ibid, p. 10

²⁷⁵ White, op. cit., 2003, p. 9 & Mawer, op. cit., p. 38

²⁷⁶ Panayi, P., in Panayi, P. ed., *Germans in Britain since 1500*, 1996, p. 6

²⁷⁷ Mawer, op. cit., p. 10

²⁷⁸ Horsfield, op. cit., p. 26

In the absence of censuses during the C18, it is impossible to establish the number of Germans 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.²⁷⁹ 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.

²⁷⁹ 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



Figure 100: Mason Street, Moss 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

During the course of the C19, Lancaster's population grew rapidly, from 9,030 in 1801, to 31,224 in 1901.²⁸⁰ This was a result of the town's industrialisation which, by the end of the C19, was dominated by two employers, the Williamson and Storey families. As Professor Imogen Tyler has noted, Williamson employed an estimated 25 per cent of Lancaster's working-age population, men, women and teenagers in his Linoleum factories, cotton mills and quarries.²⁸¹ The

employment records for Williamson and Son from the 1880s to the 1940s reveal that large numbers of their employees were living within the HSHAZ area, with the peak being in 1910.²⁸²

Homes needed to be found for the booming worker population which, before the introduction of stricter housing bylaws in 1859, 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 living²⁸³ could be found in Lancaster, and many were within the HSHAZ area. Mason Street and Moss Yard included back-to-back housing, Swan Court was blind-backed and



Figure 101: Pitt Street terrace, which survived until c. 1960 (Lancaster City Museums). Pitt Street was cited as an example of cellar dwelling in Owen's 1845 report.

²⁸⁰ Winstanley, in White ed., op. cit., 2001, p. 191

²⁸¹ Tyler, I., *Stigma: The Machinery of Inequality*, 2000, p.

²⁸² Roberts, R., *Lancaster Mill Race Area, History and Research Guide*, Lancaster City Museums, 2021

²⁸³ Cellar housing was often the last-resort of the near-destitute. It is not unknown in the period, and could be purpose-built or converted from utility and storage spaces.

cellar dwellings could be found in Pitt Street.²⁸⁴ 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 cram them into.



Figure 102: 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)

Much of this housing was swept away between the wars, though some were replaced by other buildings at the end of the C19, including Gillows works. Some appear to have survived until the 1960s, including the Pitt Street terrace. However, there is a partial rare survival of a court to the rear of no.133 St Leonard's Gate, Swan Court, where a number of the terraced houses remain, though are rapidly deteriorating. Limited examples of

worker housing survive in Calkeld Lane, Rosemary Lane (in what would have been Hemingway's Yard) and blocked door openings can be seen in a surviving wall in Dye House Lane (the rear of the houses seen in Figure 97).

The maps of the period do show this housing, but most of the courts and yards are not named on the smaller scale maps; 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 Owen's *Report of the State of Lancaster*, for the Health of Town's Commission, in 1845, which really bring them to life. In addition, Lancaster is very fortunate to have the 'Elizabeth Roberts Working Class Oral History Archive' which is provided by the Regional Heritage Centre at Lancaster University. Elizabeth Roberts undertook an oral history project, 'Social Life in Barrow and Lancaster, 1890-1925', the transcripts of which appear on the website.²⁸⁵

The collection of photographs taken by Sam Thompson in the 1920s, prior to their demolition, also provides an invaluable record of many.

²⁸⁴ 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

²⁸⁵ <https://www.lancaster.ac.uk/regional-heritage-centre/elizabeth-roberts-working-class-oral-history-archive/>

The map at the end of this section 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.²⁸⁶ Another, accessed from Damside Street, was entered by a covered way which they could not pass through without stooping.²⁸⁷

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 every 3 months to 3 years!²⁸⁸ 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.²⁸⁹

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.²⁹⁰ Most courts and yards had their own pump. The locations of the pumps are

²⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 15

²⁸⁷ Ibid, p. 23

²⁸⁸ Ibid, p. 14

²⁸⁹ Ibid, p. 15

²⁹⁰ Ibid, p. 18

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.²⁹¹

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.²⁹²

It is these sorts of details of the living conditions experienced by the many living in the Mill Race Area which 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 slatterns, 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.*²⁹³

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 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."²⁹⁴

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,

²⁹¹ Ibid, p. 19

²⁹² Ibid, p. 15

²⁹³ Ibid, p. 17

²⁹⁴ Ibid, p. 17

*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.*²⁹⁵

Concerns over the health of the town are what prompted the study, following a number of epidemics during the C18 and C19, including typhus, influenza, 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.²⁹⁶



Figure 100: Dye House Lane in 1927, Sam Thompson (UAD ref. 279). The rears of no.s 4 and 6 Damside Street can be seen in the background.

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).²⁹⁷ 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 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

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 14

²⁹⁶ Stewart, E. J., *Courts and Alleys: A history of Liverpool Courtyard Housing*, Museum of Liverpool, 2019, p. 91

²⁹⁷ 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]

patient at the Dispensary for dyspepsia and gastric irritation.”²⁹⁸

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.*²⁹⁹

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 Hill³⁰⁰. 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.³⁰¹ 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 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.³⁰²

²⁹⁸ Owen, op. cit., p. 16

²⁹⁹ Ibid, p. 23

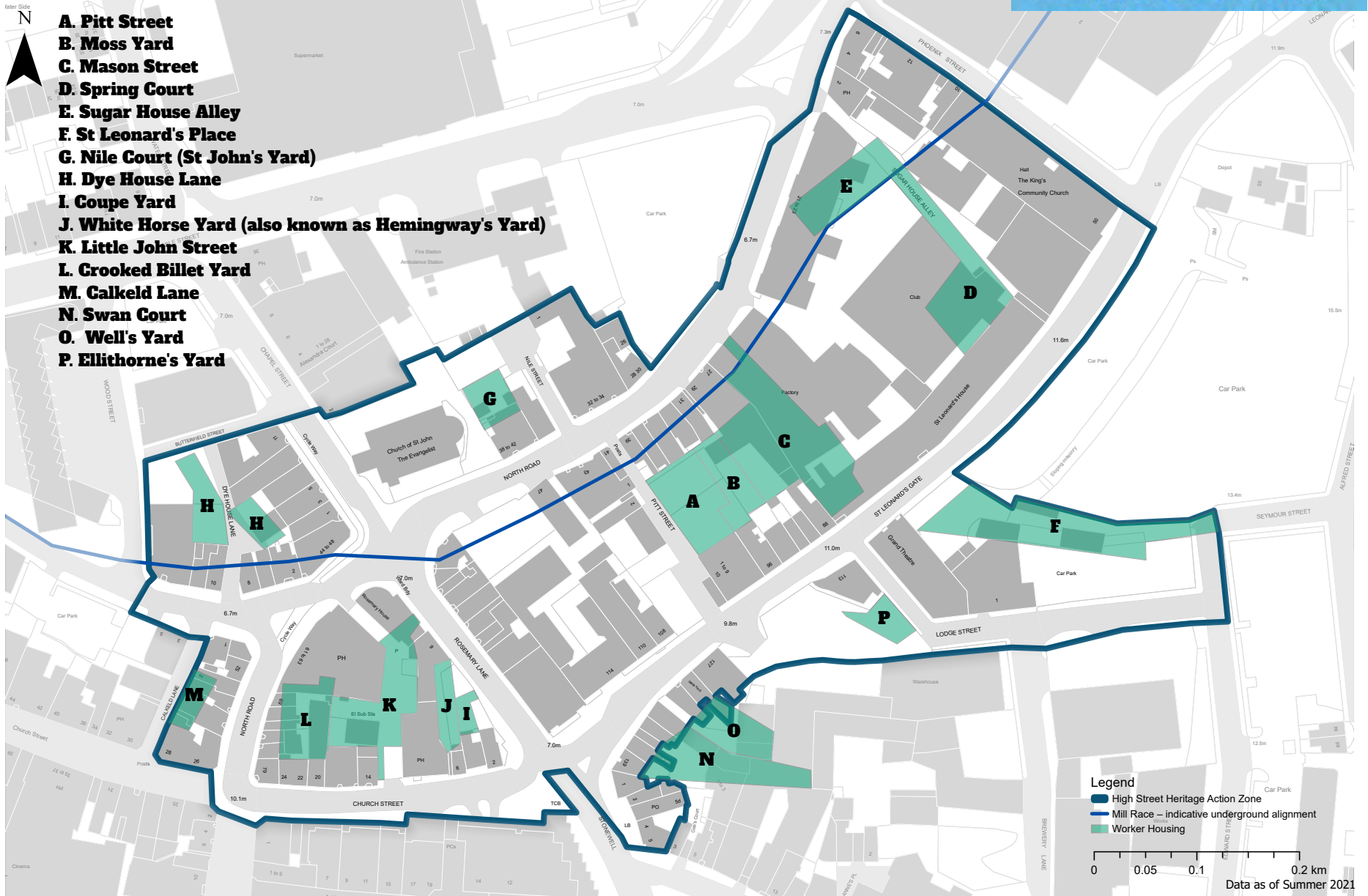
³⁰⁰ Rhodes, B., & Wessels, Q., in Wessels, Q. ed., *The Medical Pioneers of Nineteenth Century Lancaster*, 2018, p. 40

³⁰¹ Ibid, p. 45

³⁰² Horsfield, K., ‘Lancaster’s Water and Sewerage Systems - Part One: The Politics’, *Contrebis* 2005 v30, pp. 29-30

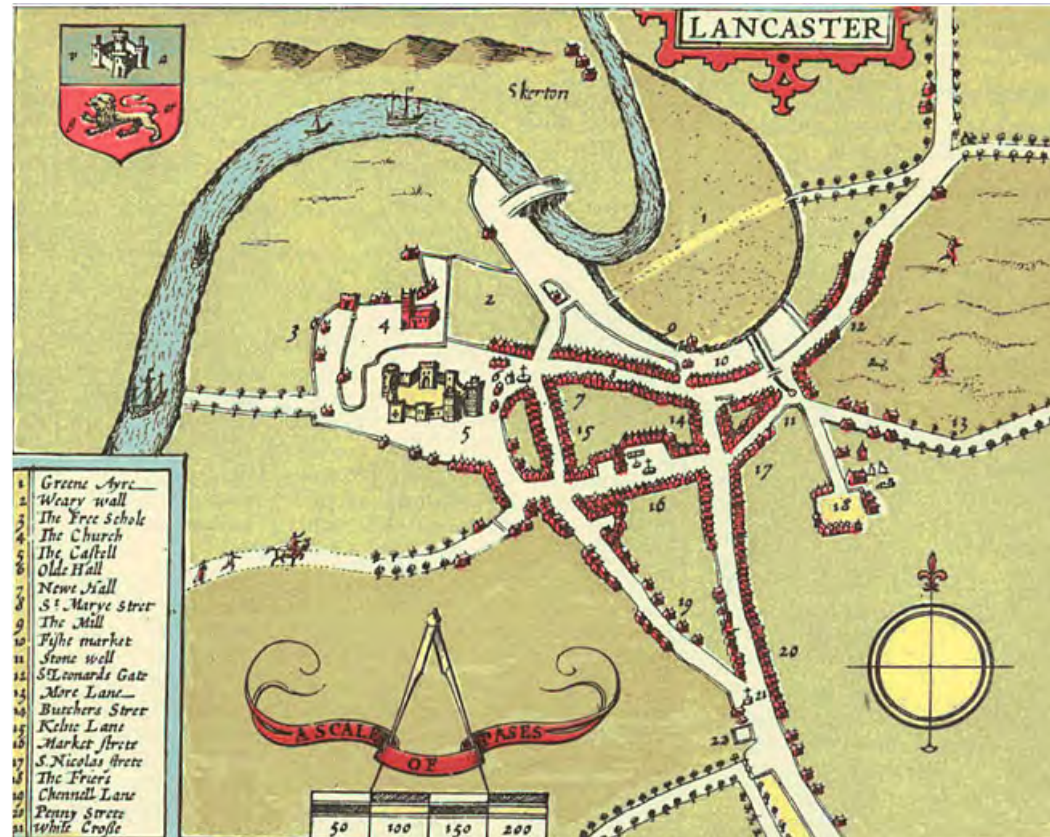
High Street Heritage Action Zone- 19th Century Court & Yard Housing

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE



- A. Pitt Street**
- B. Moss Yard**
- C. Mason Street**
- D. Spring Court**
- E. Sugar House Alley**
- F. St Leonard's Place**
- G. Nile Court (St John's Yard)**
- H. Dye House Lane**
- I. Coupe Yard**
- J. White Horse Yard (also known as Hemingway's Yard)**
- K. Little John Street**
- L. Crooked Billet Yard**
- M. Calkeld Lane**
- N. Swan Court**
- O. Well's Yard**
- P. Ellithorne's Yard**

Appendix A – Lancaster HSHAZ map regression



John Speed's plan of Lancaster, 1610 (surveyed 1607)

Despite being Lancaster's earliest map, the present-day layout of the core streets is clearly identifiable. Of note for the HSHAZ, Church Street (St Mary's Street), Stonewell and St Leonard's Gate are very apparent, as are the routes providing access to the town's mill and the Mill Race, which we know as Calkeld Lane and Rosemary Lane. Property boundaries are not recorded on the plan, but we know from later mapping and archaeological investigation that the town was characterised by burgage plots.

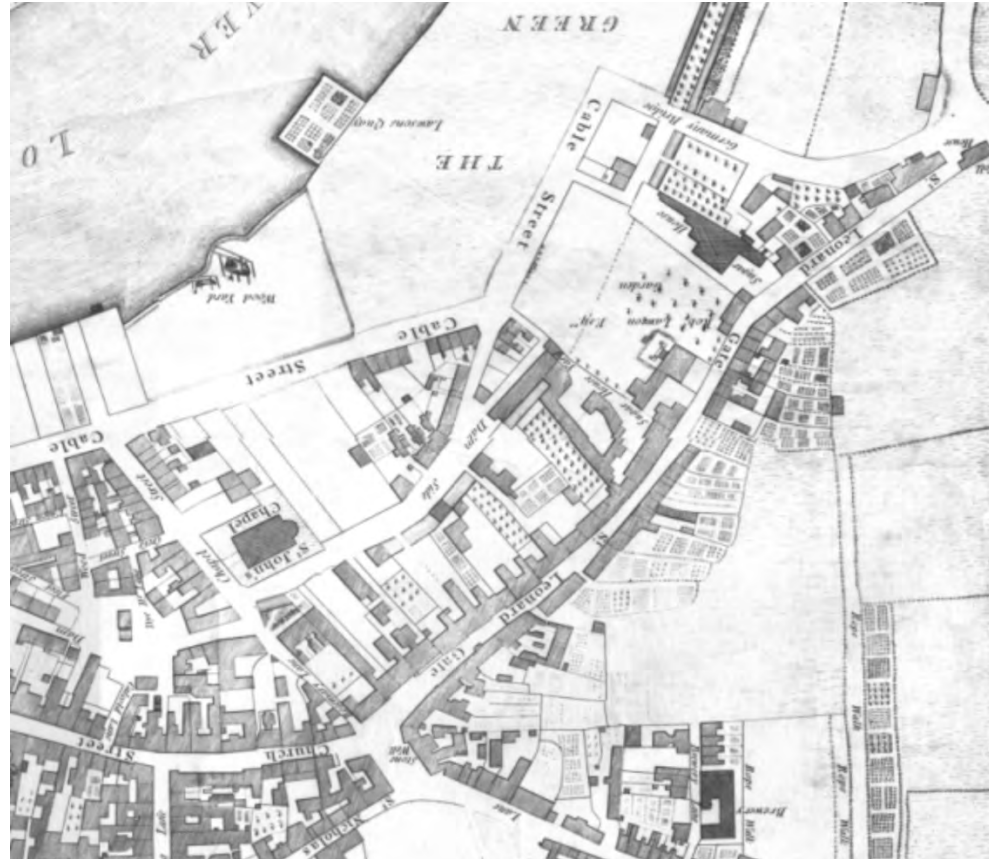


Kenneth Docton's 1684 map of Lancaster

This map was created based on manuscripts of Lancaster's streets, survey notes and property boundaries and their owners, found in Towneley Hall's basement in 1952.¹ It depicts Lancaster at the beginning of its period of economic prosperity resulting from its trade with the West Indies. Lower Church Street and the west side of St Leonard's Gate are well-developed and the burgage plots and boundaries are clear. The Mill Race and the mill itself are shown in some detail, and several crossing points can be seen within the HSHAZ. One of those provides access from the town's first sugarcane plantation (one of the most distinctive group of buildings on the map), to the Green Ayre. This stone bridge was built by John Lawson in 1679. The Green Ayre is largely undeveloped at this point, other than the 'Warf', known as Lawson's Quay, which enabled the hogsheads of sugar to be unloaded close to the refinery itself.² Calkeld Lane is now named ('Caucale Lane') and Rosemary Lane is in evidence.

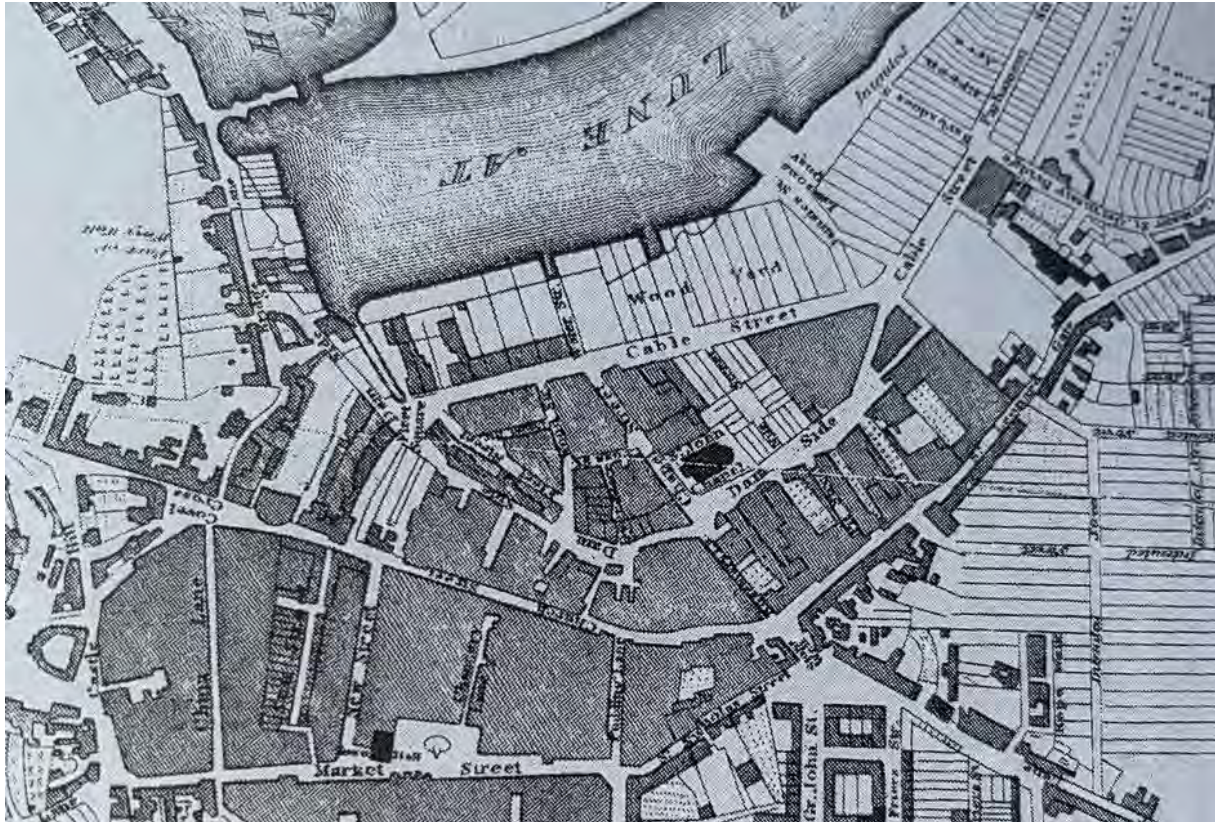
¹Clark, G. 'Mackreth's Map of Lancaster, 1778', *Contrebis*, 2020 v.38

² Duggan, M., *Sugar for the House: A History of Early Sugar Refining in North West England*, 2013, p. 129



Mackreth's map of Lancaster, 1778

This is the first map for almost 100 years, and shows us Lancaster almost at the peak of its prosperity, and in great detail. It shows the long burgage plot layouts on St Leonard's Gate still, and of particular note are those which determine the boundaries we can see today, such as the unusual shaped plots at no. 113 (which has resulted in a very unique building shape), The Grand Theatre and St Leonard's Place. Particularly, striking is that development of the Green Ayre is now well-underway, along Chapel Street, where St John's has also been built, and Cable Street. Damside Street has begun to be developed too, following the curve of the Mill Race. Much of the Mill Race appears to have been bridged or built over. The town's second sugarhouse is clearly shown, and the site of the first sugarhouse appears to have been redeveloped, though the association is retained by its naming; 'Sugar House Yard'. Robert Lawson's mansion, with its service buildings, sits in extensive grounds between the two sugarhouse sites. The Mill Race is no longer shown in open channel through the grounds, but it is believed to have still been open at this stage.



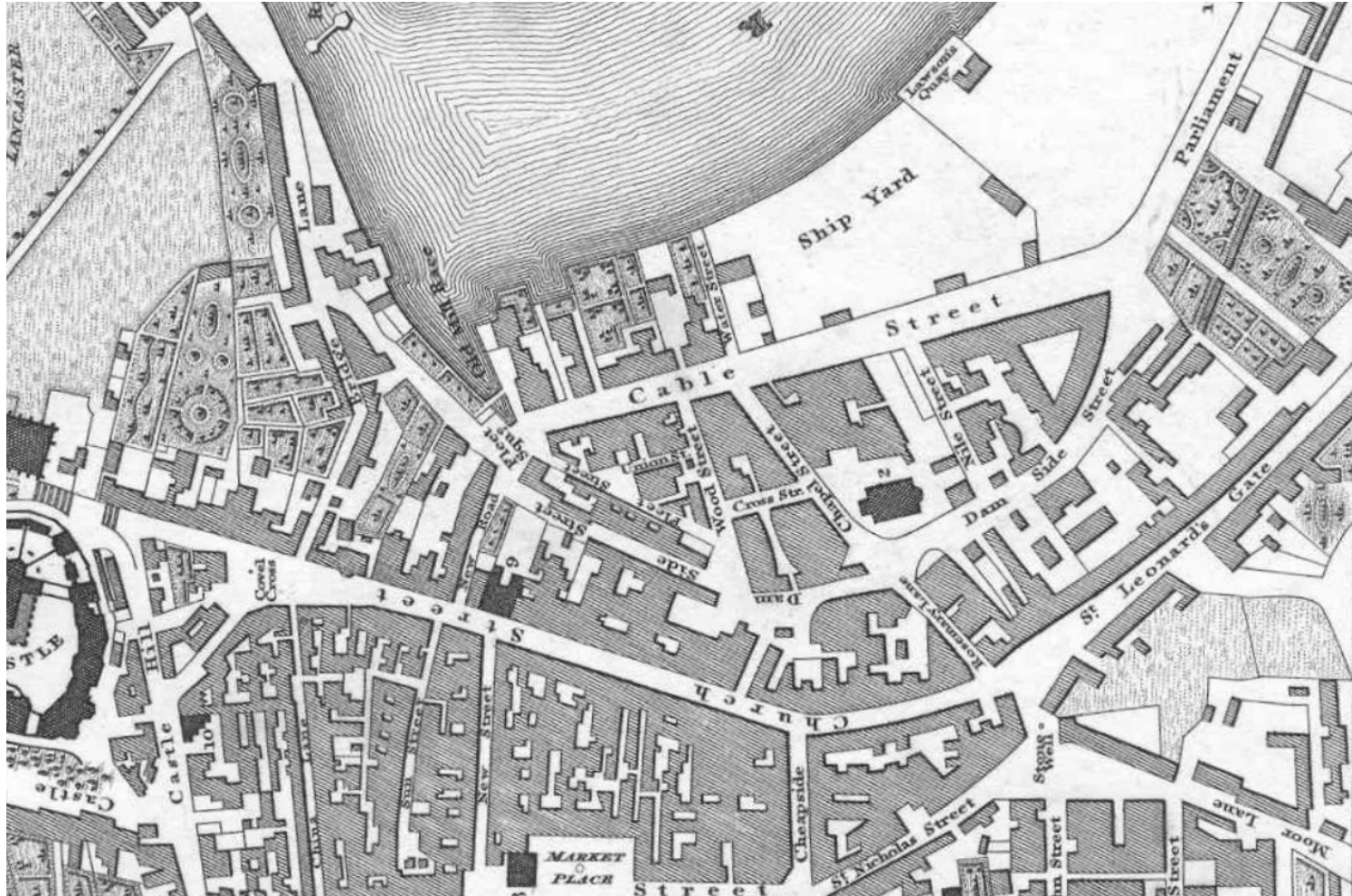
Christopher Clark's map of Lancaster, 1807

This map should be used with caution since it is a diagrammatic representation of the built core with proposed development layouts. Very little of the proposed development went ahead. Those streets proposed on the triangular piece of land between St Leonard's Gate and Moor Lane do not reflect the working-class housing which was to be developed there later in the C19. It omits much detail as well as a number of features, including the open Mill Race to the north of the Lawson house (also see Mackreth above), as well as the open mill race section to the rear of Old Sugar House Alley (not named on the map). However, Nile Street and Pitt Street are now established, and the Grand Theatre, though not named, can be identified. The second sugarhouse stands out, as does St John's Church. What makes it particularly interesting are the names of two streets (never built), proposed to link Cable Street to Lawson's Quay, which reinforce our understanding of Lancaster's strong links to the slave trade at this time: Jamaica Street and Barbados Street.



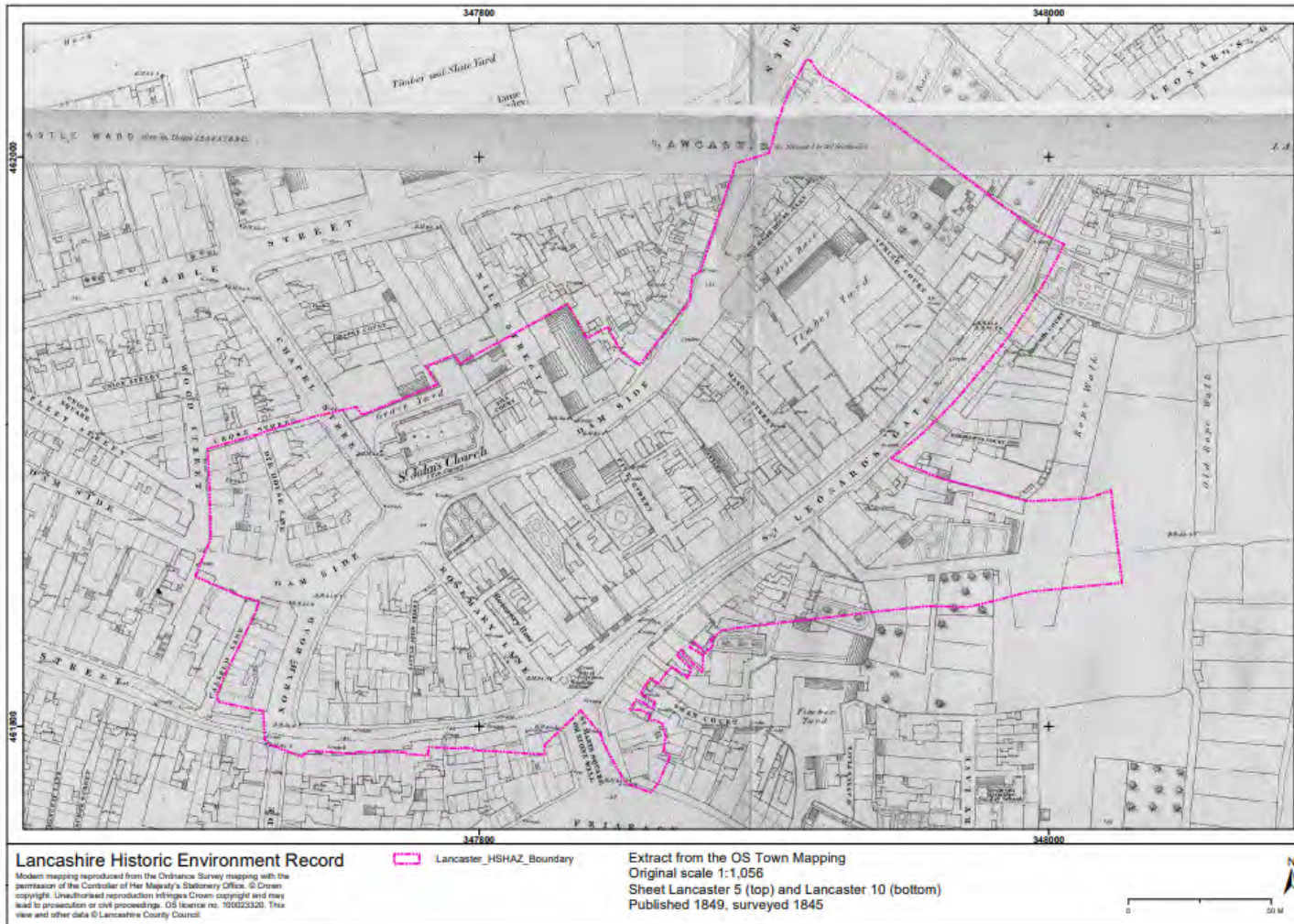
Jonathan Binns' map of Lancaster, 1821

This map is only 40 years later than Mackreth's map, but the changes are striking. The level of detail provided on the map too makes it incredibly useful. The maritime trades, including timber and shipyards and ropewalks are shown. The Grand is labelled as a theatre, and highlighted, along with St John's. Land to the rear of the properties on the east side of St Leonard's Gate shows the presence of large numbers of gardens. The vast gardens of the Lawson mansion, which may by then have been in the ownership of George Burrow, another West Indies merchant, look very opulent, and the open Mill Race channel appears to have been made a feature of. Lancaster Corporation has developed the group of dwellings and dyehouse, over the top of the Mill Race, and partially over the site of the former mill.



Edward Baines' map of Lancaster, 1824

Little appears to have changed in the three years since Binns' map was published, though its depiction of buildings is fairly diagrammatic and does not show property boundaries. It appears to be the gardens of the (former? Perhaps in George Burrow's ownership by now) Lawson mansion which are shown in most detail.



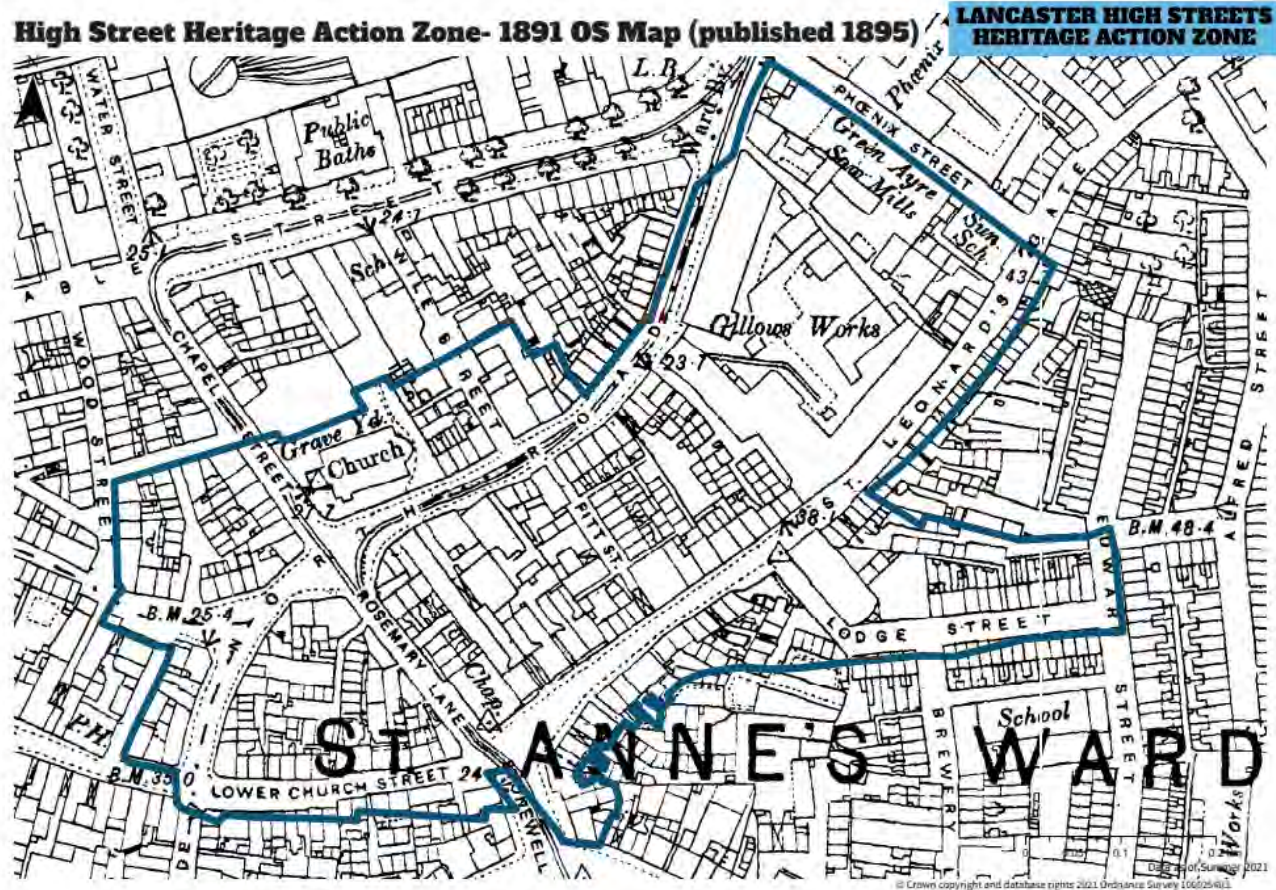
Large scale 1849 OS map (surveyed 1845), (1:1,056 scale)

This map shows in great detail the extent of development having taken place by the mid-C19. Of particular note on this map are the areas of court and yard housing which had been developed for workers behind street frontages, a number of which are named on the map. Not only are the passages used to access them shown, but the location of the water pumps used by the residents are also indicated.



Harrison & Hall's map of Lancaster, 1877

This map provides a very useful midway point between the two Ordnance Survey maps of the 1840s and 1890s. Much of the pre- and bylaw terraced housing has been developed east of St Leonard's Gate. Phoenix Street is now in evidence, though not named on the map, and most of the former Lawson mansion's gardens have been developed (by this time the house has been converted to the Centenary Congregational Church and School to the designs of Paley & Austin, though construction of the new Centenary Church at Stonewell begins in this year). A timber yard can be seen to its rear. North Road, linking Cheapside to Damside has also been created.

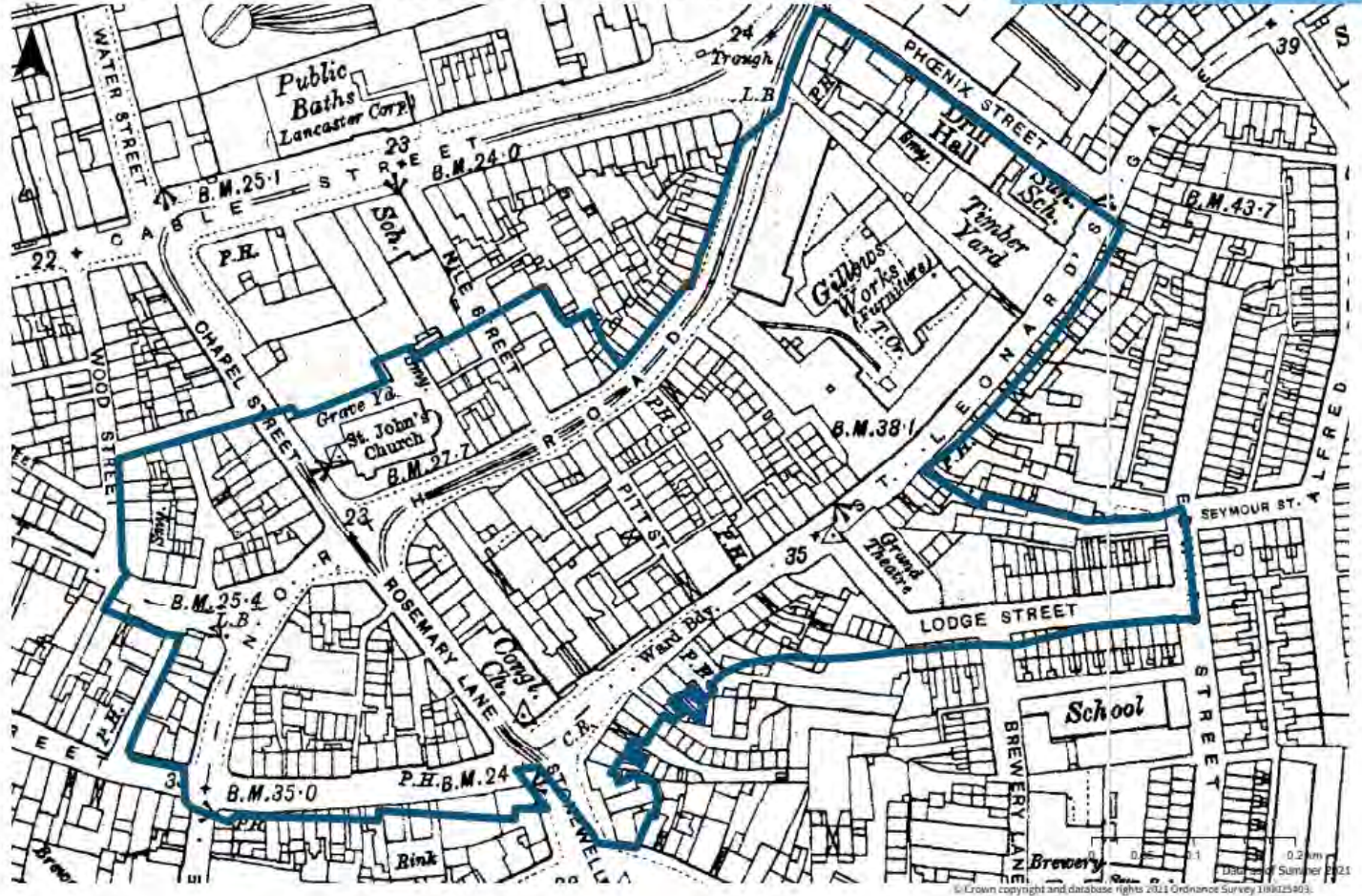


1891OS map (1:2,500 scale)

This map illustrates how the town has filled out, and almost every piece of land has been developed. Most notably within the HSHAZ, the extensive Gillows Works has now appeared, including the Austin & Paley showroom building fronting onto what has become North Road (formerly the eastern half of Damside Street). This resulted in the loss of a large amount of worker housing. Other notable changes are the new Centenary Church at Stonewell, and the previous Centenary Church and School has been identified as the 'Sunday School,' which has also been extended (1887/8) over the front garden of the former Lawson mansion, to the design of Edward Howard Dawson ARIBA. To the rear of the Sunday School is the Green Ayre Saw Mill, but in the bottom corner is another building by EH Dawson: the Phoenix Rooms built for the Lancaster Coffee Tavern Company in 1887.

High Street Heritage Action Zone- 1910 OS Map (published 1913)

**LANCASTER HIGH STREETS
HERITAGE ACTION ZONE**



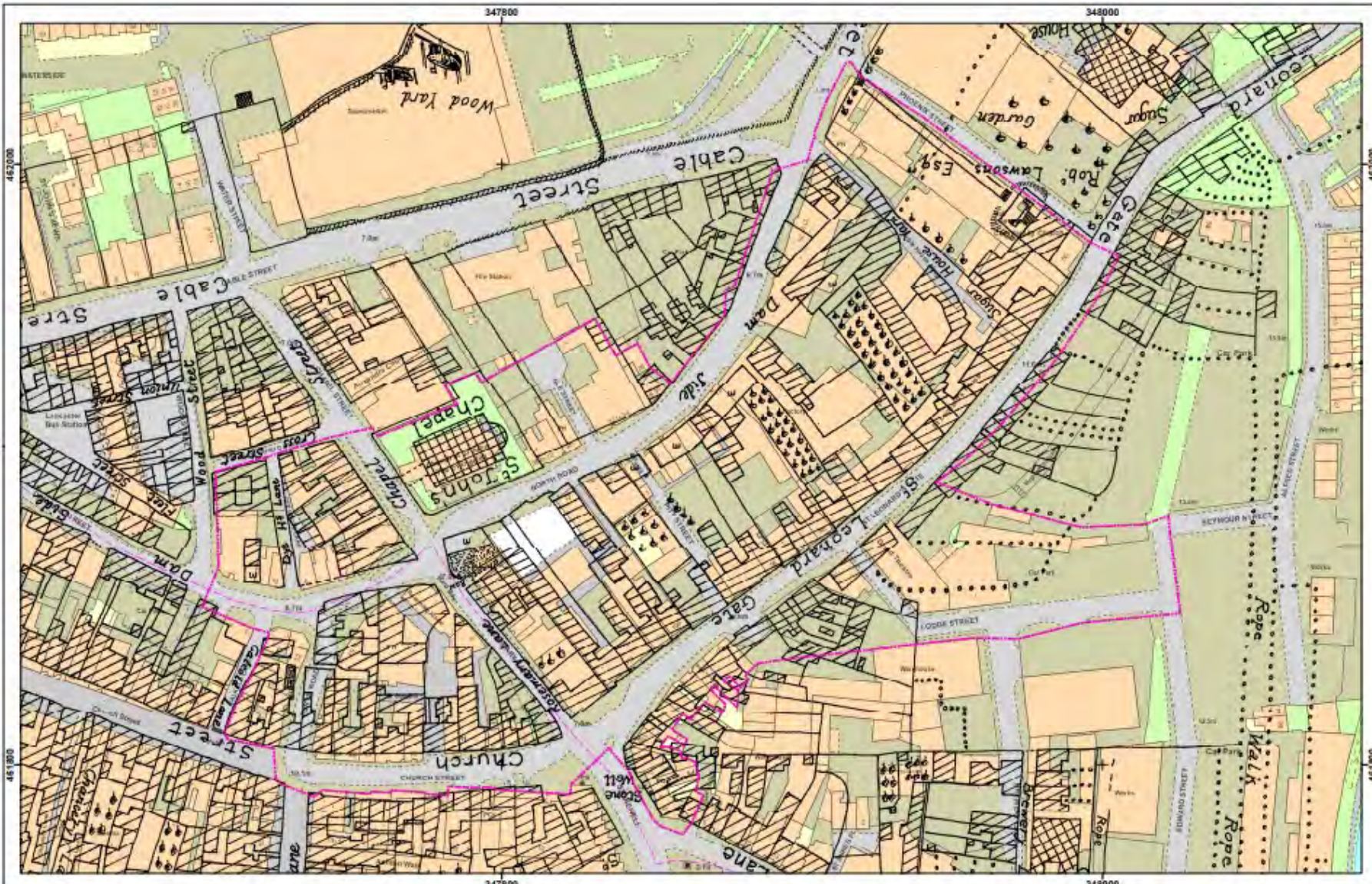
1910 survey revised; published 1913 OS 25 inch plan (sheet XX.II)

The most notable changes on this map can be seen at the Phoenix Street end of St Leonard's Gate. The Sunday School now has the Gillows Timber Yard to its west and the Green Ayre Saw Mill has been replaced by Austin & Paley's Drill Hall (completed by 1894), with a house between it and the Phoenix Rooms, which accommodated the Coffee House Manageress in 1910.




1931 survey revised; published 1933 OS 25 inch plan (sheet XXX.II)

The most apparent change within the HSHAZ is that the Drill Hall has extended into the former Sunday School building, and there have also been additions to the rear. Further infilling can be seen within the Gillows Works too which, since its merger with Waring of Liverpool in 1897, had continued to expand. During the 1920s, a new reinforced concrete framed building was erected to the west of the stone five storey building. The new building extended the footprint further along St Leonard's Gate, and the back-to-backs on Mason Street were cleared as a result.



Lancashire Historic Environment Record

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 Lancaster_HSHAZ_Boundary

Extract from Lancaster Mapping
Mackreth 1778








Lancashire Historic Environment Record

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 Lancaster_HSHA2_Boundary

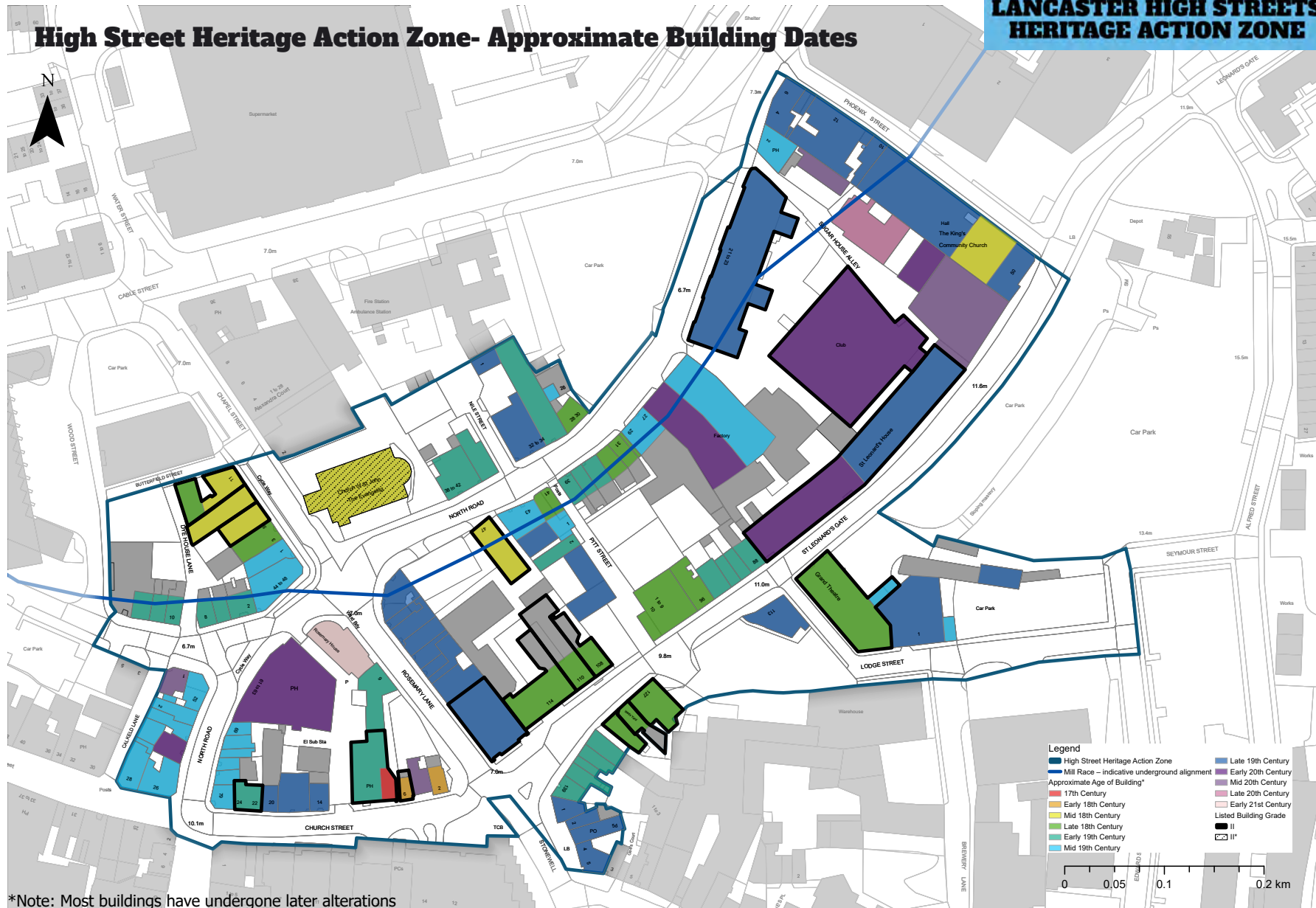
Extract from Lancaster Mapping
Baines 1824



Appendix D

High Street Heritage Action Zone- Approximate Building Dates

LANCASTER HIGH STREETS HERITAGE ACTION ZONE



Appendix E: Mill Race Area significance and character

Mill Race Character Area

A conservation area is defined as an area 'of special architectural or historic interest the character of which it is desirable to preserve or enhance'. Due to its size and varying character, Lancaster CA is divided into eleven areas of different and distinct character.

The Mill Race Area is currently split between two character areas within the Lancaster Conservation Area.³⁰³ However, it is worthy of being a character area in its own right, as a distinct area whose development has been defined by the Mill Race and its proximity to the river.

Significance and character

The Mill Race Area's special historic and architectural interest comes primarily from how it illustrates so well the evolution and development of the city generally and retains its early street layout as dictated by the topography and the extent of the Lune at each stage of development. These stages span from Lancaster's Roman occupation, through its medieval expansion following the establishment of its C12 castle and into its period of great prosperity during the C18 as a result of its successful port and later as a manufacturing hub during the C19.

The area has strong historical associations with Lancaster's early industry; the Mill Race powering

Lancaster's C16 cornmill and providing easy access to large quantities of water enabling the dye industry to develop there. The bridging of the Mill Race allowed access to the new quays and wharves which began to appear from the late C17, as merchants in the area eagerly imported raw materials, such as mahogany, sugar and dyestuffs. The story of Lancaster's resulting economic prosperity during the C18 can be traced in this area, from the expansion into the Green Ayre for new homes and St John's Church, as well as buildings for the entertainment of the wealthy visitors to the town, such as the Theatre (the Grand). The area saw an influx of plantation goods produced by enslaved people, but the area also has close associations with slave traders and owners.

When manufacturing became the town's new focus in the C19, the area became a hub for small scale artisans and craftspeople, such as cabinetmakers and carriage builders, as well as larger manufacturing companies such as Waring & Gillow. The area also became home to many of the C19 workers. Piecemeal infilling took place throughout the area, where court, yard and alley housing could be found. Cramped conditions and poor sanitation meant that disease was rife and mortality rates high. This resulted in Richard Owen's 1845 Report of the State of Lancaster, which highlights the poor conditions of many

³⁰³ See CMP Part 2, Issue 1. Recommendation for a Mill Race Character Area within the Lancaster Conservation Area.

streets in the area. Social reformers too sought to help the expanding east Lancaster population, which saw the arrival of a chapel, school and coffee house in Phoenix Street. Around this time, the Lancaster Rifle Volunteers Hall was also built there, who later evolved into the 5th Battalion, the King's Own Royal (Lancaster) Regiment. They were deployed to the Western Front in 1914. The area offered further help to the war effort, during both wars with Waring & Gillow manufacturing aeroplane parts, kit bags, tents and ammunition chests.

Following the area's decline in the 1960s, with the closure of Waring and Gillows and the loss of much of the resident population, the founding of Lancaster University in 1964 ensured that a number of the area's large vacant buildings were kept in use when they were perhaps most vulnerable. The University's association with the area continues today with a number of the larger building having been adapted to student accommodation in recent years.

Its architectural interest can be found in its earliest buildings on Lower Church Street and its wealth of Georgian buildings, including the fine St John's Church attributed to Henry Sephton with its tower by Thomas Harrison, the Grand Theatre,

and several former merchant houses, as well the imposing Gillows Works whose grand scale embody the success of the furniture-making company. It is these tall buildings which also provide the prominent landmarks in this area, along with the spire of the late C19 Centenary Church on Stonewell. The area's architectural interest includes its impressive array of Victorian revival buildings many of which are by notable architects, including the firm of Paley & Austin (under its various name combinations) and EH Dawson, as well as its rare surviving small industrial buildings, workshops and court housing which provide an insight into how the large lower-class population lived in east Lancaster. There is a commonality of materials with most buildings constructed from the local mill stone grit sandstone, with a great deal of ashlar and dressed stone to be found, with slate roofs, mostly Cumbrian, with some Welsh.

How the streets contribute to the Mill Race Area's significance and character

Sections 2, 3 and 4 of this part of the CMP describe what makes the streets within the Mill Race significant. The ways in which they contribute to the area's significance and character has been summarised above and tabulated below by street for ease of reference.

NORTH ROAD (NE), PITT STREET & NILE STREET

This section of North Road dates from the 1770s. Following the curve of the Mill Race, it was built to ease the passage of people and goods through the town to the new Skerton Bridge. Originally part of Damside Street, it was re-named in the 1880s, coinciding with the opening of the Gillows Works, and their new Paley and Austin showroom at its northern end. This street is bookended by the Gillows landmark at one end (Key Views 6b & 7) and St John's Church, its spire being a primary focal point and landmark within the conservation area, at the other. The rest of the street is characterised by a mixture of predominantly two and three-storey former industrial, commercial and residential buildings (Key Views 6a & 6b). Mainly dating from the C18 and C19, this varied townscape has a cohesive character. Pitt Street and Nile Street, which once formed part of a tighter network of lanes and alleys and yards behind the principal streets, contain some rare surviving workshops and warehouses, as well as original setted road surfaces.

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (6a, 6b, & 7) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

NORTH ROAD (SW)

This section of North Road dates from c.1842 and was built as a continuation of Cheapside. Prior to its creation, Calkeld Lane would have been the principal link from Church Street to Damside Street. Most of the buildings date from this period and are purpose-built ashlar-fronted commercial properties which represent an important group, stepping up the hill towards Cheapside (Key View 12). Several historic shopfronts survive. The Baroque Revival Austin & Paley car showroom, which dates from 1904, provides a prominent focal point in views down Damside Street, which follows the sweep of the curved junction (see View 17).

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
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Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other – Associated/illustrative of the area's connection to transport
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Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (12 & 17) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)
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DAMSIDE STREET, CALKELD LANE & DYEHOUSE LANE

Damside Street dates from the second half of the 1700s. Following the curve of the Mill Race, it included the northeast section of North Road until the late 1800s. Calkeld Lane and Dyehouse Lane both pre-date Damside Street, though whilst Dyehouse Lane also appears to date from the 1700s, Calkeld Lane has much earlier origins. It can be seen on Speed's 1610 map and was first documented in the C13. Its name derives from the Norse words for 'cold spring'. This section of Damside Street was the location of the town's cornmill certainly from the 1500s, though Lancaster's mill is first mentioned in the C12. Considered a site of early industry in the town, it was also the location of the town's dyeworks, presumably due to the access to a plentiful water supply. Numbers 2-12 Damside Street date from c.1800, with no.s 2-4 built as the new dyeworks, replacing an earlier dyeworks owned by the Butterfield family on the other side of the Dyehouse Lane entrance. This important group provides a focal point from the Church Street/North Road corner (Key View 13). Both Dyehouse Lane and Calkeld Lane housed C19 workers, and the former's unsanitary conditions are cited by Owen in his 1845 *Report on the State of Lancaster*. Both lanes' setted surfaces add to the area's character (Key Views 10 & 11).

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (10, 11 & 13) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

CHAPEL STREET

This street dates from the mid-1700s, when the Corporation of Lancaster started to develop the Green Ayre during a time of great prosperity for the town, resulting from the success of the town's port trade, especially its transatlantic trade. No.s 7-11 Chapel Street, grade II listed former townhouses, date from soon after 1741 and were built by Lancaster merchant and slaver trader, Thomas Butterfield, hence the name Butterfield Street (formerly Cross Street) which links Chapel Street to Dyehouse Lane. These former houses form a highly significant group together with the grade II* listed St John's Church on the opposite side of the road dating from 1751 (Key View 16). Its distinctive landmark tower and spire added later by architect and engineer Thomas Harrison in 1784 features in many of the area's key views.

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (16) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

ROSEMARY LANE

Though unnamed, Rosemary Lane is evident on Docton's 1684 map. It is still a narrow lane on Mackreth's 1778 map, but now named Rosemary Lane. It was also known as Stinking Lane during the 1700s. It appears to have been widened by 1821 with a number of townhouses having been built on the eastern side, and houses on the western side appearing a little later, including worker housing behind. A small section of this housing survives, along with no. 6 Rosemary Lane. Chapel Row and Rosemary Row, also built by the mercantile Butterfield family in the C18, were swept away to make way for the imposing and distinctive Cromwell Buildings of 1899 by Robert Walker of Windermere. This positive frontage responds to the curve of the street (Key Views 7, 8 & 9).

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (7, 8 & 9) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

LOWER CHURCH STREET

Known as St Marygate in the Middle Ages, Church Street is a certain Roman road, while Lower Church Street is a possible Roman road. During the C18, Lower Church Street was considered to be of a lower status than further up the hill, but it does mean that a number of earlier buildings escaped redevelopment. Architecturally, this street reflects the widest variety of building periods within the Mill Race area, from the c.1700 Stonewell Tap building to the 1880s commercial properties with living accommodation above. No.s 2-8 form a highly significant group (Key View 14). The C19, saw the infilling of land to the rear of these properties with densely packed worker accommodation laid out in courts and yards. Much of the southern side of the road was swept away in the 1960s to enable the development of the new shopping centre, St Nicholas Arcades. A Key View is provided at the Cheapside/North Road corner, with a view up Church Street from which the tower of the Priory Church can be seen (Key View 15).

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other – no. 8 is the earliest surviving building in the Mill Race area, c.1700
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster’s early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster’s military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (14 & 15) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

STONEWELL

Stonewell takes its name from the ancient well found here, also known as St Mary's Well. Water from the spring was considered to offer health benefits well into the C19. It is considered to be the eastern extent of the Roman settlement, due to the types of Roman material previously found here, including evidence of burials. It represents an important junction, in evidence on Speed's 1610 map. Tanning is known to have taken place here during the C17. The Stonewell 'nose' is made up of 5 properties, each appearing to date from the second half of the C19, though the footprint of no. 1, stepping forward, reflects the building line that can be seen on Mackreth's 1778 map. Stonewell was the terminus of the Lancaster and District Tramway, which operated horse-drawn trams until 1920 and is associated with Thomas Edmondson, inventor of the printed railway ticket. Stonewell provides a key node and positive gateway to St Leonard's Gate. The 'nose' provides an important focal point in views down Lower Church Street, as well as Great John Street (Key Views 1 & 14)

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other – Terminus of Lancaster and District Tramway & birthplace of Thomas Edmondson
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (1 & 14) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

ST LEONARD'S GATE

St Leonard's Gate takes its name from the leper hospital founded just outside the town's boundary in the C12. The route was clearly well-established by the C17, as Speed's and Docton's maps show, defined by burgage plots, though it is thought to have possible Roman origins. The street was popular with merchants during the C18 and a number of their houses survive today. The building of The Theatre here in 1782 suggests that it had become a fashionable area at this time. The back land was developed for industrial purposes, which included the town's first sugar house in c.1680 on the west side, and later saw much infilling with housing for the town's growing worker population, in courts and yards, including the rare surviving Swan Court on the east side close to Stonewell. During the C19, it became a hub for manufacturing, especially cabinet making, on a small and grand scale, as well as carriage-building. Landmarks are provided by the imposing Gillows Works, the Grand Theatre and the Centenary Church, which together with 50 St Leonard's Gate, provide prominent gateways into this significant street (Key Views 1, 2, 3, 5 & 14)

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (1, 2, 3, 5 & 14) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

LODGE STREET & ST LEONARD'S PLACE

Along with Phoenix Street, Lodge Street is one of the newer streets within the Mill Race area, dating from the 1850s. It takes its name from the developer, John Lodge, responsible for the speculative development of early bylaw terraced housing, of which only one remains (1 Lodge Street). This surviving house is attached to the North Lancashire Carriage Works dating from the mid-C19 (Key View 18), which forms an important group together with proprietor William Richmond's 1899 carriage showroom on the corner of Lodge Street and St Leonard's Gate. Behind the terraced houses which once lined the north side of Lodge Street, can be found St Leonard's Place (also referred to as Lawson Swain Yard), which contained both housing and workshops. The boundary of the courtyard, along with the ginnel access from Edward Street remain, as does a rare surviving C19 workshop thought to have been used by a cabinetmaker (Key View 4).

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage ▪ Other
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (4 & 18) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

PHOENIX STREET

Phoenix Street dates from the 1850s (first seen on Harrison & Hall's 1877 map), and takes its name from the Phoenix Foundry. Opening in the 1830s, the foundry was built on land which once formed part of the extensive pleasure grounds of the Lawson Mansion, adjacent to the town's second sugar house. The former C18 mansion is located on the corner of St Leonard's Gate. It can be perceived even in its much-altered state, beneath the flat roof, especially to the rear where the Paley & Austin adaptations can also be seen. Other than this, all of the buildings on the southern side of the street date from the 1880s-90s, and mainly reflect the work of respected Lancaster architects Paley and Austin, and Edward Howard Dawson, each built in a revival style including the former Drill Hall and Coffee Tavern. They represent a highly significant group and provide a strong frontage. The former Sunday School frontage marks a gateway into the area (Key View 5) and historic stone flags with the original wide kerb stones can be seen along the length of Phoenix Street. However, in addition to its architectural interest, this short street has a story to tell about the social and sanitary reforms which were taking place at this time in Lancaster as its population rapidly expanded.

Architectural interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains listed buildings ▪ Contains buildings associated with a notable architect or engineer ▪ Contains architecturally unique buildings ▪ Contains buildings that reflect the local architectural style ▪ Contains buildings notable for their group value ▪ Other
Historic interest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Reflects early street pattern ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's early industry ▪ Associated with/illustrative of maritime trade ▪ Associated with transatlantic slavery ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 manufacturing ▪ Associated with/illustrative of C19 worker housing ▪ Associated with C19 sanitary or social reformers ▪ Associated with/illustrative of Lancaster's military heritage
Contributor to character or appearance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Contains landmark buildings ▪ Contains nodes and gateways ▪ Contains Key View (5) ▪ Consistency with other building types, architectural styles or materials ▪ Traditional floorscape (original or reinstated)

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