

## SOME ASPECTS OF WHITEHAVEN'S DEVELOPMENT BEFORE 1700

by Blake Tyson

This article is dedicated to the memory of Patrick Radcliffe, a most friendly Ulsterman who, during the early research for this work offered cheerful and unstinted help as an assistant archivist at Carlisle Record Office. Tragically, on 29th May 1985, he was killed by hooligans at the Liverpool-Juventus football match at Brussels, where he worked as an archivist with the E.E.C.

To be successful, any new town must satisfy inhabitants' work and housing needs in a physical environment which encourages settlement. Financial incentives, industrial development and an infrastructure of urban services are also important. As one of Britain's earliest post-medieval planned towns, Whitehaven is fortunate in having excellent documentary sources which illustrate how it was developed from the mid-17th century.<sup>1</sup> By detailing how Sir John Lowther extended the pier and enlarged his house at Flatt Hall before 1684, two articles in these *Transactions* (Vols. 29 & 28) have already exposed several aspects of the town's history, but the correspondence between Lowther and his agents Thomas Tickell (d. Dec. 1692) and William Gilpin<sup>2</sup> deserves further exploration to show how Sir John's ideas, attitudes and instructions influenced physical and cultural development before 1698 when he retired after 34 years in Parliament. From countless clues this article will examine features of the old town, followed by pre-Restoration expansion east of Pow beck. Details of some later building and street developments will then be considered before a brief account of the introduction of some basic industries and better inland communications. In essence, Whitehaven grew from a small coal-exporting settlement to a thriving town of about 500 families and 2500 inhabitants by 1700.<sup>3</sup>

An outline of the tiny Elizabethan hamlet and the purchase of the Manor of St. Bees in 1630 by Sir John Lowther of Lowther for his son Christopher was given in *AMS Transactions* 29, 173-4 and need not be repeated. A convenient starting date for this study would be 1642 when our Sir John Lowther was born and his father Christopher was created a Baronet before dying two years later aged only thirty-three. Little is known of Sir John's childhood but he may have spent much of it at Whitehaven for, in only his ninth letter to Tickell in September 1666, he commended "my Nurse [named Watson] to yr care. She lives at Braconwhait . . . supply her yearly with 40 or 50 shillings according to her need". Braconthwait lay between Whitehaven and Bransty on the north side of the town and the comment might help to explain Lowther's greater emotional interest in West Cumberland than in his Sockbridge Hall estate near Penrith, inherited through his mother's family, the Lancasters.<sup>5</sup> However the main reason for his involvement in Whitehaven's future was the economic potential of coal-mining and shipping in West Cumberland.

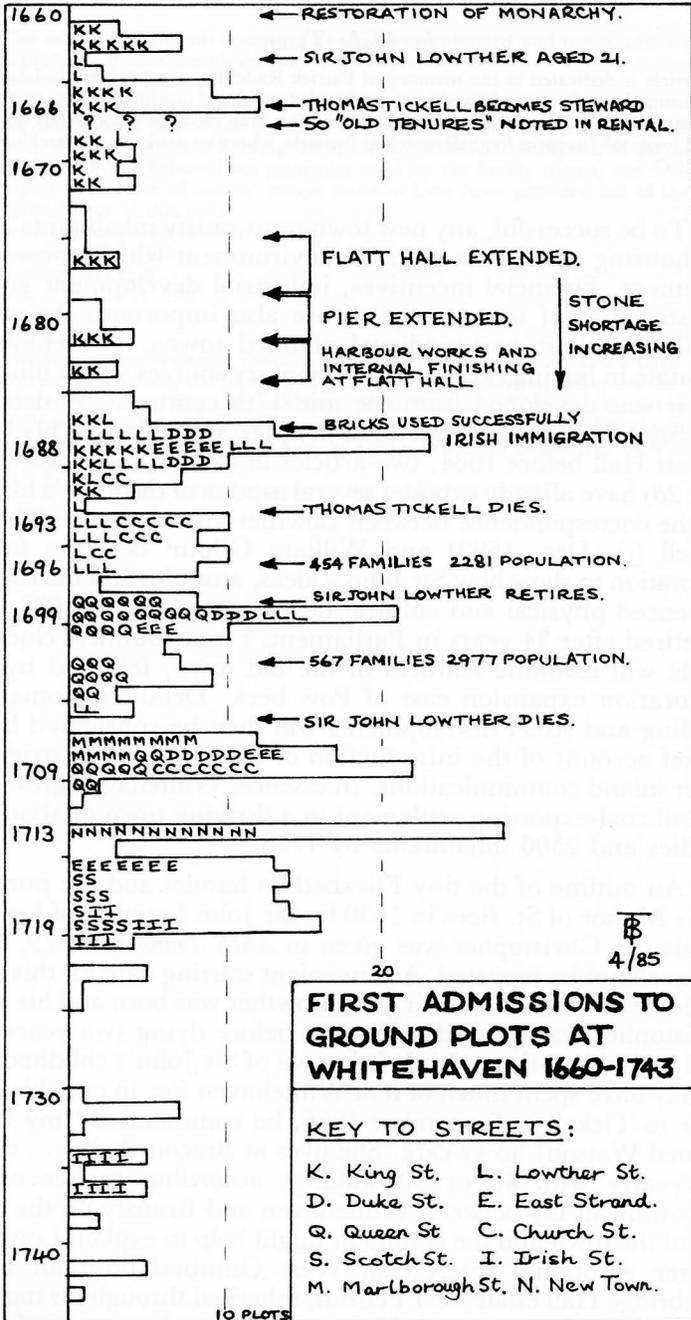


Fig. 1: Histogram showing the number of first admissions annually to properties in Whitehaven, 1660-1743. Some plots were not built on for many years. Important events and street developments are indicated also.

Source: Whitehaven Street Books, C.R.O., D/Lons/W., W'n Town 59.

During Sir John's minority, the Civil War, the Commonwealth and the absence of his father's commercial influence probably retarded Whitehaven's development. The Restoration, followed by Sir John's coming-of-age (1663) and the employment of Thomas Tickell<sup>6</sup> (1666) produced a spurt of admissions to building plots so that a Rental was made in 1667. Between 1671 and 1685, a lull in admissions is evident (Fig. 1) in the Whitehaven Street books<sup>7</sup> (hereafter *WSB*). This coincided with Sir John's preoccupation with extending Flatt Hall and the pier for which stone and labour supplies were carefully monopolized. Between 1685 and 1720 development increased dramatically with peaks of over 20 admissions per year in 1688, 1699, 1709 and 1713. The first peak was caused by an influx of Irish immigrants and the second by Lowther's retirement whilst dips which followed might be explained by Tickell's death in 1692 and Sir John Lowther's in January 1706. Until Lowther Street began to take shape in 1686, King Street was the main development axis and also controlled the orientation of the street grid.

By comparing information from the Street Books with town maps, surveyed and drawn by Andrew Pellin in the 1690s (see note 46), it is possible to examine how Whitehaven grew even before Sir John Lowther took charge of his estates (Fig. 2). Except for the water front (West Strand), the old part of the town, west of Pow beck, seems to have been almost fully developed by 1667 when holders of about 50 "Old Tenures" were recorded. Actual dates of building work are scarce but the positions of the old Manor House, the tithebarn with a horse mill at its southern end, and some named houses become clear. In 1664 Sir John Lowther entered Parliament and "the Old Hall (The Mansion House of Sir Christopher Lowther)" was leased on 1st November for 99 years at £11 a year to John Gale (a merchant) and his wife Elizabeth. By 10th September 1667 (1;29), Tickell reported "Though Mr. Gale hath built well and you might have 3 rooms there (but no stable), a lodging, a dining roome and another chamber above it for yr servant yet they are unfurnished . . . neither will they ever doe them well being to my judgment not affected thereto . . .". Presumably the old house had been neglected before 1630 and since Sir Christopher's death and was rebuilt, but Sir John had ambitions beyond occupying a few rooms on a constricted urban site. Also, Gale was becoming troublesome. He had built pentroofs against his wall in the market place and rented them to traders. On 27th December 1668 (1;57) Tickell noted "I have not a Coppy of his lease to keepe him to its due observation and suppose you may give him equall trouble by erecting a wall . . . towards his shop at the [north end of the tithe] Barne which will shut him out of ye market upon which you may order a shade with severall stands useful to butchers and others to defray yt charge". Further



references show that this conflict remained unresolved for at least thirty years!

In 1686, to settle a family dispute after Gale's death, the lease was extended to 1000 years and the property was divided between John Gale, then in Lowther's service, the eldest son (d.1717), Ebenezer (Tickell's son-in-law)<sup>8</sup> and Elisha, the youngest son (*WSB*, Ledger). The old manor house faced east onto the Market Place, Old Street (which led northwards into Quay Street) and Swing Pump Lane which led south past the tithebarn towards the smithy at Town Head and the 'low road' to St. Bees. These three streets formed the main axis of the old town and had large linear plots extending up the hill on the west side. On the east side, between the waterfront and the market place, small irregular plots and alleys were cluttered around Mid Town. As families matured, infill and subdivision were much more common than demolition. However, No. 50 Old Town was "an Old Cottage House wch stopped the passage from Hamilton Lane into Old Street". It stood opposite Lawry House<sup>9</sup> (No. 24) and John Hamilton "laid it to the opening of the passage . . . [and] for Enlarging his Front". The occupier, Anthony Crosthwaite, was compensated by being admitted to No. 15 Marlborough Street on 9th September 1708 (*WSB*, 23 & 89).

Whitehaven's market was granted in 1654 but the Market Place was developed earlier by building along the north side opposite to the extension of the tithebarn. At the NW corner, two old houses (Nos. 47 & 71) of William Burton determined the front boundary of a neighbouring plot (No. 72) granted to Thomas Hamilton on 22nd October 1631. East of that, on 14th June 1641, "Tho Craister Esq [was] adm[itted] to a Ho[use] built 11 yd x 6 yd and another *to be Erected* to joyn on Widow Winfield's [No. 80] on one End & to reach to ye Corner of his other Ho next the Market Place . . . leaving a Conven[ient] passage in the back lane". When John and Elizabeth Gale were admitted to the same property [No. 83] on 30th April 1675, the plot next to Winfield's had still not been built on after 34 years and its freehold was bought by Elisha Gale in 1682. This indicates the sort of information in the Street Books, but few entries are so explicit. As delayed development was not unusual,<sup>10</sup> one can trace the grant of plots easier than the building of houses.

To enlarge the Market Place, two old houses were demolished in 1682 and their tenants, William Stockdale and Thomas Booth, were compensated by admission to plots 8 and 9 Pow Street (*WSB*, 76). Stockdale's house had stood in front of the Old Hall, south of No. 71, but the benefit was diminished by Mrs. Gale "inlargeing

her Court before ye old Kitchen & erecting a new wall & penthouses thereon . . . [which she] & her sonns have set at annual Rents to Butchers and other trades" (4;212). As no market tolls were charged and the fair yielded only 8s. a day, Tickell thought that free shambles offered the only way to compete. On 10th June 1696, William Gilpin reached the same conclusion, a clear indication of lack of progress on Lowther's part. In contrast, ten days earlier, Gilpin had reported that "Mr. John & Eb. Gale . . . have contracted with workmen abt building a Cross in ye Market Place"<sup>11</sup> and he saw a model of it by 10th June. Clearly the Gales were a powerful influence in that part of the town, a factor which Tickell had recognized as early as November 1670 (1;96) when he remarked "If you should change ye market place [location] I conceive yt where ye chappel stands (& if removed) very convenient, being in part built . . . you may make yr bounders as you please not confined by any person". Inertia prevailed,<sup>12</sup> as it did in October 1680 (3;187) when the agent tried to persuade the inhabitants to keep the Market Place clear of rubbish and have it paved (cobbled) "upon a publick charge". Before progress was made, as a result of "a very high tide both our towne bridges were carried off" on Saturday 16th January 1686 (4;367). The loss of direct communication with the rapidly growing eastern part of the town generated a more urgent response so that, by 27th January 1687, Tickell reported that Robert Biglands and Richard Hodgson had accumulated "£15 or £16 raised towards paving of ye Market & building 2 stone bridges & they have agreed with a mason from Dublin to make ye 2 bridges for £10 wch mason is now at work" (4;535). He was Thomas Bodle<sup>13</sup> who undertook many other jobs in the town.

To the east of Pow beck, a cluster of ancient tenements formed the angle between it and Roper Lane (now Street) which followed an old alignment from the Market Place bridge towards Flatt Hall. On the Lane's NE side, No. 5 was "an Ancient Custom[ar]y Tenem[en]t called Baylands Ho[use which] falling into the hands of ye Lord by escheat was granted to James Hodgson" in 1665.<sup>14</sup> On the opposite side nearer the bridge No. 9 was "an Ancient Tenement belonging to Robt Biglands Mercht<sup>15</sup> [which] has no back gr[oun]d belonging to it" because of gardens belonging to two flanking "Ancient Tenemts" owned by John Chapelhow (No. 10) and William Hodgson (No. 8) on the corner. Except for John Hodgson's house at No. 7 Pow Street and his adjoining garden, William Hodgson seems to have owned most of the land between the old town and Flatt Hall, so that Lowther commented, on 24th September 1667 (1;31) "I would gladly . . . hear of some little purchases . . . [such] as Bransty or Hodgson's Croft" and again, on 21st November 1671 (1;133) "As to Hodgson Tenemt you know

I am very desireous of ye croft wch lyes betwixt ye Sandhills & ye Flat". On 15th Tickell had informed him:

This last weeke Will Hodgson hath sold his whole tenement to Xopher Skelton for £110 reserving ye houses and croft &c on this side [of] Whit'n Beck or Pow dureing his life. Hodgson never sought Licence [from the manor but] Skelton did, wch I refused, telling him yr owne mind . . . & urged him for his owne continuance in yr favour to tender his bargaine to you by his owne free motion . . .

Skelton was a maltster and wanted to build a drying kiln. Tickell thought it could be built on "ground called Hollinwell on ye Backside of Will Nicholsons in ye way to ye wind milne<sup>16</sup> wch . . . would be convenient for ye towne who drie little, but at this place there are no matterialls in readinesse tho this might be straw thatched & little charge . . ." (1;135). As Tickell was warned "Fail me not in Hodgsons Croft", on 30th January 1672 and it was bought later that year, and as the Street Book in 1743 noted that No. 8 Old Town behind William Nicholson's "Was an old Killn . . . long since useless & demolished", the way in which Tickell cajoled an inhabitant into conforming with his wishes becomes clearer. There are numerous examples of how he used the Law or even 'strong-arm' tactics to get his way unreasonably.<sup>17</sup>

East of Pow beck, the second street radiating from the market led directly to Braconthwait and Bransty across the sandhills roughly parallel to the coast. The earliest building plot recorded in this (King) street was No. 39 to which, on 1st August 1645, "Rt. Jackson [was] adm to a Ho lately Errected by his Bro Geo Jackson with a parcell [of ground] on Sand Hill", and the next plot northeastwards was let to Robert Hodgson on 11th November 1646. Behind these and also facing the sea in what became Chapel Street, Henry Grayson was admitted, on 31st July 1645, to a large "mess [uage] & ten[ement] at W'haven & Sand Hill, adj[oinin]g to a Ho formerly Hen. Baylands & pd Fine £3 to S Chr L 30 Aug 1642. Adm by Jo Lamplugh & Fra Lowther", Sir Christopher's widow. From this wording and the two parallel streets, it is clear that Sir Christopher had already begun to create a formal layout for the town before his death and the chapel, set in the midst of the sandhills like an aiming point, was positioned between the two street lines. Its exact location can be determined from the admittance of David Hamilton on 10th August 1666 to Nos. 47, 48 & 49 King Street (*WSB*, 10) "on surr[ender] of Geo Lesley of a Ho & Stable betw [een] ye Chappel & ye Ho of ye sd David" (Nos. 42-46) which he occupied from 1652 and bought freehold in 1687. Further along King Street on the same side, a large plot (No. 52) was let to Thomas Tyson in 1662 "one Ho to be Errected". In 1665 David Hamilton and Thomas Addison were admitted to it and, on 21st October 1668, "David Hamilton surr[endere]d a moiety of a Ho called the Custom house & Malt ho to Tho Addison (who married

Dds Dr)', Hamilton and his wife Eleanor reserving occupation to themselves for life. Both men worked for the Customs (1;123). Addison bought the freehold on 14th September 1682 so, six months later, No. 41 King Street<sup>18</sup> was "Lett for a Custom house at £9 per annum" until 1694.

The area between the old custom house and George Lesley's old house was referred to indirectly when Lowther commented, on 14th February 1671 (1;106) that the tenants had written to him "abt a Chapple yard. I think it need not be set out but . . . no new buildings shal take up ye ground . . . at present". As all burials occurred at St. Bees, there was no need for a formal churchyard and when Lowther Street began to take shape in 1686-9, the plot was amongst the first to be built on. It accommodated ten small houses despite the chapel's survival until 1694. Therefore the chapel was located in the middle of what became Lowther Street as if Sir Christopher had already identified the future axis of the town. In King Street, right opposite the chapel "William Singleton shoemaker [was] adm to a Ho stead 7 x 7 yds" on 18th January 1665 and John Crosthwaite took two neighbouring plots in 1666.<sup>19</sup> With four other plots let before 1670, these properties would have formed the seaward backdrop to Tickell's proposed market square in the churchyard. The depth of these plots was determined by Lowther's comments in a letter dated 4th June 1667 (1;24).

You may contract. . . with Dixon<sup>20</sup> for 20 or 30 yards in Front & 14 yards backwards as ye rest have, but [I] can allow none more than 14 yards backward because I intend another street betwixt & ye sea, yet till such time as such street be built wch will not be in haste, he may make use of as much ground towards ye sea as he sees good . . .

The extra street, East Strand, was not started until 1687! Nearer to the Market Place, large plots all with "a Ho to be Erected" were taken up in 1661-2 by Thomas Towerson, Wm Roger, Thomas Britton and his wife Elizabeth and by Thomas Jackson<sup>21</sup> who took the opportunity to wall in 10 yards extra towards the sea and build on part of it without permission (1;74,78). Opposite to this last property, in 1662, William Tubman of Morresby was admitted to a house and stable of Eleanor Lindes'. His brother Henry Tubman took over this and the next plot in 1671 to create an inn on the corner with Roper Lane. The NE end of King Street was developed in the 1680s except for the corner plot (No. 58) "adjoining the Highway near Richard Woods Smithy" and let to Henry Bragg, taylor in 1670. This house anticipated the alignment of properties in Duke Street (formerly Braconthwait Lane) by almost 20 years.

Returning to Chapel Street, the plots NE of Henry Grayson's (1645) were let in 1656-7 to Henry Bigrigg (Nos. 3 & 4) and William Gibson (No. 2) and both were to include "a Ho to be built on

Sandhills". The next plot No. 1, in 1662, was "Granted originally to Tho Brittain. Afterwards viz. 28 Sept 1686 purch by Sr John Lowther & by him granted out to others for Buildings" (*WSB*, 27) to create part of Lowther Street. On the corner of Church Street, the Minister's House was already built by 1664 when William Brownrigg of Carlisle was admitted to No. 11 Church Street, "a Ho to be Errected" NE of William Kitchen, ropemaker.<sup>22</sup> The whole block had been allocated by 1670 but the south side of Church Street remained undeveloped for about 25 years. Indeed, the decline in plot allocations between 1671 and 1685 (Fig. 1) followed by an upsurge of building activity produced an unconformity in the eventual grid street-pattern, marked by angular discordance in the middle of Roper Lane and, to a lesser degree, in the middle of Church Street where it crossed Lowther Street.<sup>23</sup> The latter was reported to Sir John on 18th October 1687 (5;68):

This morning Mr. Gale with ye Masons were lining out ye [new] Church . . . [and] found greater incongruities than was forethought, occasioned by ye broader limits of ground Builded at ye S west end & far less unbuild at ye NE so that if Church Street were to go straight yt end of buildings next Duke Street wd be narrow . . . therefore we must leave that declension southward from ye old to keep ye new regular . . .

Lowther's response on 24th was unequivocal: "yr Rule must be to sett out ye Church yard & school house yard at right Angles, let ye rest fall out as it will".

Before examining Lowther Street and its new church and school, it is worth noting that Sir John appears to have shown, quite suddenly, renewed enthusiasm for town development from 1685, using small plots rather than the generous allocations already described. In keeping with the lull in admittances, he had made relatively few comments about how the town might expand and, for a decade and a half, had concentrated on his house, coal and shipping interests and the pier. Perhaps this reflected frustration caused by opposition from several merchants like old John Gale, William Atkinson and Robert Biglands but he was also trying to develop markets abroad for the basic commodities of Whitehaven's trade. Ireland, particularly Dublin, was the main outlet but, unexpectedly on 4th April 1682 (3;351), he asked Tickell to try to establish a trade in coal, deals and bricks with Tangier. Why Tangier? Surely someone was influencing his judgment and the Street Books (p.118) might provide the answer. On 11th April 1685, "Capt Richd Senhouse from Tangier purch in Freehold" No. 1 Tangier Street.<sup>24</sup> A letter from Lowther to Tickell, dated 3rd January 1685 (4;243), shows Senhouse much in favour and town development imminent:

Let me know how long Bracontwhait is in Lease & take care yt ye Farmer give us liberty to build at ye lower end . . . for Mr. Senhouse designs to build there & I have given him leave. Let all kindness & civility be shewn to his family til he come for I have great hopes

he wil be an useful Man to ye Town. Hereafter I wil have no Lease let of any part of Flat field, Braconthwait or Hodgson's Croft for any long term, but all divided into as [many] small P[ar]cells as possible to make more accommodation for ye Town . . . I cannot P[ar]ticularize how I wld have it but wld be at as much liberty as may be when I come down . . .

Although the lease had three years to run, Senhouse was "to have 90 yards square to build upon at ye Corner" of the seaward end of Duke Street but "ye business wil be how to get ye present Lease determined . . . it must be done . . . being much sett upon bringing him thither for ye good of Trade". On 24th February, Tickell reported:

there are two farmers upon it viz. Palisters widdow<sup>25</sup> that is since married to one Robt Henderson who now is Mr. Addison's chiefe tobacco spinner for  $\frac{2}{3}$  thereof at £8 pr an and hath ye dwelling houses & ye ground next ye sea . . . John Knipe hath ye other third . . . next ye Flatt in which parcell all the Drift coale pitts & level are with the Gin stables & Lodge at £4 pr an

Henderson had made over his interest to Addison who took until March 1686 to agree terms with Senhouse. However, on 20th April 1685, Tickell had shown "Mrs Senhouse those Quarries called Brockholes at ye foot of Parson Closes<sup>26</sup> [in Flatt Field] & carried workmen to her whom she has agreed to employ there on Monday next . . ." In December her husband arrived, intending to enclose his plot to prevent molestation. He was "dayly providing matterials to go on with his buildings" and had also rented extra land at Akebank nearby for £3.10s a year. By 16th March 1686, Senhouse was building storehouses for his property. The whole development helped satisfy Lowther's desire to have an imposing building to command the northern approach to his town.<sup>27</sup> By October 1687 (5;58) the property had become known as Tangier House and it was natural that the street in front should be named after it.

In September 1685, Lowther visited Whitehaven and must have discussed his plans for buildings and the street layout with Tickell for the letters afterwards are packed with information. They had not considered street names however for, on 27th April 1686, Lowther remarked (4;402):

Yr calling ye street The Custumhouse Street puts me in mind of having Names given to ye Streets ye better to be understood . . . & because our dependence is upon Dublin I wld have you borrow their names . . . [or] of Places we trade to [such] as Virginia or Norway Street . . . wt is not done early cannot be done at all.

The first became King Street. Overseas names were ignored and Irish and Scotch Streets were not started until 1701 and 1716 respectively.<sup>28</sup> Some names like East and West Strand or Tickell Lane, where the agent had his original house and plot granted in 1665, have obvious roots. New Street (called Brick Street on a town plan of 1815)<sup>29</sup> was developed in 1688 and experienced the innovation of four houses built of brick on the corner of Addison's Lane or Alley which, in turn, was referred to by Tickell on 24th

April 1688 (5;167): "Mrs. Addison desyres it may be left ym for a back way from their house to ye church". Lowther approved this proposal on 1st May (5;171) but he disliked back alleyways, which he called "sinks of nastiness" (4;421). The new main street had been named by September 1687 (5;42) when Lowther wanted:

ye Buildings [to] suit ye street wch, as it is ye largest, I wld have best built & for yt it bears my Name I wil not have any other street have relation to me, but named either wth relation to Dublin or some Neighbour Village as Preston or Hensingham. Therefore let not ye Road along Bracontwhait be called Flat street.

Despite this, in August 1687 (5;40), when Tickell "allowed 2 more to build on ye highway side adjoining to Woodrooffe & Gibsons" and suggested names like Eggermond (Egremont) Street and Lancaster Lane, they were rejected in favour of Duke Street.<sup>30</sup>

The importance of Lowther Street ensured that developments were discussed in greater detail than elsewhere in the town though, at first, the street was un-named. Tickell began its development by encroaching on the chapel yard plot and wrote on 20th October 1685 (4;333):

. . . two houses are already bespoken to be builded on ye 2 corners in that street below & beside ye Chappell that leads from ye towne towards ye Flatt, each of ym 9 yards 2 feet in the old [King] street and 20 yards in this new front hitherwards to be hipt in the roofes in those 2 coines. . . ye street 16 yards broad between ym . . . and John Peel<sup>31</sup> has brought in a modell of his new house [which] . . . will cost abt £70 for 12 yards in front and he desyres 24 yards backwards . . .

Lowther disapproved of this scheme, wanting houses "on ye sandhills over against ye Ministers & leave all yt space abt ye Chapple to ye last" but then, in June 1686, he preferred new buildings to be near Booth's in Pow Street rather than on the sandhills "till ye Model of ye Streets be better considered". In July, after 12 artisan houses had been built in Hodgson Croft, he warned "ther must be no more til we resolve wher to turn ye corners for another street" (4;339, 345, 426, 452). At this stage therefore, street layout and building activity were still not fully organized. In keeping with his policy of having "no more [houses] of One story, but two at least, with a common staircase for two families" (4;369), in March 1686 (4;389), Lowther intended to send "Draughts for some other [houses] 2 or 3 stories high to begin ye street upwards towards my House. Those already built are . . . flowered too even with ye Ground wherby they become wet. Here after I wil have an assent into ye Houses of a step or two" and in April (4;398) was "willing to build at some smal distance yt others may be tempted to fil up ye Vacancies". On 28th September 1686 (4;487 & *WSB*, 27-8) Tickell managed to buy, for £60, Thomas Britton's plot next to the minister's house. It measured 40 x 18 yards before 2 yards were added to the length and 8 towards Lowther Street which, after this purchase, developed rapidly on both sides.

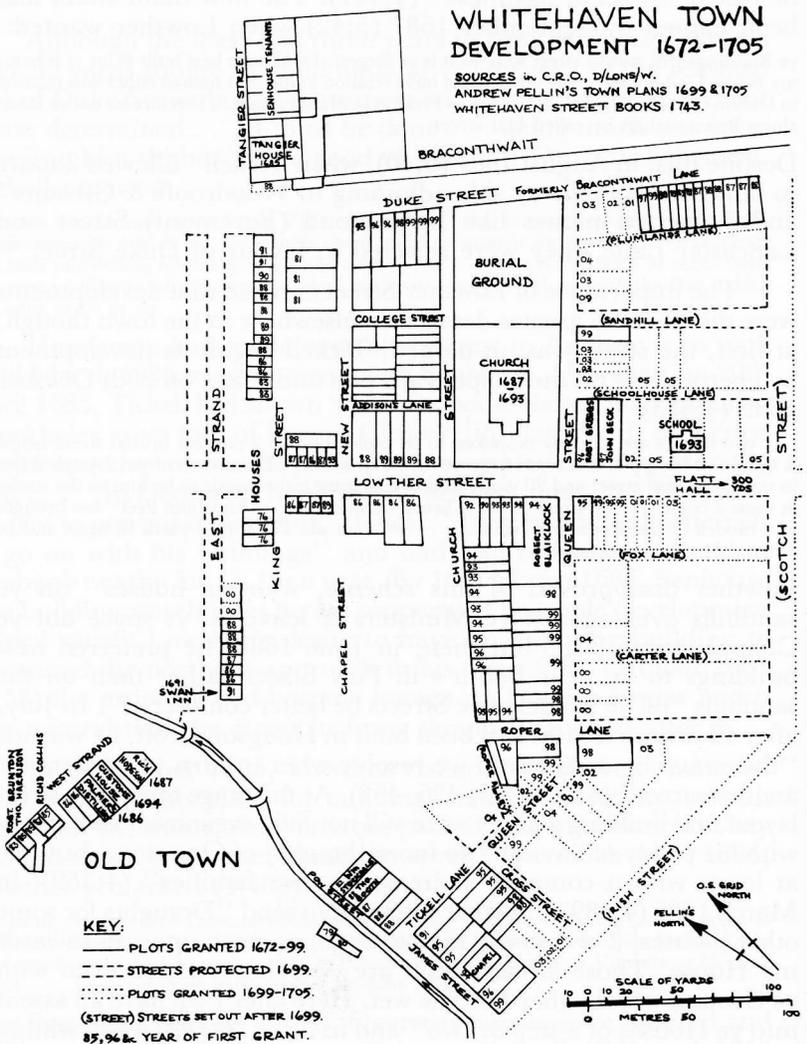


Fig. 3: Town growth at Whitehaven, 1672-1705. Property admission dates confirm the rapid development after 1685.

Sources: As in Fig. 2.

In November 1686 (4;501), Lowther considered that "no Town can be compleat without Cellerage. I think yt Street ought to have ye Ground raised to admit of Cellars and water above ground to fal on each hand, pt towards ye Pow, pt towards Braconwhait lane & by this means stowage may be had for ye refuse of ye Town".<sup>32</sup> This idea was ignored and Lowther Street gradually attracted better quality houses as indicated in Gilpin's letter of 29th January 1696:

Mr. Blaiklock has . . . built a very fine and large House [and] Mr. Grege has built another<sup>33</sup> wch I intend for the Standard of all the Houses yt shall hereafter be built in [Lowther] Street . . . [to] make a good Street to your House . . . [and] draw . . . people from their hankering after building near the Harbour . . . [and on 6th June he wanted to] abate Gregg some of the triple admittance charge [so] . . . that he shall have no cause to repent his having expended more money than he intended in . . . Making a Regular and Ornamental Front wch he did at my Instance & which has succeeded so well that . . . some Strangers have resolved to build according to the Pattern . . .

On 3rd April 1697 we are told that house rents were normally based on 6d. per yard of street frontage, that Gregg's was 16 $\frac{2}{3}$  yards and that his rent was abated from 8s. 4d. to 3s. "for building regular mode" on the corner next to the new church. Such corner sites were important in fixing the town's street pattern, for example the Minister's house helped determine the line of Lowther Street, and Henry Bragg's in 1670 fixed Duke Street's future position. However, on 17th February 1694, Gilpin sent Lowther a copy of Andrew Pellin's "Draught of the New Town. . . The Prick Lines are onely in Designe, the rest is built, by wch you will perceive some disorder in ye Ranges yt have crept in . . . wch we shall endeavour to correct . . . by staking out ye corners of ye principal squares. . .". The effect of this policy is clearly shown on Pellin's two surviving town plans of 1699 and 1705 (see Fig. 3).

Next, the new church must be considered. Prior to a visit to Whitehaven in September 1678 (2;376), Lowther wrote to the townsmen offering £100 towards any major building project like a new chapel or school. Then, on 5th October 1680 (3;194), he remarked "I have a grt mind ye Town wld think of a New Chapple when ye Peer is done". Before the end of the month, Tickell had held a Manor Court and invited those present:

to unity an'ong themselves and unanimity with you to contribute with you towards building a new chappell &c. Before we parted the Jury subscribed a paper . . . wherein they (after I had subscribed yr gift of £100 & my selfe £10) set downe their owne names & markes to the value of £32. 10s. whereof Mr. Addison was £10 and has promised . . . to go through the towne to trye what every man will do.(3;187).

The old chapel doubled as the town's assembly room, for example on 15th October 1678 (2;378), when a public meeting was called to discuss extension of the pier and, on 26th November 1684 (4;232), when "upon ye Ringing of ye Chappell Bell the masters of ships in harb[ou]r mett there and by ye advice of Wm Atkinson

& Robt Biglands associated wth them to release all Coales until ye certainty of ye Chaldron be further declared". Tickell described the small, overcrowded building (4;400):

47 feet long, 19 feet broad and 13 feet high within ye walls. On Sunday last [18th April 1686] afore noone (because Mr. Bennet was not well) we had no sermon yet there were 342 persons in it. In the afternoone because Mr. Anthony Addison of Queens Colledge preached we had 484 persons in it. . . We thought it was not so full by 100 persons as are frequently in it, so that we very much want a good large Chappell wch would be a great Inducemnt to increase Inhabitants supposing ye towne & neighbourhood wd be 1000 auditors.

Even if space for the parson's activities, the altar and Lowther's pew is ignored worshippers had only 2.6 to 1.5 sq. ft. each. By 3rd November 1686 (4;499), Tickell claimed the chapel stood in the way of building more houses and he "w[oul]d faine have [it] downe as soone as we can have another made, the stones wherof will make part of ye new chappell yard wall after we have . . . gotten into it". As if to hasten the chapel's demise, by February 1687, Tickell had admitted tenants to plots 12, 13, 17 and 18 Lowther Street close on both sides of the building so that, by 15th March 1687 (4;557)

Wm Atkinson . . . complained that I allowed a liberty to build so neare ye chappell in wch place there ought to be a Chappell yard. . . Capt [Senhouse] propounded the making a gallery in this old chappell wch he sayes W A offered to joyne us and gave me occasion to disuade ye Capt from such thoughts because of ye new chappell intended in some more convenient place and speedily, even this Summer, to be sett out at yr coming downe.

Responding to earlier requests, Lowther wrote on 27th April 1686 (4;402) "I have a Model making for a church" but by May, Addison had given up trying to get townsmen to subscribe and Tickell could think only of Captain Senhouse "since old Mrs. Gale has denyed & Mr. Hamilton deferred. Mr. Christian sayes he will give a good Bell; when yt work is going on I hope we may have better encouragemt". Lowther remarked "ye Model of ye Church is very well approved of" on 10th July (4;442) but, strangely on 21st September (4;478), claimed "You have not told me where is best to sett ye Chapple; discourse ye Town abt it". Tickell still favoured "that place on ye Sandhills as was first designed in ye way to yr house as drye ground for Burialls and with a steeple or spire high enough to make a graceful prospect to & from ye sea. . ." (4;480). Lowther visited Whitehaven early in August 1687 to discuss finance and church design but, on 30th August (5;40), Tickell enquired:

before ye groundwork be set, I pray give order where you will have ye great door placed & ye great window. Mr. Gale & I concurr that it will be left in the west end seen through the Steeple as in . . . yt modell for ye best Church (viz that of St. Nicholas) in Newcastle . . . and ye innerwall open to ye church with an high Arch &c and . . . ye 4 other doores may be well enough placed in ye same end also, viz 2 on each side [of] ye steeple wth stone steps (to ye galleryes) on ye outside to prevent noise. . . A vestry . . . may be placed like a large closset in one of ye angles on ye inside at ye east end . . . and built of Brick &c. . . We have bargained all ye geting [of stone], walling & hewenwork, lime, sand, carriage

&c . . . & some stones are already laid upon ye spott. Mr. Hamilton has paid, as well as some of us ye trustees, five pounds a piece into ye hands of Roger Strickland<sup>34</sup> whom we have appointed to receive & pay all ye moneys and have all those accts in a book at some reasonable allowance . . .

In addition to offering interesting architectural details, there is suggestion of unfulfilled inspiration derived from Newcastle's present cathedral. Though both churches were dedicated to the patron saint of mariners, they had little else in common.

At a meeting on 16th September the arrangement of four doors in the west end was confirmed and there were to be "2 great doores in ye sides, yt on ye south given by Mr. Gale<sup>35</sup> & ye north by Capt Senhouse and to be placed abt ye midle of ye whole length . . ." which Lowther elaborated as being "in ye middle of ye present length viz 32 yards ye Steeple included, wch I think ought to be in ye middle of 38 when One Arch more & ye Chancel shal be added" (5;54). On 17th, Lowther wrote urgently (5;51):

I have sent a Duplicate of ye inclosed to Mr. Gale wch I hope wil come [in] time . . . to prevent yt irregular placing of ye Church wch wee seemed all to agree to. Ther is here no consideration of due East & West;<sup>36</sup> any point of ye East is sufficient wher it can conveniently be had & wher not they vary intirely. The church will stand best in ye very middle of ye Church Yard as in ye inclosed & then, ye best Entrance being in ye South West end it might be thorough ye Steeple as yours intimated. Mine to Mr. Gale is larger.

On 30th September (5;59) Sir John thought that if "ye Steeple have grt Doors to be opened upon Burials or grt Occasions, it were advisable yt at other times it be a Vestry, wherby ye Church wil be warmer, & ye side Galleries may meet at ye west end for a Window ther is rather of disadvantage than otherwise" (Fig. 4).

On 27th Tickell had reported; "this morning Mr. Gale is with ye Mason Builder . . . measureing in Order to the convenient layeing of ye Building stones &c" but, on 3rd October regretted that "Capt Senhouse's stone leading is not so plentiful as to lye ye foundation . . . nor can he bring ym large enough for yt purpose for wch reason Mr. Benn has promised me to bring his oxen & sled to draw up a few great foundation stones for the corners so soone as he has housed his corne". As the quarries in Parson Close did not yield large stones, Tickell allowed a loose pinnacle of rock beyond the salt pans to be removed<sup>37</sup> provided the pier was not "damrified thereby".

Wet weather delayed progress and then, on 20th October 1687 (5;69) Tickell revealed:

heer has bin Jon Addison the Mason that Builds yr stables &c at Sockbridge<sup>38</sup> tendering his service to erect our Church wch because all things are bargained for, he seems willing to take a proportion off with one of our Masons as his partner if he can have an allowance for surveying and guideing the structure for which he asks £20. I proffered him £10 . . . I showed him yt spott of ground intended for ye new Customehouse & because I perceive he is good in making draughts, I have bespoken one wch he . . . will send me with his proposalls of building it agreeable to ye prices in this place of which I have given him a particular acco[unt] . . . This day ye Masons are layeing the groundwork of ye Church.

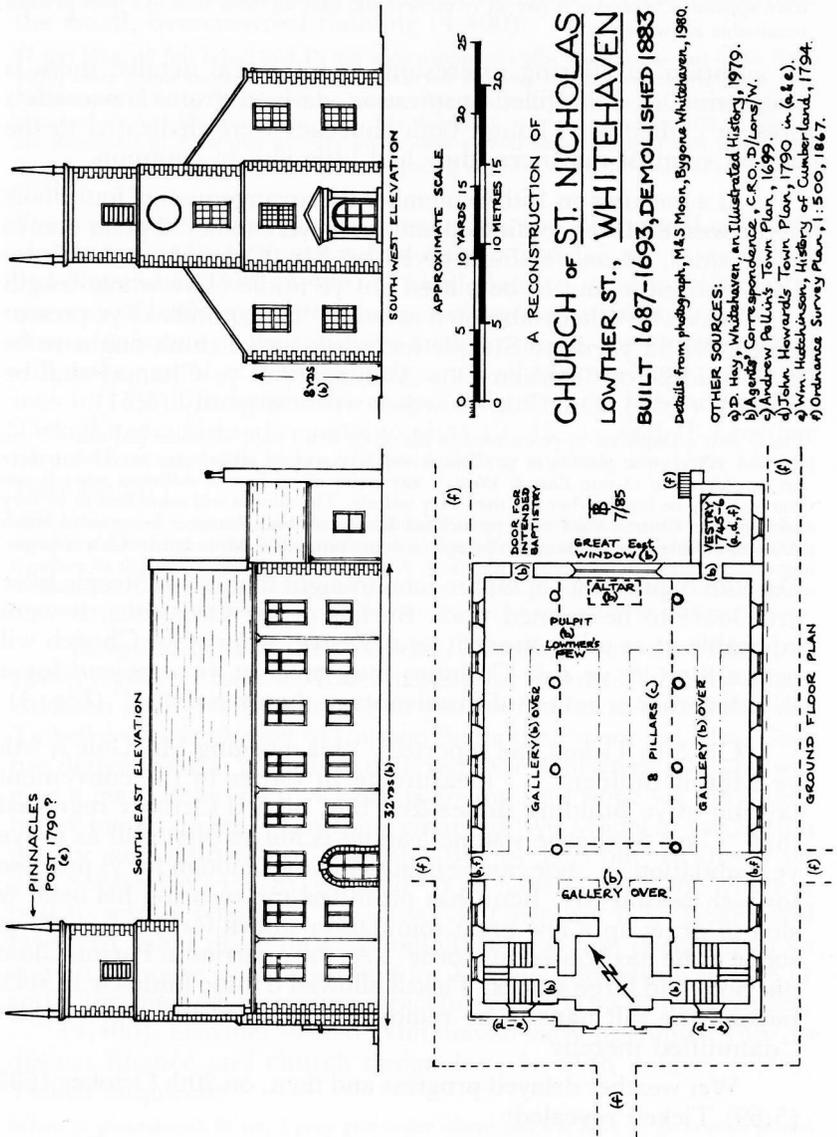


Fig.4: Plan and elevations of the church of St Nicholas, Whitehaven (1687-1883), reconstructed from several sources especially an old, faded photograph in M & S Moon, *Bygone Whitehaven*, 1980, i, 36.

By 25th, John Addison had agreed to supervise the work for £12 "and thro' that great doore in ye Steeple on each side of ye arch J.A. proposeth stone stepps (wch will be always drye) to ascend into ye gallerys, a draught wheron I will gett him to make . . . also I have sent you his draught of ye new Customehouse.<sup>39</sup> When he returnes . . . he will tell me what he will make it for and, if you like ye contrivance and ye price I am desyreous that he have ye work as it may . . . incline him, being a Batchelor, to settle here". On 5th November, Lowther responded; "I like well yr ingaging Jo Addison, for I see by his Draughts he is superior to any workmen we yet have. . . Ye Builders here condemn ye thinness of yr Walls & if . . . but two foot, as was talked on, you will be put to double ye Charge afterwards . . .". On 13th, the agent noted "Jon Addison is now heere . . . he has objected, as you have, ye thinness of ye Church walls, but ye trustees have no mind to alter their bargaines . . . since all those walls are to be 3 foot thick under ye base &, so supported, able enough with a 2 foot wall above it of 8 yard high to beare ye rooffe; and ye Steeple is 4 foot under ye base and all ye residue upwards to be 3 foot thick . . .". A violent storm lasting five days had caused widespread havoc, including damage to the pier, flooding of Mr. Gale's shop and destruction of parapets on the lower bridge. Also it blew down the "masons working sheds, some part wherof fell upon ye south side of ye great doore jaume in ye steeple . . . with that force that it broke it".

Many more details and alterations were discussed, for example on 3rd October (5;58) Tickell thought the alleyway linking the doors on either of the church would "let in too much aire and take up too much roome of ye best seats" rendering those "between it & ye steeple not regardable". The side doors were therefore placed nearer the steeple (5;78). Tickell noted that elsewhere "they allwayes have porches over these doores . . . for ye warmness of ye Auditors or for paymt of moneys at a place certaine . . . being at all times free & open where all people may resort to", but Lowther "utterly disapprove[d] of any [doors] in ye middle as also of any Porches . . ." and thought "a Walk on each side [of] ye Churchyard, Pallsided in & Trees . . . wld be of grt convenience to ye Townesmen to walk ther". By December the steeple's base walls were to rise two feet above ground level and the walls above them were to be made "3½ foot thick unto ye ringing loft at ye least & upwards unto ye Bellfray not much less". The agent was hoping to have the other walls "3 foot high & 30 inches thick on all sides before Xmas" (5;90,97). Also he wanted to know if Lowther would pay for a chancel for "if not we intend a great ornamental window in ye NE end neare wch an altar table may stand and decently rayled abt". Thus, on 31st December, Lowther wrote "I agree with you and Mr. Addison that a great window be put in ye East End of

ye Church for it may be long ere any chancel be built; however place a door-stead on each side" opposite each side aisle even though "the wall in those two places is allready made up" (5;105, 102, 104). These are therefore included in figure 4.

By April 1688 the two great side doors had been built (5;159) and Thomas Bodle had "cut an inscription over Capt. Senhouse's Church doore very illegible, the letters being either too neare sett, too high or too Low. . . The words are these" (5;167):

**Pretatis Ergo / Hocce donum obtulit / Christo Suisque /  
Ri Senhouse albi portensis / A D / 1688**

Eagerly, Lowther approved the inscription, wanted "every Benefactor's name recorded in ye best manner we can" (5;171) and had already thought of having datestones on buildings he erected in town.<sup>40</sup> Various problems beset the building work, for example William Atkinson would not agree to become a trustee because "of setting ye staires into ye galleries on ye inside of ye steeple" rather than outside where he thought they would have acted as a buttress, freeing space for 200 more auditors inside (5;167). Also, on 19th June (5;195) they lacked "hewen stones especially for ye Cornish". Eventually, on 25th September 1688, Tickell noted (5;245) "this day the Carpenters intended to raise ye rooffe timber of ye New Church but ye raine will not suffer ym . . .". Then, on 14th February 1689 (5;303), he complained "Our church sticks for want of moneys wch will now growe worse to raise dureing this stopp of trade . . . [it] does require slateing especially to save ye timber. There is allready . . . disbursed on that work £344 to wch, if it were covered, ye Coll[ecto]r has promised to raise by ye Custome officers £40 to seile ye rooffe". Its unfinished state did not discourage Tickell from showing it to Sir Robert Reading who "as I perceive by his skill in architecture approved well on" (5;312). On 20th April 1689, Lowther wrote "I hear ye new church goes not forward" and, on 7th May, remarked "I have done my part & if ye Town doe not theirs, I am acquitted". By 2nd July, they had "appointed a day to go about & get as much as we could to slate it before ye rooffe timber be lost but, when ye day came, by ye meanes of Robt Biglands & his party we were disappointed & did nothing . . .".

Even if Tickell saw the completion of the structure before his death, internal finishing and seating arrangements occupied William Gilpin's attention until the consecration by the Bishop of Chester on 16th July 1693. For example, on 12th April he remarked "I conceiv ye Pulpit is . . . too large for ye church straitning [narrowing] ye Alleys by its Breadth and Length and making yor seat (wch is under it) uneasy by its Hight". On 10th May, he

reported: "Here is a young man now in Town who is painting the Roof of ye Church in Fretwork (wch he does well) but his Trade is Carving. He offers to do ye Carved Work of Yor Seat in Antique and Frutage, to be wrought on both sides, for 8s. a foot. . . I am satisfied yt he will design it well". All the other seats were to be "at ye Common Charge and Uniform" in design. Thus, on 25th March 1694, Gilpin paid £13.8s. "To the Carver . . . for 33½ foot Carved Work . . . for the Border of Sr John Lowther's seat . . . [and £1.10s.] To the Painter for varnishing the carved work & painting the seat in Imitation of Baltick Oak . . .". The church cost £1,066. 16s. 2¼d. The chancel and baptistry were not built (Fig. 4), but a vestry was added to the NE end about 1745-6 with access through one of the old doorways. The church remained a part of St. Bees parish until 1835. By 1883 the old building's fabric had deteriorated so that a new church was erected on the same site. It incorporated the old front door as the inner door of the tower but was destroyed by fire in April 1973. It has not been rebuilt.<sup>41</sup>

Gilpin was as keen as Tickell to remove the old chapel. On 4th January 1694, he pointed out that "being no longer made use of, [it] is becom a publick Nuisance and not only obstructs the passage but hinders the paving of Lowther Street". Again William Atkinson was the chief opponent but Gilpin wrote, on 17th February "The Grammar School may be built now. The Mony wch you give and ye Materialls of ye old Chappel may raise it two Stories. The Wings may be added afterwards<sup>42</sup> . . . ye Front ought to Range with ye Street. I have drawn it in Prospective, but wanting Leisure to compleat ye Draught, I forbear to send it". Then, on 10th March, he reported with apparent satisfaction a situation all too familiar nowadays:

On Monday last I pulled down ye old Chappel and laid the Foundation of ye new school. The Design had not taken Air, so yt Mr. Atkinson & two or 3 of Mr. Marrs<sup>43</sup> Friends . . . had no time to form their opposition and the Disturbance wee met with was very small. . . Tis now level with ye Ground and I hope it will have yt Effect upon Mr. Atkinson. I shall confine myself . . . to ye £100 wch your Ho[nou]r allots for ye new school, wch obliges me to consult Convenience rather than Ornament and I therefore find it necessary to retrench the Balcony and substitute Stone Stairs on ye Backside instead of ye covered staircase intended. . . I would have ye great Door adorned with a Handsom Architrave and . . . a Compartment for some suitable Inscription to be a Remembrancer of yor Beneficence . . . [and] above . . . may be a Cornice & Pediment [with] . . . yor Coat of Arms. . . Send such inscription as you think proper.

By 9th April, he revealed: "The Soles of ye Windows . . . are full six foot from ye floor on ye Inside. Tis advanced as yet no higher than ye Windows, the bad Weather and preparing ye Hewen work having hindered, but ye Timbers are ready & it will be speedily reared". By 21st May it was "above ye 2nd floor" and, on 9th September "very near p[er]fected but Mr. [Richard] Cooper the School M[aste]r was buried this day". By 31st October everything except plastering was finished and, on 9th January 1695

“The School is now in Use . . . there are . . . abt 40 Grammer schollers” taught by a Mr. William Jackson “an ingenious & industrious young man” formerly a pupil of Cooper’s. An upper room was also ready and in January 1697 became the Mathematical School of Andrew Pellin, where seamen were taught navigation separately from the day school below (note 46). Gilpin’s accounts record payments to the builders between March and December 1694. The masons were Thomas Bodle and Richard Brownrigg (£37), and the chief carpenter was Anthony Holms (£24). Slates cost 1s.2d. a sq. yd. for 199½ yards, sparrs (rafters) cost 3s. a dozen for 18 dozen, timber £2 a ton for 8½ tons, glass 5d a sq. ft., lead for the cupola 14s. a cwt. (3¾ cwt.) and lime 8d. a bushel. Old planks for scaffolding cost 1d. a foot and the leaders of stone, sand, flaggs and timber had £14.5s., including £3.2s. “For Leading the Stones of the Old Chapple”. To help provide temporary accommodation during the building work, Mr. Gale was paid £3.5s. “for Nails used in fitting up Mr. Addison’s Coach house<sup>44</sup> for the Schollars when the Old Chappel was pulled down” for the latter, having been used as a school for a year beforehand, was not disused as Gilpin claimed.

The earlier mention of John Addison’s association with plans to build a new Customhouse introduces that topic. On 15th November 1687, Tickell reported (5;82):

Jon Addison has this morning given Mr. Gale & me his estimate of £200 . . . according to ye draughts . . . provided he may have ye benefit of yr quarry in ye Brow [between Henry Addison’s house and the pier] towards ye opening wherof he will contribute ½ and be obliged to leave it . . . usefull . . . for ye poor or ye Ballast wall . . . We have considered that £20 will open ye quarry and that £200 is . . . reasonable . . . for ye Customehouse of 13 yards in ye front, because Mr. Palmers house [next to it] of 12 yards cost £196 . . .

Palmer’s building will be considered later but, as defence against high tides, a new bulwark was to be built in front of both for £25.<sup>45</sup> Gale thought the new building should be on “the Ballast Wall on the East Side” of the harbour as a safer location (5;112) but, on 24th January 1688, Tickell wrote: “I have discoursed with Mr. Gale . . . abt ye danger in ye ground roomes by inundation if any store of merchandises . . . lye there. . . We conclude that these floores shd be laid high enough. . . The same accidents might happen alike on ye East Strand but that site [is] nothing neare so good as this on ye West Strand. . .”. On 28th February, Lowther commented “Ye Custom house Draught I like very well & am ready to build it when desired but must first know my Rent for . . . to build a House upon Pillers not Tenantable for any other use will make me a smal Return” (5;136). Normally he expected 5% on investments to encourage new development (4;354), but was warned by Tickell (5;192) that “as it is a publick house for ye trade . . . [it] will dayly suffer damage by ye careless multitude . . . by

breakeing doores windowes &c wch are motives sufficient to require . . . £7 or 8 per cent". This rate of interest caused lengthy negotiations and changes of plan for example, on 12th June 1688, (5;191):

Our Coll[ecto]r [Mr. Wildbore] is intent upon ye new Customehouse wth . . . conveniencys more than was first intended of lodgings for himself & family the charge wherof . . . as Jon Addison sayes £400 wch I have represented to ye Collr will cost £500 & deserves £30 p annum at wch he shrinks . . . or, ye other way, the charge . . . will be increased by setting ye floore higher by 2 feet to preserve it from inundation & ye wha[r]fe expenses £20 more wch may deserve £20 p an. . . They require a watch house also wch will inflame ye reconing. . . P.S. the Officers have put John Addison upon making a new draught of ye Customehouse & Andrew Pelin ye surv[eyo]r upon a draught of that part of ye towne next ye peere<sup>46</sup> by wch ye Com[missione]rs may perceive where ye present Customehouse is & where the other is intended, but will not pay . . . for either.

The customs officers had "endeavoured to farme Henry Addisons house [near the pier] even at £28 p. an. which he . . . wld not let ym have without your consent" so they accepted John Addison's "new model" (5;192). It "was not much more than ye former only raised higher & one pillar (for ye better placing of ye Beames between ye windowes) more in ye front all the dimensions wherof you have in ye bill of Jon Addison. . . I know Mr. Wildbore is solicitous to have wainscotted roomes to dwell in but suppose ye Comrs will not adhere to it. I am sure he aimes to have the benefit of the storehouse to himself" (5;198).

By 28th July 1688 (5;212), the Commissioners were "unwilling to give Rent answerable to ye moddel . . . sent up, so have writ to Mr. Gale for an estimate of ye same two stories high & also a Review of ye former estimate at three stories & to know who will be the undertaker. . . They require a draught of ye divisions in each storie & wil not allow any convenience for ye Collectors family without he . . . pay Rent for it". In early August, Wildbore rejected the amendments "as wanting pillars, complaineing of Mr. Gale for this alteration without his consent" (5;214) and "yurns for piazas to weigh goods & secure ym in raines and wd have a watch house upon ye Bulwark . . . for ye use of Tidesmen. If you approve of these things we will. . . Article with Jon Addison. . . In ye Roofe I suppose it needfull for ornam[en]t as well as better light in ye Garrets to place Lutheran [dormer] windows, 2 at ye least" (5;217). Lowther realised that work could not start before Spring, but reported that the Commissioners "like ye Draught very wel . . . because it is cheaper" and would discuss with him a rent depending on the details required (5;240,246). On 25th September, Tickell thought the custom house "wth yt new house of Ricd Hodgsons<sup>47</sup> coming on will make that part of ye towne very Beautiful & usefull somewhat like an Exchange . . . in ye eye of ye harbour". Lack of progress caused Mr. Kirkby (the principal customs officer) and others to petition the Commissioners in January 1691 to build according to the "Draught & dimensions made in Oct 88" (6;188).

In May, 7% interest was agreed in London but, on 27th (6;215), Tickell observed "the undertaker [is] now Employed in Scotland", though he gave no details of where or why. He expected a fresh contract to be over £400 "wood & deales being now much dearer . . . , the Timber . . . to be brought out of Ireland . . . in a new shipp . . . Building . . . neare Waterford".

In 1693, Gilpin took over the problem. As the old customhouse roof at 41 King Street leaked and needed replacing, he thought it would be difficult to get a new tenant if the Customs moved. Thomas Jackson's house was suggested as an alternative by Mr. Christian, who preferred the East Strand and was prepared to pay 7 or 8% provided his nephew (his deputy) had the "Advantage of keeping ye Storehouse" in the old part of the house. In addition, Mr. Kirkby suggested renting "ye Blockmakers Shop at ye Peer end for a Watch house". Early in June, Gilpin and Gale could not find the old drawings or contracts but Mr. Miller remembered some particulars for new ones to be prepared. Thus, on 28th June 1693:

Mr. Gale has calculated ye Charge . . . according to ye model and dimensions proposed by Mr. Miller and . . . it may be done under £300 and seems content to be the Undertaker himself and save you £30. . . He is well acquainted with ye rates here . . . it may not be amiss to take him at his Word . . . [before] ye season of building be spent.

After more queries during the winter, on 17th January, Gilpin had an offer of £100 for the old customhouse "an ill-contrived old House and so very ruinous yt £20 will scarce make it tenantable" and, a month later, noted "Mr. Huddleston has executed ye Counterpart of ye Articles abt ye [new] Customhouse. I shall cause Mr. Gale to do ye like to you now. . . The prospective is mistaken in several particulars and yrfor not annexed". In the Whitehaven deeds an anonymous plan of the new building, endorsed by Andrew Hudleston (Fig. 5a), must therefore have been drawn by John Gale who informed Lowther that "the whole thing is designed by Mr. Gilpin and myself". Later Gale objected to alterations made to the front elevation<sup>48</sup> but said little of the ensuing construction. By 9th April 1694, Gilpin wrote: "Mr. Gale has executed Articles for building ye Customhouse and has begun it. The Warehouse [behind] and Watchhouse are finished. I have agreed with Mr. Golding yt for £110 you convey . . . ye old Customhouse [to him]. The office to be kept there & you to enjoy ye Rent till ye New be fit for use". John Golding turned it into an inn.<sup>49</sup> The new building was to have been occupied by Michaelmas 1694 but only the outbuildings were ready on time, "Mr. G [having] been under some Disappointment by his Workmen". The officers "were not above stairs till Annunciation" (25th March 1695) so that, on 29th June, Gilpin wanted to know if he was to deduct a quarter's rent (£6 10s.) from Gale's final £100, having already paid him £200.

The origin of Palmer's property next to the new customhouse illustrates how Lowther encouraged immigration to bring new skills to Whitehaven. On 20th February 1686 (4;382), Henry Palmer wrote from Dublin that Samuel Brownrigg of Whitehaven had served his time as a distiller with Palmer and was now his partner but wished to return to his home town.<sup>50</sup> Both were single and used to city life, Palmer having been ten years a dealer & [public?] house-keeper on the quay at Dublin. They were interested in renting Thomas Britton's house even though one room was used as the old customhouse. By 18th June (4;428), Brownrigg had "pitched upon 12 yards in ye front on ye west side ye Beck towards Bruntons<sup>51</sup> . . . very comodious for him & [I] have agreed ye Building with John Peele on ye same termes I made with ye Gibsons for yr Shoppes . . . this same distiller is already on his way towards London to buy stills &c to be brought hither by Birkett's ship now at London . . . he expects to have it for £12 a year wch . . . was too little". The lease was to be 5 years with an option for five more. On 15th July, (4;441) Tickell explained "These 2 houses that ye Gibsons made are for Collins the smith & Harrison ye Shoemaker<sup>52</sup> next adjoineing Eastwards to Bruntons on ye same height wch lookes very well". Brownrigg had returned and his plot was to be set six yards further back "than those in that line of Bruntons because of ye sea wch flowes higher heer than there". It is surprising, therefore, to find that an 18th century drawing of the building, which had become the George Inn by 1712, shows the lowest of three floors as a half-cellar about five feet below street level (Fig. 6). If the customhouse floor next door was originally two feet above ground, the distillery must have been prone to frequent flooding. It was rebuilt at street level early in the 19th century and became the Inland Revenue offices (Fig. 5b). The original distillery was one story high by 6th September 1686 (4;470) and a stillhouse behind was planned "on their own charges". By 28th (4;480), Tickell claimed it stood "in so good a place I build [it] very ornamental with transum windows in ye midle story as a patterne for others to imitate. . . That still house . . . will be 7 yards long & 3 and ½ broad within ye walls and 3 yards high wch will serve for a stable heerafter to make a good Inn . . . if they should not like it". As the building costs increased, however, Lowther mused (4;489): "I wish we had given [them] ye Money & onely tyed them to have lay'd it out, wch wil be our best Method for any new Commr". By such a fixed subsidy at a set rate of interest, he would have had better control of his capital expenditure. By February 1687 (4;541), Palmer was in production even though the building was still "unflagged, unfloored, unplastered, undooed, unglazed &c" and, in addition, "Capt Senhouse has built his [own] still house & distilled a parcell". Some of their products were sent inland by carrier, as will be explained shortly.

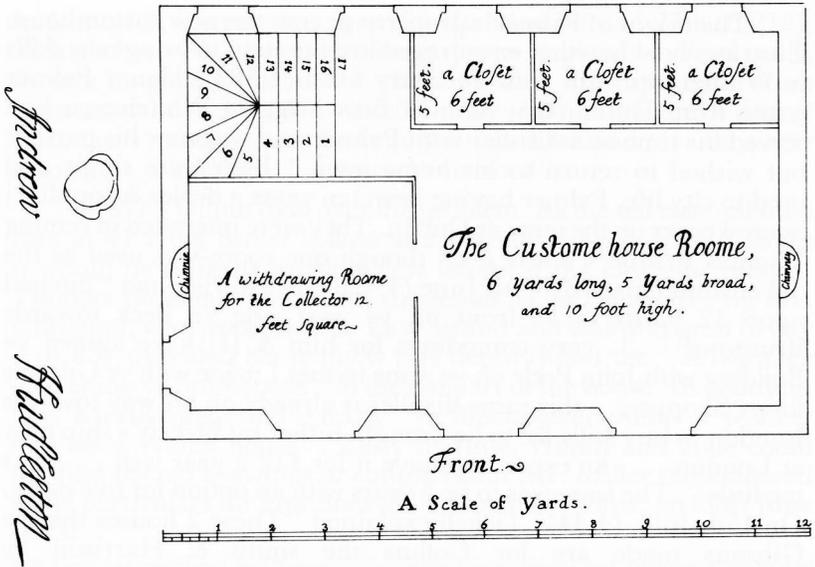


Fig. 5a: The middle storey of the Customhouse at Whitehaven, re-drawn from a plan of its three storeys (C.R.O., D/Lons/W, Deeds). Andrew Hudleston's signature, coupled with evidence from John Gale's and William Gilpin's correspondence, proves that the original was drawn by John Gale who built the structure in 1694. The ground floor was as shown in figure 6 but without the office partitions. In the garret "A Door to take up Goods with a Crane" was provided at the left end.



Fig. 5b: Author's photograph of the Customhouse in 1984.

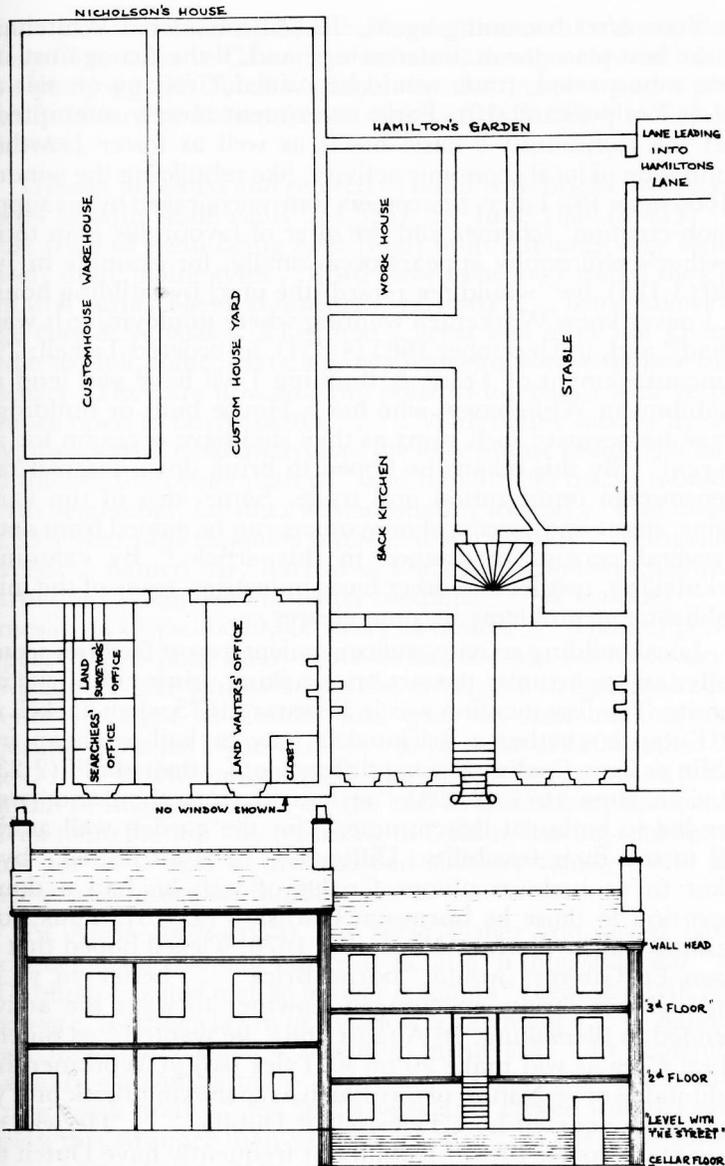


Fig. 6: Anonymous, undated plan and elevation of Whitehaven's Customhouse and George Inn (formerly Palmer's distillery built by John Peele in 1686). By comparing this with figure 5b, the former has suffered relatively little change in losing its staircases and personnel entrance. In contrast, the George Inn was completely rebuilt early in the 19th century to raise it to street level to avoid flooding at high tides and to bring its floors level with those of the Customhouse. The whole became the Income Tax office and is presently dis-used. Redrawn by the author to include roofs and chimneys.

Soon after becoming agent, Tickell considered Whitehaven not the best place for manufacturing<sup>53</sup> and, if the Act against Irish cattle were passed, trade would be ruined,<sup>54</sup> relying on salt and coal at low prices (1;10). Early investment merely attempted to meet the community's basic needs as well as foster Lowther's domination of local economic activity, like rebuilding the windmill in 1666 (note 16). Later, newcomers were encouraged by his support of 'job-creation' schemes and the offer of favourable loan terms. Lowther's philosophy appears occasionally, for example in June 1680 (3;123), he "would not retard [the pier] by building houses, but I never knew Workemen wanting where employ[en]t was to be had" and, in December 1685 (4;354), he ordered Tickell: "For ye encouragement of Trade & Building I wil have you lend any Inhabitant in Whitehaven who has a House built or building to ingage for security such sums as they shal have occasion for at 5 per cent". By this means he hoped to bring down interest rates to encourage immigration and trade. Some idea of the varied origins, status and success of newcomers can be gained from details of several persons mentioned in this article.<sup>55</sup> By examining brickmaking, textiles and other basic industries, some of the initial establishment problems become clearer.

Local building activity and convenient export facilities seemed to offer an opportunity to start brickmaking using superficial clay deposits. The first mention was in February 1675 when Tickell was to "Enquire whether a Brickmaker may be had as cheap from Dublin as from Carlisle & what difference . . . their skill" (2;239). Thus, in June 1677 (2;294) "at least 8 score thousand [were] intended to be burnt this summer" for the garden wall at Flatt Hall to test their feasibility. Difficulties were attributed "by ye maker to ye badness of our Coales of wch he had a double proportion to those he burnes at Carlisle" (2;313). Thus, for a retaining wall at Flatt, in November 1678, Tickell hoped that the mason Ed Gibson<sup>56</sup> would "burne Brick . . . better yn ye last man". Better results encouraged Lowther to want the activity extended to tilemaking. In August 1681, he wanted "as much of yr best Clay as wld make 20 or 30 Tyles [so] yt Workmen here might judge of ye Nature of our Earth as to making Brick or Tyles . . . inform yourself how Tyles sell at Dublin. . .". He was told "they make coarse tiles at Dublin but frequently have Dutch tiles at 44s. per thousand" (3;307-9). Eventually, on 29th October 1685 (4;338), Tickell reported:

The Gibsons have been heere & promised to come again in the first frosty weather to cast clay for more bricks . . . they seem to incline to come & live heer in hopes to get a trade for Bricks & tiles & Potters wares wch I encourage ym in . . . they have bargained with Peele [the mason] to cover one halfe of yr new houses in Hodgson Croft<sup>57</sup> with tile wch they will ingage to maintaine for 7 years. . .

He thought this would be a good test of their product. However,

despite Lowther sending by the *Phoenix* "a case of a dozen dutch Tyles of 3 sorts for ye Gibsons to imitate", the agent would "rather have [had] a good Dutch workman for that purpose and a potter from Biddiford or Barnstable to make wares for Dublin" (4;405, 409, 414).

Gibson persisted and offered to build with bricks "on as easy termes as with stone walls" (4;396). By June 1686 (4;433) "the whole tribe of them being heer [had] built 2 houses very well . . . [and] those plaine tyles . . . wd have done very well if they had been well burnt. The next time they will [have] . . . better knowledge of ye clay & ye coales. They had a great loss in ye last Oven & filled it too full, some parts underneath giveing way wch made many miscarry. They are now making potts to interbake with ye tyles as more open to burne better . . .". With better success by mid-July, they were "making tyles of the long square fashun but larger and thicker than your pattern" and had 40,000 bricks moulded. By 4th September, Lowther was negotiating to send a "Pott maker" at £25 a year plus expenses but was forestalled by "an ingenious traveller", named Mr. Barrow of Dublin, "who takes paynes to instruct our tylemakers in better methods . . . & less fuel . . . he burnes in an Oven abt 20,000 every 24 houres . . . 8 houres perfects ye parcell . . . [and then] more Bricks are put into it to dry by ye warmth. . . He burnes Bricks also at Wiggan in Lancashire from whence he went to Dublin and goes on heer making those experiments on his owne score . . . to ye value of £100 rather than faile . . .". In November 1686 Tickell was beginning to "think him full of maggots" and, by the end of December, Barrow had "given them the slip" by returning to Dublin, leaving considerable debts for coal and a disillusioned Gibson family, who then concentrated more on building work.<sup>58</sup>

In April 1687 (5;12), an Isaac Fisher contracted with a brickburner for 300,000 bricks at 4s. 10d. a thousand and "sent to Dublin for skilled men to temper & mould" them. By 24th May, they were "getting clay in yr meadow & carrieing it to ye Sandhills where they mould them & intend to burne also". In September, "Leonard ye Dublin man . . . [was] desyreous to farme one of ye new brick houses" for 30s. a year and Tickell would "rather imploy this stranger than ye Gibsons if . . . as cheap because he will do better to be an instrument of bringing more inhabitants hither viz Bricklayers". His rates were "5s ye 1000, you findeing him fireing laid at ye kill" or, if not, 7s. a thousand to Lowther and 7s. 6d. to townsmen, paying "sixpence the thousand for the clay or else fill up the holes".<sup>59</sup> These arrangements seem to have solved the brickmaking problem and four brick buildings in New Street were completed in 1688 as part of a building boom. It is

interesting to note that, as pottery and earthenware remained a problem,<sup>60</sup> in March 1698, “Wedgewood, the Staffordshire potter” from “Bosland” alias “Bosleham” (Burslem) was employed at 2s. a day to offer advice which, if secretive, was as encouraging as that received from Mr. Dwight of Fulham. Wood-firing was recommended. The later history like that of other extractive industries (e.g. alum and copperas), lies beyond this article’s scope.

In the 1680s, Lowther’s keenness to establish a textile industry led him on 29th November 1684 (4;235), to “resolve to build several little Houses Hospital like wher Inhabitants may . . . carry on some manufacture by Spinning or Knitting &c. Ye Place I think best of is ye bottom of Flat Croft, all along ye Pow betwixt which & ye Houses I wld have ye Roap Walk to be”. Again, in late summer 1686: “If Jo Benson or yr son Gale wld provide yarn & distribute it . . . it may be returned them in stockings, for there needs no more to set up any Manufacture but providing poor people, according to their scill, materials to work on. . . There are abt Kirkby Steven great store of Stocking Knitters who ever can but earn their Bread, I wld be glad to bring [some] thither” (4;457, 476). Numerous queries about sources of linen and wool and about the suitability of Bransty and Pow becks for bleaching followed.<sup>61</sup> Then, on 16th November, Tickell reported “heer is in towne one Matth Coulson whom Mr. Xtian brought [from Newcastle] to manage his Colliery, who seems . . . skil’d in many things & industrious. Mr. Xtians people have no use for him”. By return, Lowther suggested he could manage textile manufacture, but Tickell gave several reasons why this “sober man of good sense” could not set up the industry quickly, having no “stok of spinners at ye first; time & good pay will improve their number”. On 7th December Lowther wanted him to buy hemp and flax to allow “leisure spinning” to start but, by the same day “Coulson & his partner [Isaac Fisher] are sett on for more Bricks in a corner of yt meadow . . . next to Hodgson Croft. . .”. Then, on 8th February 1687, Tickell remarked “Matth Coulson is carried to prison for debts abt Newcastle. I putt 2 stone of hemp into his hand to be putt out to Spinning wch is not yet shared [out] as I heare”. He was still a prisoner at Carlisle on 28th April and no more was said of him.<sup>62</sup>

The disappointment was perhaps tempered, on 14th June, by the agent reporting: “One Thomas Terry of Dublin, a shop keeper & maker of serges skild in dyeing & combeing &c . . . desyres to set up these trades in this place in his own stock provided he can have habitation. . .”. He was shown Thomas Britton’s and Thomas Jackson’s houses, “wch he likes well enough with some amendm [en]ts & will make . . . ready . . . next spring to come & set up

...'' (5;23). Again no more was heard of him! However, by June 1688, Andrew Pellin arrived from Dublin (5;190) and not only satisfied the Customs Commissioners and Lowther with his land surveying activities but set up a weaving and dyeing business at the new brick house on the corner of New Street and Addison's Lane. His successful career is recorded elsewhere (note 46) but, except for his brother James weaving the product of spinners employed by the St. Bees workhouse (established in 1698), textiles remained unsuccessful in Whitehaven.

Although townsmen controlled most of the maritime industries,<sup>63</sup> Lowther was prepared to foster developments, for example in October 1684, he sent "a Fisherman to come down & give me some acco of our Coast. . . My Contract with him is for one Year at fourty shillings per moneth & his charges coming & going. . . The Profitt of his labour . . . to my use whilst under this Contract but, if at any time he have a Mind to adventure for himself & quit . . . ye Contract, he . . . to have ye benefit of wt he can gain". Leaving London on Friday 17th and arriving by the Kendal carrier on 2nd November, it was not until 24th that "your fisherman Wm Prance was at sea . . . in one of this townes fisher boates [of] Wm Stockdall". By the next day he had "made sufficient observations allready", judging that the fishing could "be improved by a trowle boat of abt 15 tuns bu[rthen] that can endure . . . at sea in all weathers [and] . . . better purchased there [London] than made here with all materialls needful". Prance set off for London on 26th, arrived by 13th December and "with his friend a French Protestant, ye most knowing man in England as to Fishery . . . [gave] grt Incouragement to set up ye trade there . . . Mr. Senhouse is mighty zealous for it".<sup>64</sup> The only other comment on this episode was from Lowther, on 5th February 1698: "I once sent down an able French Fisherman to try ye Coast & they did all they could to discourage him".

Similar indifference attended his suggestions in December 1685 that of "Several Frenchmen in town" one might "teach French & drawing" and, in October 1686, that a spare French minister, subsidized at £20 a year, could be useful in St. Bees school or Whitehaven Chapel. Lowther was surprized when "ye Town approves no better of a French schoolmistress . . . [for] if all ye Girles in Town had French, every Gentleman's family in ye Country would have a ser[van]t from ye place". When he suggested that French seamen could be employed in local ships, he exposed his attitude towards immigration: "Let not any be afraid yt introducing strangers shall harm them. Trade shall increase proportionably". He believed that "when you have more people than work, new things wil take place" and attributed lack of

manufacturing to a surplus of other work for the limited labour force. Thus, when many people began moving from Ireland in July 1686, he advised "many more wil remove, therefore encourage al new Building . . . & p[er]suade every one to give them such accommodation as the Houses they have can afford & al other incouragement. Let them not be affraid yt new Comers wil supplant them . . . ye more people get together in any One Place, ye better every one wil live". He was disappointed that "of so many as come from Ireland, so few think of staying with you"<sup>65</sup> and had already realised that Whitehaven's physical isolation from inland communications was a significant handicap to this schemes.

In July 1666 (1;4) for example, Tickell was told to write weekly enclosing regular colliery accounts and "send them by ye Salters to Wm Rain at Penrith" for dispatch to London. Otherwise servants or acquaintances undertook the 43 mile journey, or letters were posted from Carlisle or Cockermouth. In October 1685, to extend the postal service beyond the latter place, Tickell had tried to persuade that town's postman, Thomas Atkinson, to live in Whitehaven. That was too inconvenient but the man was prepared to accept 2d. a letter for single direction journeys between Cockermouth and Penrith or 3d. between Whitehaven and Penrith, sending "yr tuesday letters hither on Sunday foll. and yr Saturday letters on Thursday mornings" and returning answers to Penrith every Tuesday and Friday (4;328, 338). After trial these arrangements worked well and were confirmed in April 1686. In January 1686 Lowther agreed in London for the Kendal carriers, Robert Greenwood and Yeats, to extend their journeys to Whitehaven so that one would arrive every fortnight until increased trade justified a weekly service. The contract was for 12s. per visit from Kendal, arriving on Thursdays and returning next morning so that "a convenient Inn must be thought on". Tickell was to generate custom, even if commodities travelled only as far as Kendal, and was to seek out travellers from Ireland. Lowther confirmed "ye loss yt accreus for want of Lading I will beare". The agent spoke "to Henry Tubman who will entertaine ye Kendal Carriers as ye carefulest & most home dwelling Innkeeper in towne. I . . . will have a writeing sett up on the shopp posts in towne to acquaint all persons". The service was to start on 4th March 1686 (4;369).

As arranged, but no doubt sceptical, Greenwood's man arrived "with one horse but had no carriage either way, only I putt Wm Sherwen the joyner [who] . . . is coming up to London to better himself . . . to be helped hence on yr account to Kendall". Both men travelled on the same horse. The Cockermouth merchants were prepared to pay 3s. 6d. a pack from Kendal via Keswick and 1s.

6d. more to Whitehaven. Their support came too slowly so, in April, Lowther cut back to monthly visits. On 29th April Greenwood's man arrived with one horse carrying a pack for H. Inman and returned with a pack of yarn and £120 from John Benson to Kendal and a packet of "schollers writing papers" for Lowther from St. Bees school. It is hardly surprizing therefore to find in August that another Kendal carrier, Samuel Briggs "a very judicious man & fitt to continue wt Greenwood begun . . . [said] ye Cockermonth Merchants give him but little incouragement" and Lowther decided "for ye present yt undertaking upon my acco [unt] is layd aside". He was going to approach Mr. Curwen of Workington, Sir Francis Salkeld of Whitehall, near Wigton, and other gentry for support, However, in January 1687 "Tho Briggs ye brother of Sam . . . & Charles Udall of Ridall their intermediate Carrier" were in Whitehaven and arranged to restart the service "much to ye satisfaction of Cockermonth Merchts". In February 1687 they took away two runlets of spirits from Captain Senhouse, money from Henry Palmer the distiller and £400 from Mr. Christian of the Customs. Charles Udall charged 2s. from Whitehaven to Kendal and Briggs 15s. from there to London for each £100 cash, apparently cheaper than from Oxford to London.<sup>66</sup> Despite later fears that Udall's man was not entirely trustworthy and competition from the Egremont carrier and others using the route over Hardknott Pass, the new service grew until, by 1777, Kendal received 20 packhorses a week from Whitehaven and 15 from Cockermonth.<sup>67</sup> Despite eventual success, inland trade remained insignificant compared to Whitehaven's traditional maritime links, especially with Dublin.

Lack of space precludes consideration of other topics and has limited the coverage of those selected. Nevertheless it has been possible to sample how Whitehaven developed three centuries ago in much greater detail than has been attempted hitherto. The interactions between the owner, his agents and many local inhabitants become clear and the numerous controversies highlight the difficulties of satisfying the various needs of individuals in a rapidly changing community. By using original words it has been possible to penetrate the decision-making process and explore many thoughts, ambitions and even changes of mind which would not have been available for public examination at that time. In addition to discussing interesting physical characteristics of the town, many of which have been destroyed by later progress, one is able to provide outline biographical details of several ordinary persons to explain why the new environment attracted so many immigrants. The vision, drive and persistence which overcame the town's geographical isolation and limited range of natural resources is clear, but one wonders to what extent development would have differed

had not Sir Christopher Lowther's untimely death deprived the district of his commercial ability and foresight. Perhaps the results would have been less well recorded, for it was Sir John Lowther who predicted, in September 1686 (4;478), that "a long succession of time wil produce many letters . . . useful to posterity". We have much to thank him for but might question the justification for his remark to Thomas Tickell on 5th December 1685 (4;352):

I take it not well yt you seldom suggest anything of yr Own but only [give] bare answers to what I write. . . It would do me no harm to know yr Opinion. . .

Without Tickell's diligence, observations and sound business sense, we, Lowther and Whitehaven would have been much the poorer.

### ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, whose own work on Whitehaven will be published shortly, for encouraging the publication of this paper (which is the result of entirely independent research). Mr. Bruce Jones, Cumbria's County Archivist, now retired, placed his knowledge of the Lowther family and archive at my disposal and gave a great deal of invaluable advice on numerous occasions. My wife, Margaret, and family have always supported my work. Ian Pope and Martin Eagle of Oxford Polytechnic have helped with reprographic work.

### NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Outlined by D. Hay, *Whitehaven, an Illustrated History*, 1979. The best summary of political and economic affairs, especially after 1700, is J.V. Beckett, *Coal & Tobacco*, 1981.
2. Cumbria Record Office (C.R.O.), Carlisle, D/Lons/W, Tickell correspondence in 5 boxes. Some box and sheet numbers are included in the text for easy reference. Also Gilpin to Lowther, 1692-8 and Gilpin Accounts 1692-9, D/Lons/W, A21.
3. In 1696, 454 families and 2281 inhabitants (Gilpin to Lowther, 29 Jan. 1696). In 1702, 567 families and 2977 inhabitants. "Census of Whitehaven", D/Lons/W, Ex Box 2, page 15 of a marble-backed notebook on building work, 1699-1706.
4. On 25 April 1681 "Robert Watson (son of Watson who was Nurse to Sr Jo L)" was admitted to a parcel of land adjoining to High Gate in Corkikle SE of the town and in 1709 his daughter Ann (born 1678) was admitted to the same (Street Books, p.106).
5. For details see B. Tyson "Building Work at Sockbridge Hall . . . 1660-1710", *Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, Transactions*, lxxxiii, 107-124.

6. Tickell had been a Customs Surveyor at Newcastle, had spent four years similarly at Carlisle and then moved to Whitehaven as a trader before 25th March 1665 when he took a plot of ground in what became known as Tickell Lane (Letters 1;132, 2;293, 2;280, Street Book p.72). He became Customs Surveyor at Whitehaven in September 1671.
7. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/W, Whitehaven Town 59. The Street Books were progressively updated during the 18th century and the principal source for this article is the three volume version of c. 1743 throughout which page numbers run consecutively. A ledger version offers additional information.
8. On 20 March 1688, Tickell reported "My son Gale has pulled downe his old house . . . over wch Wm Atkinson [at No. 20, 'an Encroachment upon the Street'] out of his *new* house adjoyneing has over-built a chimney [and] . . . disturbe[s] my sons workmen very much by his houlding out pitch forks against them . . . nothing will appease this willfull man but setting ye old house up againe in its old forme . . . lest it darken his house . . . [and] allow him ye standing of that chimney . . . tho' it is a smoaky one and belongs to my sons house. . . ." (5;146). Such disputes were commonplace.
9. Behind which Eleanor Woodall was admitted to "a Ho in decay" (plot 25) in 1669.
10. For example "Kingstreet No. 38 Jacob Milner . . . a parcel of ground which should have been built on 27 years ago but remains not only unbuilt & wast . . . but is a Dunghill". Isaac Milner had been admitted in 1671. (Gilpin to Lowther 30th May 1696). Tickell had wanted to limit delay to two years only, whereas Lowther suggested 7 to 10 years (4;519,517).
11. Shown on J. Howard's *Plan of Whitehaven* (1790) in D. Hay, *op.cit.*, 32. The pillory was probably in the market place also. In August 1684, Tickell reported that John and Thomas Williamson had been found guilty of "Barratry", a mariner's criminal negligence to the prejudice of owners and, on 14th, they "hanselled our new pillory, Mr. Sherriffe came to see ye punishment". They suffered similarly at Carlisle and Egremont after a case brought by Mr. Addison who had just lost a property dispute to them (4;184, 185, 193).
12. On 9th June 1697, Gilpin wrote about a proposed development "There are some people who desire to build in the Square wch is laid down in ye Draught (in prick line) opposite to the School" in Lowther Street. Others thought it "an attempt to transpose the present market to a new site & damage trade". Although a copy of this drawing survives (D/Lons/W, Plans before 1700), the scheme was not executed perhaps because of pressure from vested interests in the old market place.
13. See 4;338 & 541) ". . . the same person yt mended your crackt chimney peece in ye dineing room" at Flatt Hall. Apparently his bridges tended to restrict the flow of water so that, when Tickell persuaded Lowther to build a new stone bridge at the foot of Flatt Croft in 1688 the job was awarded to John Peele for £5. He started it on 13th March and finished by 27th. (5; 111, 115, 116, 122, 139, 151).
14. No. 4 Roper Lane, also known as Bayland House, was tenanted by Jane Hutton. Her son John was admitted on 8th April 1668.
15. Until 1675, he lived with his mother-in-law Mrs. Johnson at Flatt Hall, *AMS*, 28, 90.
16. In June 1666, a post-mill was rebuilt for £157 on the site of the old windmill on "Arrithwait hill" (NX 968 178). Next to it a horse mill was built for £69 so that, depending on the weather, the same miller could operate both. The millwright was from Newcastle and hoped to bring a miller also. By November 1670 the mill was not earning "enough to pay ye Millers diet; she grinds well but hath no Custome. Other millers . . . keep carriers to seek & bring home ye peoples graine". In September 1673, the axletree had broken and Newcastle again supplied the millwright who also undertook to drain coal workings. The mill was eventually leased to a tenant after further repairs in 1677 and 1678. Based on Box 1; 2, 3, 6, 10, 22, 97, 190-4, 197, Box 2; 298, 398 &c.
17. For example, in June 1679 a Richard Sanderson had taken 5s. earnest money in respect of  $\frac{1}{8}$  of his coal interests but as he wanted to sell only  $\frac{1}{2}$ , he returned the deposit. Tickell then took out a subpoena to force him to keep the bargain and Sanderson capitulated by 7 July. (2;454, 467). Similarly (4;460), "Old Mr. Gale to sel his malt ye better has bought an hand mill wch he invites his

- Customers to make use of *gratis*". Tickell listed 13 of Lowther's tenants who "withdraw their sucken from yr mills" and who were "warned to forebeare . . . or be sued at Law".
18. Thomas Britton Senr and his wife Elizabeth were admitted first to this property on 4th April 1662 (*WSB*, 9), but surrendered it to Sir John in 1674. On 30th June, Tickell reported "I have a deed from Tho Britton surrendering their mansion house to you" to extinguish a debt of £101.16s.7d. Britton's wife would not agree but, after Tickell took possession in November, the couple were allowed to rent it for 34s. a quarter (1;73, 166, 202, 207, 215).
  19. On 29th December 1697, Gilpin enquired if he "should treat with ye Owners of the Houses in King Street wch obstruct the progress down Lowther Street . . . it must be done soon because Mr. Dixon (who is ye principal) will be gone shortly". They had not been demolished by 1705 when Pellin's second town plan was made, though he outlined East Strand appropriately behind them (Fig. 3). New Lowther St is now in that position.
  20. Either Richard Dixon, admitted to No. 26 on 15th January 1665, or John Dixon, admitted to No. 16 on 21st October 1668. Both had 14 yards towards the sea but only 10 yards street frontage.
  21. Lowther's former colliery steward. For details see *AMS*, 29, 206, fn 27.
  22. Between Brownrigg's and the minister's house, Rowland Fisher was actually building his house on 6th June 1667 (1;23), but was admitted on 15th October 1669.
  23. The much more marked angles between Scotch and Irish Streets and in Queen Street were generated by joining the main grid of streets to a lesser one based on the alignments of Tickell Lane and James Street after 1698.
  24. On 23rd Nov. 1688 he was admitted also to "a strip Fronting towards Duke Street" on which he proposed building a malt house. Both premises were bequeathed to Humphrey Senhouse, admitted 11th Feb. 1714.
  25. Her husband Richard Pallister was a colliery overseer from Newcastle who returned from there in July 1678. By 27th April 1679 he had "bought 1/16 of Wm Burton's new ship & taken an house in Corkicle & purposeth to fetch his wife thither ere Whitsuntide". He took the Braconthwait tenement in September 1680 for 7 years and was to have a small house "built with ye stones of ye old houses wch cannot stand". On 22nd June 1682, Tickell reported "Palister is in great danger to go off [die] though in himselfe cheerful but weakens dayly". Tickell asked him to recommend a successor and by 5th July Pallister's cousin Henry Winshopp had arrived from Newcastle. Palister was buried at St. Bees on 9th July 1682. On 6th February 1683, Lowther said he did not want the widow ousted from her home. (2;364, 429, 3;84, 314, 330, 329, 326, 4;33).
  26. Lowther had suggested stone from "Bransty for inside but he [Senhouse] says those wil not endure weather". Alternatively there was a quarry "in Flatfield very near Braconthwt Hedge" (4;272), presumably Parson close.
  27. This paragraph is based on box 4;244, 253, 255, 269, 270, 350, 351, 388.
  28. To encourage Scots merchants to bring settlers, Lowther commented to Gilpin on 5th Feb. 1698 "I shd be glad if we get any New Streets built, to have some known by ye name of ye Scotch Street & ye Irish Street. . .". He lived to see only the latter started, No. 1 being Matthias Read the painter's house and No. 8 a bowling green leased in 1705 for £5 a year.
  29. D. Hay, *Op. Cit.*, 62.
  30. On 10th September 1687 (5;45) Lowther wrote: "As to ye Names of ye new streets, that along Braconthwait & wher Woodruff & Gibsons houses are. I wld have called Duke street as coming out of King street. That wher Wm Atkinson lives I wld have called Mark-lane as leading to ye Market . . .". Atkinson's houses were 20 & 48, Old Town in what became Old Street and a different Mark Lane was developed on the seaward side of East Strand from 1717. Church Street, Colledge Street ("intending a School house & other publick conveniencies there"), and Queen Street were also defined in this letter.
  31. John Peel, mason, was admitted on 4th October 1687 to No. 16 Lowther Street (on the east corner with King St.) and the same day Henry Peel mason was admitted to No. 15. John gave up part of No. 16 on 3rd Nov. 1687 and the remainder formed No. 50 King Street, surrendered on 8th June 1688, no doubt after the houses had been completed (*WSB*, 11, 26).

32. This comment probably stemmed from Lowther's observation that London's streets were built on several feet of accumulated rubbish. In November 1680, he complained that existing disposal of "ye soyl of ye Town . . . within ye full sea" (below high tide) was unacceptable and thought "somewhere on ye middle of ye sandhills were best & from thence led unto ye lands without ye Town" for farming purposes. Tickell retorted that he had already considered that, but "foresaw that might incomode [future] Building" and noted that the townsmen would "rather endure ye nastiness of ye streets & suffer amercem[en]ts" in the Manor Court than do anything about the problem. Some thought the "Rubbish [could] be laid in that vacancy [a quarry] between ye House of Henry Addison & ye Salt pans" near the pier. In October 1686 Lowther suggested "When Mr. Christian keeps ye [Court] Leet let him . . . contrive Bylaws for keeping ye Streets paved & clean & discourage ye keeping of Swine &c yt may breed Sickness". The court ordered £20 to be raised to pave the market and build bridges as well as "2s. a peece . . . to carry away ye dunghills and pay a Scavengers wages of £5 per annum. . ." (Based on 3;178, 179; 4;148, 416, 489, 494). The problem continued for many years.
33. Robert Blaiklock bought the freehold of No. 31 Lowther St. on 14th February 1694 and Robert Greggs (Land Surveyor of Customs) No. 4 Lowther St. freehold on 11th July 1696 (*WSB*, 29, 24).
34. The newly appointed Pier Master (*AMS*, 29, note 45). He was *not* "Clerk of Works" as stated by D. Hay, *op. cit.*, 102.
35. In fact the masons contributed this south doorway (5;78, 8th November 1687).
36. Reiterated on 24th September (5;54): "St. Peters at Rome & al forreign Churches having no regard to due East & West, nor . . . in England of late" and, in 5;56, "it must not be as we staked it out . . ."
37. On 24th April 1688 (5;167) he explained: "the Church stones we get [from] beyond ye pans are on both sides [of] ye second promontory & some hewen work beyond ye third. Both places were short of Tom Herd [rock which sheltered the harbour, from] ye near side wherof Capt Senhouse leads to ye church at ye same price as . . . from parson closes but will not fetch from ye further side . . . without a greater price . . . which they allow him to prevent his clamour . . .". The quarriers and builders claimed that the Parson Close stone was brittle and rotten and covered by "so great a rubbish". Tickell did not wish to be branded "as ye only hinderer of ye church work" by restricting the men's choice and claimed he had given permission to use the cliffs only when Parson Close became impassable in winter. Senhouse was also "getting stones on Bransty side [north of the town] to build himsele a Malt mill" on his strip of land along Duke Street in competition with Lowther's mill. Lowther strongly disapproved of the southern stone source (5;171, 181, 184). Eventually, by 26th June 1688, "the Church masons . . . found (within ye full sea on Bransty side) a quarry [that] does fitt ym reasonably well so . . . will not insist to get more . . . beyond ye pans" (5;196, 217).
38. The stable has survived, undated, opposite Sockbridge Hall (see note 5). John Addison also took over supervision of the masons already extending Unerigg Hall at Maryport in 1684. (*AMS*, 26, 69-70).
39. Unfortunately none of his drawings has been found.
40. On 17th April 1688 (5;165) Lowther wrote: "What I build I think it were not amiss to have my Arms [Or, six annulets, 3, 2 and 1, Sable; in canton a baronet's sinister hand] on ye Lentel of ye Door but wth no florishes & but a very smal coat for a memorial. What others build, ye 2 first letters of ye builders name & on both ye year of ye Lord". Tickell responded (5;167) "Yr armes without ye hand is easy to cutt . . . yet our masons are such ill cutters & ye stone not lasting . . . I have acquainted Mr. Gale wth it to discourse with John Peele rather than Bodle".
41. Based on D. Hay, *op. cit.*, 102-4. An informative, faded, photograph of the old church is published in M. & S. Moon, *Bygone Whitehaven*, i (1980), 36 (See 37-44 for fire).
42. They were never built. The school was to have been opposite the church, but that side of Lowther Street was built so quickly that a new site was found nearby (Fig. 3).
43. Marr was minister at the old chapel and therefore claimed "he was the actual incumbent of ye New Church" (29th July 1693). He was openly hostile to the

- other candidate (Mr. Teasdale) and was very unpopular (Gilpin's letters 21 June; 2,23,29 July). Then, as if fate intervened, on 2nd December, Marr's "maid came to make an Information agt him for attempting to force her, but on examination it amounted to no more than Solicitations and some amorous Struglings, yet . . . the Girl . . . suspected herself wth child and has been dabling with Potions". Two weeks later she "upon Oath fixed it upon him and he has not preached since . . . Mr. Teasdel pursued him . . . wth two sermons on 2 Thessal 3,6 'withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly'" and, by 4th January 1694, Marr had "quitted all his pretentions" of preaching. At the 1694 Midsummer Quarter Sessions (C.R.O., C/11/13-15) the Revd James Marr protested he was not the father of Jane Hodgson's bastard child, but was ordered to pay 2s. a week for 12 years and provide a £5 premium for the child's apprenticeship. The St. Bees parish registers record, on 29th June 1694, the baptism of "Elizabeth ye daughter of Jane Hodgson and Mr. Marr *ex form*". He adopted lay habit and Francis Yates became minister until 1720.
44. The coach house was built in November 1688 at No. 52 King Street "in the east corner fronting into New Street" (5;260).
  45. It cost £3.10s. extra "because it goes 14 feet further seawards than our neighbour" and it was strong enough "for landing or shipping heavy merchandise wth a Crane" (5;121).
  46. This was Pellin's first surveying job after migrating from Dublin as a serge weaver "skilled in surveying lands also". Lowther and the Commissioners liked his work and, after he surveyed 4,343 acres of Lowther's Whitehaven estates in 1693, he drew a town plan in 1694 (updated in 1696, 1699 and 1705). Using this experience and his mathematical ability, he set up the Mathematical School in 1697 and, from 1702 until his death in 1732, he made that his sole occupation, gaining great respect. At first he rented a brick house in New Street but bought No. 1 Church Street in 1694. B. Tyson, "Andrew Pellin's Surveying Career, 1688-1705", C.W.A.A. Soc., *Transactions*, forthcoming.
  47. No. 76 Old Town, purchased freehold on 20th August 1687. On 14th February 1692, Tickell reported "Richd Hodgsons [ship] lost with himselfe on board her neere Castletown, I.O.M. (5;298).
  48. John Gale's letters (1693-98) to Sir John Lowther (C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/W, Correspondence, 1). These provide an excellent check on the accuracy of Gilpin's comments but are often less informative. On 11th February 1694, Gale wrote: "Wee have received the draught and article relating to ye new Custome house, the latter agreeable enough . . . but the former soe disagreeing to the article as if don by one that knew little of the matter. . . There is 2 draughts the one contains a ground platt of the building and of each story; the other is a prospect of the frontespeece and the roof and this last . . . disagrees . . . for this is drawn with a hipp rooffe and Lutheran Lights in the middle of the Slates—and the chimneys arising out of the topp as if there were middle walls in the building—whereby the Garretts are spoyled. . . Our artickle mentions the garrett rooms to be 7 feet high on the side walls in wch . . . wee designe to place our windowes and have a plaine uniforme roof over all. . . This is the method wee shall pursue soe this draught of the front & roof must be withdrawen. . .". Figure 5b suggests that it was.
  49. Golding had wanted Lowther to "lay out £300 in building an Inn upon ye East Strand" at 5% (19th April 93) and took church business letters to the Bishop of Chester in July 1693. He migrated to Whitehaven in 1687 because, working as a butler at Lowther Hall, he was refused his employer's permission to marry a maid there (5;47). He had "moneys sufficient to stock himselfe" as an innkeeper and he leased Henry Tubman's house on the corner of King St. & Roper Lane for 3 years (5;64). He prospered and was admitted to No. 12 Queen St. in 1698 and added the neighbouring plot No. 20 Roper Lane in 1703.
  50. On 9th March 1686, Tickell wrote "Mr. Brownrigg was heer the last Xmas [when] I favoured his intentions of setting up his trade of distilling heer" and offered finance at 5%. He "ingaged my son Gale [Ebenezer] to pull downe an old house of his owne & build him another on . . . dimensions . . . then agreed & ye Rent also . . . but has since said his partner did not wish to live in new rooms" (4;385).
  51. Robert Brunton was admitted "to a pcell of Grd (then built) in Front towards the sea shore 12 yds & back to ye Ho of Tho Harrison" on 26th Oct. 1683 (No. 56 Old Town).

52. Richard Collins, blacksmith, was admitted to No. 60 Old Town on 10th February 1685. Thomas Harrison shoemaker was admitted to No. 57 Old Town on 29th January 1685 (and No. 58 in 1694).
  53. In September 1667, Tickell noted that old "Mr. Gale is unwilling to engage in Manufactures" (1;31) and, in October 1670, Lowther prompted "endeavour to get a Tallow chanler into ye Town and as many other manufactures as you can" (1;95).
  54. Later, for example on 14th July 1679, Tickell noted "Custome is pd here allready for 764 Cattell and abt an hundred more are Landed yesterday", mainly "from the North of Ireland" (2;467-8). On 24th March 1679 he reported "we have set ye [salt] pan at worke with Emerson [even though he had no capital] . . . but salt at present is a dead commodity . . . one of our traders . . . affirms that he laded his vessell with salt a month since at Fradsime [Frodsham] for 3s. 6d. ye barrell" (2;415).
  55. e.g. Thomas Bodle (note 13), Richard Pallister (note 25), Andrew Pellin (note 46), John Golding (note 49), Henry Palmer and Richard Senhouse or even John Addison and others who did not stay or who failed and fled. Another interesting case concerned William Lawrence of Moresby who sold all his coal rights and working gear at Goosegreen for £300. "To prevent backsliding" Tickell made an agreement and "gave him 5s. Earnest". Lawrence was to have "yr house on ye East Strand called Swan Inn", (i.e. No. 1 (*WSB*, 20)) for £100 and the remainder in money, "£80 wherof I paid him yesterday [15th Aug. 1691 (6;240)] . . . By this you have . . . the best collieries in Moresby". He apologised for not asking first but Lowther responded "in dealing with Country people you must conclude when you can without slipping an opportunity . . . you know I never distrusted yr Judgment."
  56. For details of Gibson see *AMS*, 28, 78-9 and 92. In addition to two buildings on West Strand already mentioned, the Gibsons built two shops at No. 2 East Strand for Inman and Sherwen. John Inman, a whitesmith, wanted premises near his merchant brother "to vend all sorts of Iron manufactures". Both shops were "5 yards square within ye walls, ye ground affording but abt 8 feet a piece for their backsides" (4;400,406).
  57. Located at the southern corner of the land bought from Wm Hodgson in 1672. In November 1685 because of bad weather "Hodgson Croft houses go slowly on; 4 or ym are already slated & ye 5th will be done shortly. Jon Satterthwait [carpenter] is allready in in 2 of ym, the one for his habitation ye other for his shop; the french gunsmith wld have two more for ye same uses & I will keep one for ye Gibsons to keep house in . . . at their coming to cast Brick . . ." (4;347). Tickell noted also (4;400) "those houses, as Mr. Gale sayes (who made ye bargaine) were for cheapness agreed to be *laid in clay* wch may serve well enough for houses of that height". This seems to extend the area of "The Clay Houses of Cumberland", *AMS*, 10, 57-80. Later houses there were of brick.
  58. Summarized from Box 4;441, 447, 451, 462, 470, 471, 473, 474, 478, 480, 503, 504, 506, 507, 519, 523, 535.
  59. Summarized from Box 5;12, 21, 31, 50, 58, 121, 128.
  60. In July 1689 "One Jeremy Lyons, a potter neare Leverpoole [probably Rainhill] of good skill & able stock, after he had experimented our clay . . . bargained with me to sett up that manufacture heere. . ." by 4th March 1690. Details of accommodation, work buildings and rents for 7 years were arranged but, in September, Lyons was "tryeing our Coales wch does not content him as too keen in cakeing; for he desyres an open coale . . . & went away much discontented." No more was heard of him! (5;50, 46, 60).
  61. Pollution by coal-pit water made them unsuitable. Tickell noted that "Mr. Addison proproseth ye fustian manufacture or a sugar house, Mr. Atkinson ye making of sayle-cloth . . . but neither of ym very forward in either". He was also trying to get one "Strickland the tape weaver that is gone to Manchester" to return and set up (4;499).
  62. Based on Box 4;481, 492, 495, 499, 503, 508, 510, 511, 521, 541.
  63. Like anchor smiths, rope and block makers. Small ship building had produced the "Love abt 100 tons Burden" during summer 1686 and another was in the stocks by February 1687 (4;494, 545).
  64. Based on Box 4;215, 218, 223, 225, 227, 232-5, 239.
  65. Paragraph based on Box 4;352, 485, 361, 354, 452, 501, 534, 539, 549.
  66. Paragraph based on Box 4;371, 378, 385, 402, 406, 460, 527, 545; & 5;44, 53.
  67. J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *History of Westmorland & Cumberland*, 1777, i, 66.
- N.B. Years are expressed in modern form.