

The Library and Master's House (1687) at St Bees School, Cumbria

by

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Although much has been written about Cumbrian schools and the quality of education they provided during the past four centuries, there is relatively little information from which detailed studies of their buildings can be developed. This article therefore examines an episode in the long history of St Bees School which has hitherto escaped the notice of historians.

St Bees School was founded by Edmund Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1583. On 3 July in that year, three days before his death, he drew up nine statutes for the government of the school. These included provision for seven Governors of whom two were always to be the Rector of Egremont and the Provost of The Queen's College, Oxford. The latter was to nominate the school master from candidates preferably native to Cumberland or Westmorland. The Governors were to meet once a year after Easter week and the election of any replacements 'was to be in the Chamber that shall be built over the school for such purpose'. Grindal nominated Nicholas Copeland as the first master and teaching probably commenced in rented premises.

In 1586, Sir Thomas Chaloner¹ gave one-and-a-half acres of land called 'Sir Anthony's Orchard' on which to build a school just to the east of St Bees Priory Church. In addition he gave forty loads of coal per year in return for the right to nominate two scholars. Collison² noted (p. 60) that the coal was 'used for cooking only. Even down to the nineteenth century there was no fire-place for the boys in the old school . . .'. The same author stated that there were complaints in the early seventeenth century 'that the schoolmaster's house had not been erected' (p. 62) and he found it 'an extraordinary thing that whilst Grindal had left £300 for the building of the School and Schoolmaster's house in 1583 . . . no such house appears to have been erected by 1611 . . . [for] neither the money nor the necessary building materials could have been lacking' (p. 66). We shall see that the house was not erected until 1687.

Collison went on to discuss a suit which dragged on in Chancery from 1610 to 1615. It was claimed that the lack of a house had deterred good schoolmasters, so

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that no scholars had been accepted at university for seventeen years prior to 1612. It was stated that, in 1588, the Abbot's Hall of the suppressed priory had been bought for £6 or £7 from Sir Thomas Chaloner by Mr Woodhall, Grindal's nephew and executor, to provide building materials expressly 'for the house of the school'. During fifty years of neglect since the Dissolution, much of the timber had rotted and Woodhall had bought twenty oak trees for the school instead. Accusations were made that William Briscoe (Headmaster 1593-1612) and others had removed much of the stone and timber for their own purposes. Briscoe denied the charges, stating that 'The great hall and kitchen were pulled down and the stones and timber thereof employed in the building of the school house . . . in 1587 or 1588'. The date 1587 and inscription *Ingrederet ut Proficias*,³ survive on the lintel of the now-blocked doorway in the south front of the old school, now called 'Foundation North' (Fig. 2). Whatever the truth of the Chancery suit accusations, it is apparent that *house* was being used in its most general sense to imply merely a *building*, in the same way as it was used in the agreement for building Troutbeck School in 1637 and for some later farm buildings there.⁴

The St Bees Register Book⁵ refers to glazing the 'Schoolm^{rs} Chamber' in 1602 and to 1s. 1d. paid 'To Schoolm^r for a new key to his chamber door' in 1620, as if he might have had a room or study at the school, but there is no evidence for a master's house until a century after the school was built. For example Sir John Lowther's estate steward at Whitehaven told his employer, on 9 July 1683, that 'Widdow Atkinson (with whom tables Mr Banckes & 7 schollers in Wybers houses) does feare some sudden expulsion suggested by Mrs Wyber . . . from some late advantage her son has gotten this terme agst you . . .'. Leaving aside the animosity between Lowther and the Wyberghs, caused by his foreclosure on their mortgage and his attempts to evict them,⁶ this statement shows that Jonathan Banks, the headmaster for five years from August 1681, lived nearby in lodgings as had his predecessors. It was his departure to Appleby School which heralded the building of a schoolmaster's house.

In 1777 Nicolson and Burn,⁷ setting a pattern for later authors, said nothing of the house but mentioned, without date, a library 'procured at the expence of Sir John Lowther of Whitehaven'. William Jackson's study of Grindal and the school mentions the library briefly but gives no date and concentrates on the fact that Sir John gave only six out of about 650 books accumulated before 1740.⁸ Neither Jackson nor Collison appear to have known of some building accounts, dated 1687, which survive in the Lonsdale Manuscripts at Carlisle.⁹ Read in conjunction with brief comments drawn from the correspondence between Sir John Lowther and his steward Thomas Tickell,¹⁰ it is possible to gain some insight into this neglected episode of the school's history. The scheme developed in three distinct stages.

The first indication of impending work was on 18 January 1687 when Sir John told Tickell that 'The Bp of Exeter¹¹ is so well pleased with St Bees School that he proposes building a Chimney in the School House [i.e., schoolroom] at his Charge. Let me know the necessity of it, the charge of Building and what Coal will supply it'. Tickell's response on 25 January was unsympathetic. A week later he would meet some of his fellow Governors at the St Bees cockfight, but he considered the chimney would be 'troublesome and useless since the schollers have leave to go to the fire in

a little house . . . within 20 yards from the Schoole' and that the '40 load of Coales' given by Lowther¹² for that fire were 'pretty well [sufficient] for the Winter frosts'. He thought the gift would be better used to supplement the Usher's allowance of £8 a year. Events overtook further consideration of the boys' comfort however.

In August 1686, Richard Jackson, a physician from near Kendal, succeeded Jonathan Banks as headmaster and remained in post for nearly fifty-two years until his death on 28 July 1738. By 8 February 1687, Tickell intended to put Jackson 'in mind to marry and so be capable to serve the schoole better by takeing tablers'. The agent thought the Governors might build 'a good ground roome at the East end of the schoole the same height as the schoole [two storeys] with chambers and passages above to make all the upper roomes in it more comodious' for Jackson's needs, and the bishop's gift could help to pay for it. No doubt Tickell's comments were influenced by self-interest for, by 5 March, Jackson had proposed to 'My daughter Hudson', the widow of John Hudson who was drowned with all but two of the crew of the *Zebulon* off the Isle of Man before 13 October 1683 'to the distress of my daughter . . . in childbed'. She accepted Richard Jackson's proposal and they were 'to be marryed heer in your house¹³ on Thursday [10th, but] they will be at a loss for a good house to live in at St Bees'. The agent thought the extension might cost £50 and Lowther promised to seek support from the bishop whom he had known socially since his Balliol College days in 1657.¹⁴

Nearly two months later, on 26 April, Tickell proposed a third development. The extension could have 'a too fall [lean-to] on the Northside . . . to make a ground roome convenient for a library . . . and a doore out of the schoole floore into it'. He suggested that the bishop would do better to invest in that than in the chimney and that 'some inscription on the Doore head to perpetuate his Ldps Bounty' might help to persuade him. On 14 June, Tickell returned to his son-in-law's need for a house, using the excuse that they needed 'to accomodate the children of many Gentlemen such as Sr Wm Pennington &c'.¹⁵ He suggested that a new house built for Mrs Barham next to the school and to 'be finished this weeke' could be used temporarily. It had cost £80 and the same workmen could build the school extension. On 9 July, Lowther was still trying to interest the bishops of Exeter and Lincoln¹⁶ in the project but lamented 'nobody knows how to part with . . . ready money'. He did not want to use the £120 of school stock he held because it might 'draw a Visitation upon us'. Already, he had commented ominously on 28 June that there had been 'Complaints both at Queens & Pembroke Hall¹⁷ of the embezelling of the £500 original stock and, were it not out of respect to me, you would find that enquired into . . . therefore consider well what steps you make'. On 26 August, Sir John wanted his agent to contract for a new stable at Mrs Barham's so that 'such Parents as desire to visit their sons at School may not want accomodation' for their horses when staying at her guest house. The agent promised to see to this once the school master's house was finished, for the accounts show that building work had started a month earlier.

The mason's main bill for £32. 10s. 6d. refers to 'Worke Wrought at the Scholehouse . . . since the 25 of July 1687'. Richard Hutchinson was the chief mason, assisted by his un-named son, by William Grayson, Nicholas Smith and his man and some labourers. Their wages amounted to £22. 1s. 6d. and 'quarrying the walleing

Stones & Hune worke' cost £3. 13s. 6d. more. Hutchinson received a first instalment of £10 on 30 July. By 9 October the agent noted that the roof timbers were 'already raised'. Slating was complete by 24 October when Tickell with another Governor, Mr Patrickson of Scalegill¹⁸ viewed the work and noted that 'the inside work will go on apace'. The plastering must have been finished by 11 November when Hutchinson received his third instalment of £10 'in full . . . for the mason work, plaistering, slateing &c of that new addition made at the East end of St Bees schoole'.

The next day, John Whinnera's bill for £2. 2s. 6d. was paid, mainly for 'new glas for the Scholehouse . . . 93 foot at 5d'¹⁹ and '24 pound of Lead for runcing in hinges' 3s. 6d. On 17 November he charged for '2½ gall Lyn Seed Oyle at 3s 6d' and '5 lb read oaker at 3½d' towards painting the house. Both payments were received by 'Thomas Whinrey'. The carpenter was John Satterthwaite, who had built a windmill to pump drainage water from Lowther's collieries at the Ginns in Whitehaven the previous year.²⁰ He was the only workman to sign for payments with his name, which he spelled 'John Seterwhete'. He had £10 on 3 November and £20 more 'in full of Thirty pounds for the wood and Carpenter work belonging to St Bees schoole according to Bargain' on 27 November 1687. Thus, by 13 December, Mrs Jackson had 'gone into housekeeping in the school'. She would have used the 'new grate of iron and gibbets and crookes' supplied by Richard Collin,²¹ a blacksmith from the Quay at Whitehaven, but she must have been under some stress because her newly born daughter was christened on 10 January 1688 at St Bees.²² The new arrangement must have worked well for, on 23 April 1687, Sir John Lowther wrote to his friend Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal (who had recommended the new schoolmaster) that Jackson was 'doing extraordinary well and the School had doubled'.²³

Before considering the library, we should note that, on 23 December, the masons were paid £1. 12s. 'for amending the Governors chamber'. This included 18s. 'for workeing two chimneys & flags', 10s. 'for cuting two [new] windows . . . & playstering' and 4s. for 'foure dayes for fitting kayesments'. Satterthwaite also submitted a separate bill 'For worke done at the governors Chamber' amounting to £4. 3s. 1d. The main items were £1. 12s. 8d. for the labour of five men for up to eight days each, 15s. 'for 20 deales at 9d. a boarde' and 9s. for a dozen joists. The correspondence failed to inform Lowther of this work and the inclusion of two chimneys for the Governors' occasional comfort upstairs contrasts with the conditions thought fit for scholars below. Perhaps the two new windows were the small ones (now blocked) on either side of the chimney in the west gable wall on the first floor.

Commenting on the proposed library on 24 September 1687, Sir John advised that its 'floor ought to lye hollow under neath & the Joyces not to be upon the Ground; all the School windows also ought to be heightened for aire & light not onely as high as the seeling but higher, with Casements'. Then, on 24 October, Tickell informed him 'In the library, *not yet begun*, we purpose 3 transom windows in the side and one in the end. If these are not sufficient pray advise further'. Lowther seemed content but suggested that 'if the room be 4 yards high, some small oval over each Window may perhaps be necessary'. He added 'If in the Library you can make the outside wall a little thinner than ordinary betwixt the windows, it might be a means to gain

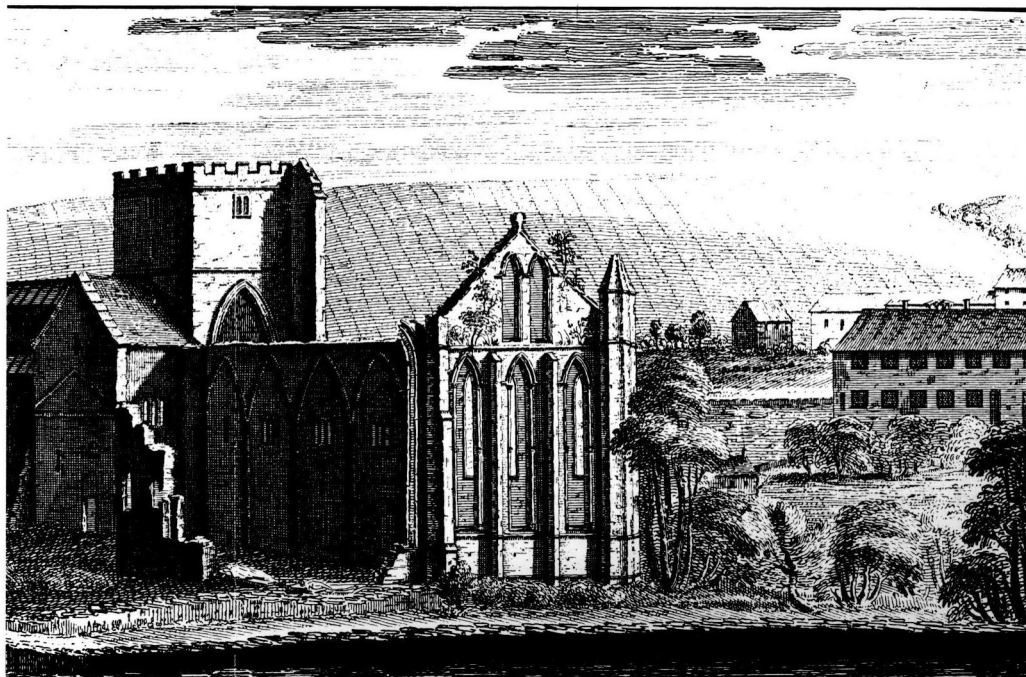


Fig. 1

Extract from Samuel and Nathaniel Buck's 1739 view of St Bees Priory, to the right of which the original school building is shown. Unfortunately the schoolmaster's house, built in 1687, is almost entirely lost at the right-hand margin of the picture. Another storey was added in 1820

room for small books without taking up any of the Breadth . . . & also would secure them if Doors like Presses be hereafter added. Tho it be a little more charge I shall not consider that, but leave it to you'. On 13 November, the agent reported 'the library will be covered this weeke which shall be wainscotted on all sides & I hope will give you content'. By 13 December, the library was to be 'finished this week or next'.

Richard Hutchinson's bill for 'Worke wrought about the Liberrary' amounted to £9. 7s. 0d. of which all but £2 was for labour. Tickell added £1. 9s. for 'a chimney in the library', £1. 10s. for '2 ovall windowes, cross rooffe, slateing &c' and settled the account on 10 and 23 December. Satterthwaite's bill for the library totalled £23. 12s. 10d. The roof, floors and doors cost £9, whilst 148 deals at £4 a hundred were under-priced by a shilling at £5. 17s. 4d. and £4. 16s. was charged for three weeks labour for 'I, Will, Roger, Harey Robinson, Harey Nicolson and Nicoll'. The first four were paid 6s. a week, while Nicolson had 5s. and Nicoll 3s. a week. Apart from glue at 8d. per lb, candles at 4d. per lb and over 5000 assorted nails, five locks cost 3s. 10d., '16 pare of Jamers for the window shuts' cost 8s. and 12s. 8d. was paid

'for Caridge of deales for the libraa'. On 2 February, John Whinnera's bill, for painting and glazing, charged for 'glas for the Librery 53 foot at 5d' plus 11s. for 'primeing and grindeing colloures 11 dayes' and 1s. for '6 pound & a halfe of Lead for Runeing in stanchers & kesments'.

In view of these modest charges, it is interesting to find Tickell complaining, on 7 February, that 'the library . . . increased beyond my thoughts with that wainscott primeing & glazing and the workmen not well pleased neither'. In contradiction to his attitude in October, Sir John expressed surprise, on 18 February, at receiving a bill for £33 for the library saying that he had intended only slit deals on the walls because wainscott took up more room and would be covered by shelves. Tickell claimed on 28 February that the extra cost was 'occasioned by a licencious liberty the carpenter took' but that even the plain wainscott was so ornamental that Lowther should be pleased. As if to placate him, Tickell thought 'some lines over that doore on the inside of the schoole' to commemorate 'the Donor' could be 'painted on some hanging board or ingraven on a Copper plate or wrought upon Stone'. No such inscription has been found. Perhaps he wished to ingratiate himself to his employer, for Tickell had just

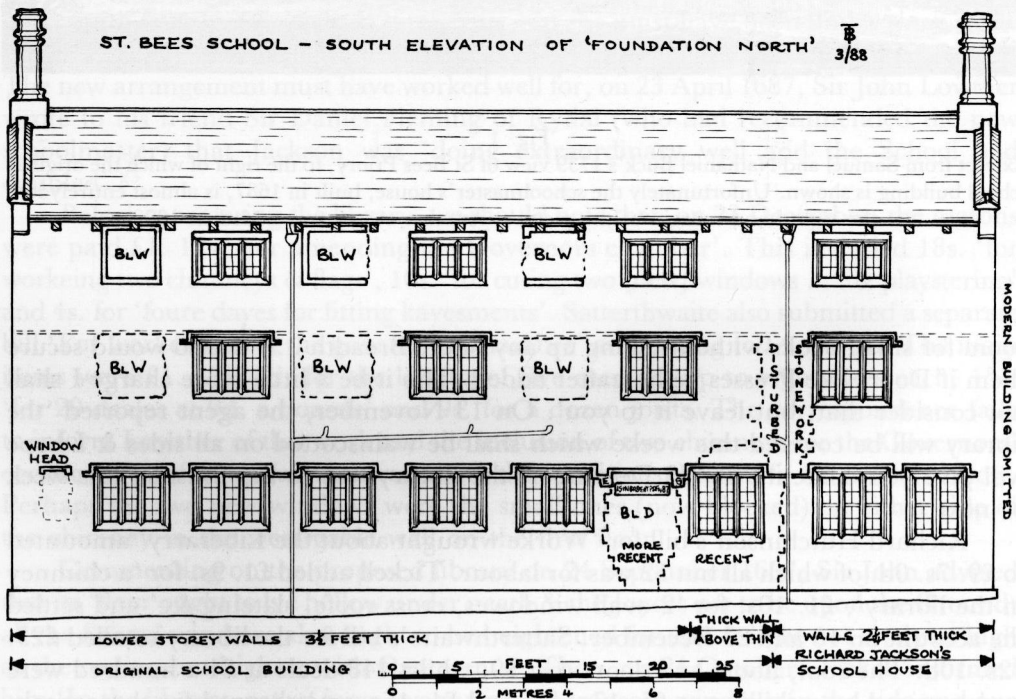


Fig. 2

South elevation of the old school (1587) and schoolmaster's house (1687) at St Bees, drawn from the author's measurements. The exposed sandstone reveals evidence of several stages of alteration which harmonize well with the older work

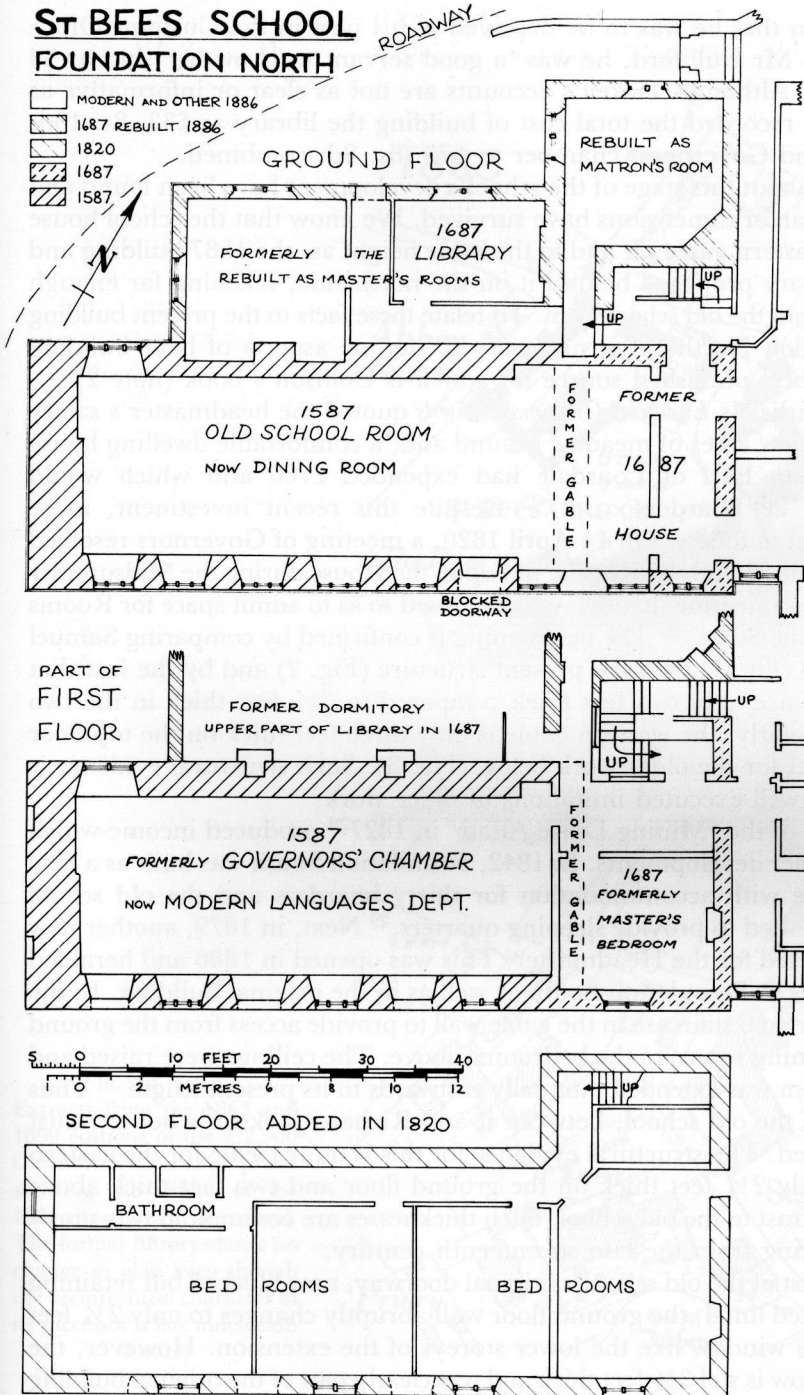


Fig. 3
 Plans of 'Foundation North' adapted from H.B. Stout's plans of 1948. The contrast in wall-thickness between the Elizabethan school and later work is well shown. Of the 1687 work, the schoolmaster's house has been greatly altered and the library behind was totally rebuilt in about 1886

learned through him that he was to be deprived of his post in the Customs Office because, to quote a Mr Culliford, he was 'a good servant to [Lowther] but an ill one for the King'.²⁴ Although Tickell's accounts are not as clear or informative as one would wish, he recorded the total cost of building the library as £33. 8s. 10d. and of the house and Governors' chamber as £70. 8s. 9d. combined.

No other facts about this stage of the school's development have been found and no contemporary plan or dimensions have survived. We know that the school house was built onto the eastern gable of, and to the same height as, the 1587 building and that the lean-to library projected behind it on the north side, reaching far enough west to be entered from the old schoolroom. To relate these facts to the present building known as 'Foundation North', it is necessary to outline aspects of later building developments, the best published source for which is Collison's book (note 2).

In 1818, N. Carlisle's *Endowed Grammar Schools* quoted the headmaster's salary as £50 a year plus a few acres of meadow ground and 'a comfortable dwelling house upon which the then Earl of Lonsdale had expended £700 and which would conveniently admit 20 Boarders . . .'.²⁵ Despite this recent investment, more alterations were soon to follow. On 14 April 1820, a meeting of Governors resolved that, if finances permitted, 'a New Roof be put upon the House during the Midsummer Vacation, and at the same time that the walls be raised so as to admit space for Rooms to be made in the Attic Story'.²⁶ The heightening is confirmed by comparing Samuel Buck's view of 1739 (Fig. 1) with the present structure (Fig. 2) and by the fact that the top storey walls are only two feet thick compared to 3½ feet thick in the two lower storeys.²⁷ Similarly, the western gable is only three feet thick on the top floor compared to 5½ feet for the older work below (Fig. 3). Such structural evidence is vital in unmasking well-executed imitations of older work.

The settlement of the 'Mining Lease Affair' in 1827²⁸ produced income which allowed several further developments. In 1842, Foundation South was built as a new Headmaster's house with accommodation for thirty boarders and the old school building was modernised to provide sleeping quarters.²⁹ Next, in 1879, another new house was to be erected for the Headmaster. This was opened in 1886 and heralded considerable changes in Foundation South as well as in the original building. In the latter, Collison reported a staircase in the gable wall to provide access from the ground floor (the present dining room) to the bedrooms above. The ceilings were raised and the ground-floor room was extended internally eastwards to its present length.³⁰ Thus the eastern gable of the old school, between it and Richard Jackson's house, must have been demolished. The structural evidence for this is quite clear, for the eastern section has walls only 2¼ feet thick on the ground floor and two feet thick above that, in marked contrast to the old school. Such thicknesses are common in two-storey stone structures dating from the late seventeenth century.

Immediately east of the old school's original doorway, now blocked but retaining its inscribed and dated lintel, the ground floor wall abruptly changes to only 2¼ feet thick and has a sash window like the lower storeys of the extension. However, the wall above that window is still 3½ feet thick and was clearly part of the original building (Fig. 3). This reached as far as the downspout where a vertical zone of disturbance in the stonework affects only the two lower storeys and shows where Richard

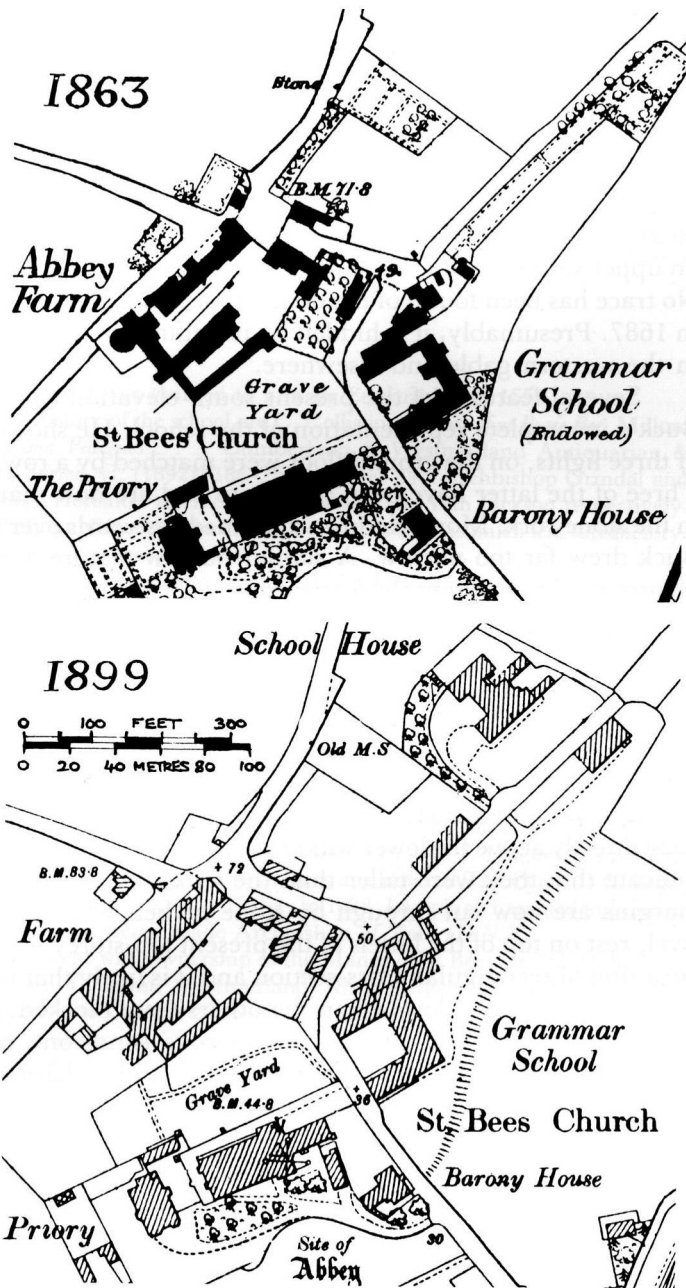


Fig. 4
Extracts from the 1863 and 1899 editions of the 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey plans showing the extent of the 1886 alterations at the school. The former library shows no change in plan even though the architectural character of its successor is late nineteenth century

Hutchinson removed sandstone blocks from the original corner to provide an adequate key for the 1687 extension for Jackson's house. It is also possible to determine the extent of Sir John Lowther's library. The architectural style and details of the present rear structure suggests that it was rebuilt in the late nineteenth century to provide rooms for the matron and a master.³¹ A comparison of the first and second editions of the Ordnance Survey 1:2,500 scale plans (Fig. 4) shows considerable changes in the layout of the east wing, but the library and its successor, probably built in 1886, have exactly the same plan arrangement and size. The constraints imposed by the public highway immediately behind it would have been an important determining factor and one might suppose that the library's thinner walls were too weak to support an upper storey or had developed structural faults which brought about replacement. No trace has been found of the doorway which led from the schoolroom to the library in 1687. Presumably, it is hidden by panelling, plaster and paint like some elements in the western gable and elsewhere.

Several features of the present south elevation can be compared with Samuel Buck's incomplete representation of the school. He showed that five windows, each of three lights, on the ground floor were matched by a row of similar windows above. Three of the latter have been walled up and are now marked by clear irregularities in the stonework. More windows continued eastwards over the original doorway which Buck drew far too narrow. A similar narrow feature at the right-hand edge of his picture might represent the former door to Richard Jackson's house. At the opposite end, another narrow opening on the ground floor looks like a small window which might have served the staircase mentioned by Collison. The window head has survived. Two chimneys appear to rise from behind the roof-ridge rather than from the gables of the Governors' chamber but, as Buck distorted the perspective of his view and certainly made errors of detail on the church,³² one cannot be sure how much artistic licence he applied to the school's details.

The present structure shows that seven windows were set in the top storey in 1820 directly above the lower windows. The outlines of three, which have been blocked, indicate that they were taller than the windows which survive because their upper margins are now cut through by stone corbels whereas other corbels, at the same level, rest on top of the lintels of the present top-storey windows. The corbels support guttering of rectangular cross-section and it is likely that new stone lintels were fitted to the surviving windows when the others were blocked, presumably as part of the extensive 1886 alterations. As the porous sandstone continues to suffer severe weathering, there are signs of frequent repair and replacement, particularly of window parts. However, except for the patterns of tooling on some stone blocks, successive craftsmen seem to have imitated the original style of masonry so that the school offers an interesting example of building conservation, marred only by the presence of pipes for draining washbasins located in some of the former window recesses in the middle storey.

Although this study cannot claim to answer all the questions one would wish to pose, it does provide considerable detail about a previously neglected episode in the school's long history. Posterity is indebted to Thomas Tickell for preserving the builders' accounts and his employer's correspondence³³ especially since he sometimes

appears in an unfavourable light. If, as might be supposed, he used the influence of his son and his employer's brother-in-law and step-father as fellow Governors (note 18) to benefit his own son-in-law, at least he did manage to complete the building programme envisaged by Archbishop Grindal a century earlier.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to the Headmaster, Mr M. Thyne, for permission to examine and measure the old school building and to Mr H.B. Stout of Seascale who allowed me to use his plans of 1948 as the basis for figure 3. Richard Hall of the Record Office in Kendal helped in many ways. Above all I am indebted to John and Mary Todd of St Bees for information and encouragement, the loan of books, checking internal details and for most generous hospitality.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Lord of the Manor of St Bees which was granted to him by Edward VI in 1553.
2. The best sources for the general history of the school are C. Collison, *Ye Boke of ye Busie Bee*, Millom (1940); Wm Jackson, *Papers and Pedigrees . . .*, Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Society, Extra Series, vi, (1892), 186-255, chapter 44, 'Archbishop Grindal and his Grammar School at St Bees'. Hereafter referred to as Collison and Wm Jackson respectively. Anon., *The Story of St Bees*, (1939), published for the Old St Beghian's Club is much less satisfactory.
3. Roughly, 'Enter so that you may become proficient'.
4. B. Tyson, 'Some Traditional Buildings in the Troutbeck Valley', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland antiq. and archaeol. Soc.*, 82 (1982), 151-76.
5. The school records are on temporary deposit at Cumbria Record Office, Kendal.
6. For a brief introduction to the hostility see B. Tyson, 'The Building of Abbey Farmhouse, St Bees . . .', *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society*, 29 (1985), 201 (and also p. 174).
7. J. Nicolson & R. Burn, *History and Antiquities of . . . Westmorland & Cumberland (1777)*, ii, 42.
8. Wm Jackson, *op. cit.*, 238.
9. Cumbria Record Office (C.R.O.), Carlisle, D/Lons/W/St Bees, box 13/9.
10. C.R.O., Carlisle, D/Lons/W, Tickell correspondence in five boxes.
11. From 1676 the Bishop of Exeter was Thomas Lamplugh (1615-91) who was related to the Lamplughs of Lamplugh, Cumberland (see C.R. Hudleston, R.S. Boumphrey and J. Hughes, *Cumberland Families and Heraldry* (1978), 195). He was educated at St Bees and entered The Queen's College, Oxford in 1634. When William of Orange landed at Torbay in 1688, Lamplugh hastened to London to tell James II and was rewarded by being made Archbishop of York (*D.N.B.*).
12. Responsibility for the gift of coal went with ownership of the Manor of St Bees. In 1599 Chaloner sold the Manor to the Wyberghs of Clifton, Westmorland, who mortgaged it to the Lowthers. In 1630 Sir John's grandfather, Sir John Lowther of Lowther, Westmorland, bought out his relatives' interests in the Manor for his younger son Christopher (1611-44).
13. Namely Flatt Hall (now Whitehaven Castle) bought by Lowther in 1675 for £1000.
14. Wm Jackson, p. 164.
15. Sir William Pennington was a Governor from 1692 to 1714 and his eldest son Joseph, born in 1677, progressed from St Bees to The Queen's College in 1695 aged 17 years. Joseph succeeded to the baronetcy in 1730 and died in 1744 aged 67. His son Sir John was a Governor from 1745 to 1768 (Collison, p. 91).
16. From 1675 to his death in 1691, the Bishop of Lincoln was Thomas Barlow (born 1607) who, as Provost of The Queen's College from 1657 to 1677, was a Governor of St Bees School. He also had been entertained by Sir John Lowther at Balliol College in 1657, but did not appoint a schoolmaster at St Bees because Francis Radcliffe was headmaster from 1630 to 1678.
17. At Oxford and Cambridge respectively. Grindal's will had made provision for these colleges to take one Fellow and two Scholars each. (Collison, p. 62).
18. Wm Jackson, p. 229-34, lists the dates of election and resignation (r) or death (d) of the school

- Governors. In 1687 they were:
1. Timothy Halton, Provost of The Queen's College; 7 Apr 1677, d. 21 July 1704;
 2. Thomas Tickell; 1 Sept 1685, d. Dec 1692. He took the place of his employer, Sir John Lowther 9 Feb 1665, r. 1 Sept 1685;
 3. Richard Tickell (son of 2), Rector of Egremont. Attended meetings from 22 Apr 1675 to 12 Apr 1687. Hence he was in a position to support the cause for a house for his new brother-in-law Richard Jackson;
 4. Richard Lamplugh of Ribton, Sir John Lowther's brother-in-law; 9 Feb 1665, r. 12 Apr 1687. Replaced by Sir Joseph Williamson; 12 Apr 1687, d. Oct 1701;
 5. Thomas Patrickson of Stockhow & Scalegill; 30 Apr 1656, d. 1693;
 6. Richard Patrickson of Calder Abbey; 16 May 1672, d. 1706;
 7. John Lamplugh of Lamplugh, Sir John Lowther's step-father; 1 Nov 1642, d. Dec 1688.
19. Enough glass for about four windows of the same size as the surviving openings.
 20. B. Tyson, 'Two Post-Mills at Whitehaven . . .', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland antiq. archaeol. Soc.*, 88 (1983), 177-91. Tickell mentioned another of Satterthwaite's jobs on 1 July 1687. He wrote of Abbey Farm 'that old house in wid[ow] Stainton's farme adjoining to the church yard is very ruinous & she is very precarious to have it shifted to the end of that new addition in the west end of the tithe barne . . . the Carpenter Satterthwaite &c will do . . . all the work for £20 and not under'. Tickell sought Lowther's advice. One of Satterthwaite's earliest jobs at Whitehaven was mentioned on 15 February 1683 when Tickell wrote that the carpenter 'is one that I allways encouraged to settle heer whom I have now at worke making part of a penthouse in the Court[yard at Flatt Hall] on the garden wall with wood posts &c to preserve Carts. I will cover it with Welsh Slates', which were imported via Dublin. The agent had first proposed this scheme on 1 September 1677 and his employer thought it would 'give us some experiment of the Welsh slate which is best layd on upon slit deals with Iron Nails one or two in a s[late] if large & without lime'. On 13 September 1676, Lowther's brother-in-law Richard Lamplugh (1633-1705) of Ribton Hall, had first pointed out the advantages of using Welsh slate rather than the coarser, heavier local slate from Loweswater.
 21. The iron weighed 13½ stone and cost 3d per pound, for which Collin was paid 47s on 30 December 1687.
 22. There is a gap in the St Bees registers at this period.
 23. Collison, p. 83, quoting from C.R.O., Kendal, WD/Ry, Correspondence 3108.
 24. Lowther to Tickell, 7 February 1688 (box 5, letter 122). Tickell had become a Customs Surveyor at Whitehaven in September 1671 through Lowther's influence.
 25. Quoted from Collison, p. 118.
 26. Quoted fully by Wm Jackson, p. 220. Lord Lonsdale probably contributed £600 towards the cost.
 27. The dimensions and other details are supported by evidence from plans drawn in 1948 by Mr H.B. Stout, a well-known Cumbrian architect and historian.
 28. J.M. Todd, ' . . . the Affair of the St Bees School Mineral Lease . . .', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland antiq. archaeol. Soc.*, 88 (1983), 163-71.
 29. Collison, p. 138, quoting the *Cumberland Pacquet* newspaper.
 30. Collison, pp. 153-6. Later schemes like the cricket pavilion (1893), gymnasium (1898-9) and chapel (1906-7), need not be considered in this article.
 31. Information obtained from Mr Stout's plan (note 27).
 32. For example, he omitted the north transept and showed two, rather than three, lancets in the upper part of the chancel's east gable.
 33. For details see B. Tyson, 'The Preservation of Sir John Lowther's Correspondence', *Trans. Cumberland and Westmorland antiq. archaeol. Soc.*, 85 (1985), 269-70.