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# GENTLEMEN'S HOUSES IN LANCASTER

Andrew White

Until the late 17th century Lancaster, although a county town with an ancient Castle where twice each year the Assizes were held, was a sleepy market town. It began to wake up in the 1680s with the opening up of Atlantic trade with the West Indies and the American colonies and was one of a small group of west-coast ports which were able to benefit from the new trade. The effects were being felt by the 1730s and prosperity increased rapidly, with a few hiccups caused by the depredations of the merchant fleet by French privateers, until the end of the century. By the 1820s development was at an end. The two local banks failed catastrophically within a few years of each other in 1822 and 1825 and many merchants moved their base of operations to Liverpool, which was much larger and far better able to cope with the adverse conditions of that period. When building recommenced in the 1840s it was on a different scale. The consequence is that Lancaster still has a very substantial number of Georgian houses and its essential flavour is still Georgian because that was the high-water mark of its prosperity.<sup>1</sup> One area in particular, that known as the Fryerage, centering on Dalton Square, represents Lancaster's only large-scale Georgian development. It was intended as a fashionable square on the London pattern.

A writer of 1820 refers to it thus:

The Friarage consists of nothing but gentlemen's houses of the most elegant construction...When complete the Friarage will be the most attractive object about Lancaster. Dalton Square...consists of a large quadrangular area, surrounded by gentlemen's houses, all built of polished freestone. A beautiful elliptical enclosure, planted with fancy trees, and encompassed with an iron palisade, occupies the centre.<sup>2</sup>

## Laying out the estate

By the 1780s two developments in particular seemed very promising. One was the imminent creation of an outport at Glasson Dock, at the mouth of the tidal river Lune, with associated drainage and reclamation of the adjacent marshes.<sup>3</sup> The other was the plan to build a new bridge over the Lune, at the county's expense, further upstream than the old. The old bridge was narrow and humpbacked, hindering access to the town from the north. Besides, it led to the equally narrow and decidedly unsalubrious Bridge Lane, which gave a poor foretaste of the town to travellers. Thomas Harrison, of Richmond, was the architect. He won a design competition in 1782 and work began in 1783.<sup>4</sup> The new bridge, which was eventually completed in 1788 at a cost of £14,000 and is now called Skerton Bridge, was expected to provide a magnificent entrance to the town, spawning new streets to the east of the existing town centre and, in particular, a spacious approach. In view of this prospect a number of local gentlemen had asked John Dalton, owner of the Fryerage lands on the eastern side of the town, for an opportunity to build on his property.<sup>5</sup> This land had once formed the precinct of the Dominican Friary<sup>6</sup> and had been in Dalton hands since shortly after the Dissolution. Its twelve acres or so had remained virtually untouched for two and a half centuries, apart from demolition of most of the conventual buildings and conversion of the rest into a house known as 'the Fryerage'. By the 1780s this part of the property was in the life tenancy of Mary Bryer of Preston.<sup>7</sup> In 1782, therefore, John Dalton (1745-1837), a Catholic landowner who lived at Thurnham Hall, an old house about five miles to the south-west of Lancaster,<sup>8</sup> decided to develop it himself.

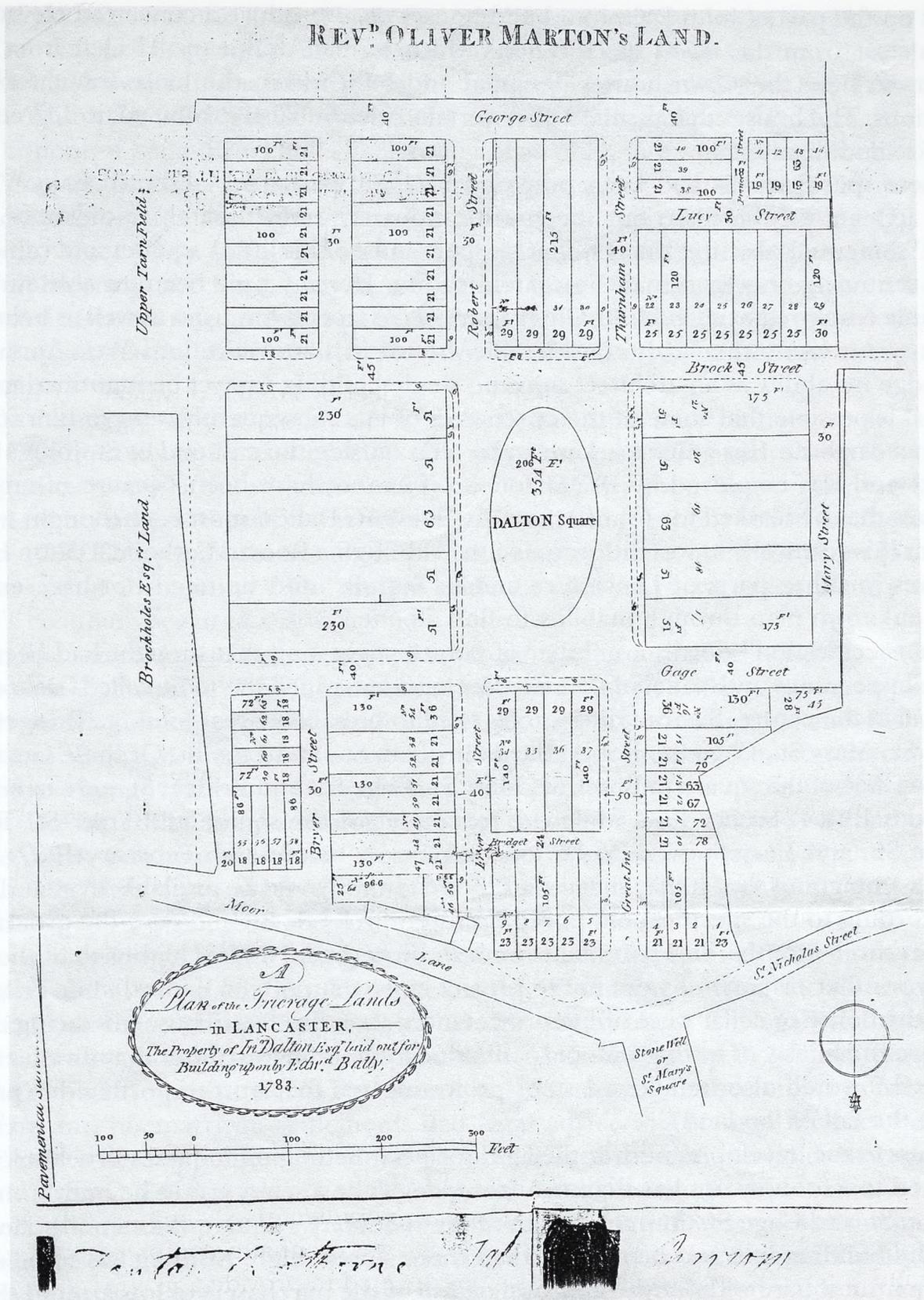


Fig. 1. Printed plan of proposed development in the Frierage (now Dalton Square) marked out in lots by Edward Batty, 1783.

John Dalton saw the financial benefit of leasing out the Fryerage lands on suitable terms, but his estate was entailed. He also had a complicated marriage settlement on his marriage with Mary Gage in 1772.<sup>9</sup> Nonetheless he took legal advice and the Fryerage lands were advertised 'on leases renewable for ever' for auction on 3rd October 1783. The handbill for this sale<sup>10</sup> refers to the plan for a square and streets, which had already been drawn up by Edward Batty, architect (Fig. 1). Copies of this plan later accompanied all leases of the property.<sup>11</sup> That there was no

intention on the part of John Dalton to build houses or to produce a concerted elevation to the Square is clear from the set of specifications which he had drawn up. He left it to individual purchasers to have their own houses designed and built within the loose framework of these specifications. The houses that resulted obey certain rules but also exhibit a fair degree of variety in their size and detailing.

These specifications had been prepared by 1783, perhaps by Edward Batty.<sup>12</sup> His name certainly appears on the plan, but the specifications are unfortunately anonymous. The title 'architect' somewhat obscures the fact that he spent most of his life as a joiner and cabinet-maker by trade, venturing only marginally into architecture. He may have been an able surveyor and was certainly employed as such by Dr. Oliver Marton of Capernwray, who as well as being Vicar of Lancaster was a landowner with considerable estates in Lancashire and West Yorkshire<sup>13</sup>; we cannot judge his ability as an architect since no single building can yet be identified as his work, although it is possible that some of the purchasers of lots subsequently went to him for designs. Batty was an Anglican (his grave marker can be seen outside the east end of St. John's church in Lancaster) and was employed by Dr. Marton, so it cannot have been because of any Catholic connections that he worked for John Dalton. At all events Dalton must have thought well of him to give him this relatively important commission. Although a Roman Catholic, Dalton had gentry connections in other parts of Lancashire and in Suffolk<sup>14</sup> and he need not have employed a relatively unknown man through inability to find a better.

The specification<sup>15</sup> details a number of points, suggesting that thought had been given to the layout, appearance and 'tone' of the new development, which was to be called 'Dalton Square', with an oval at the centre. Surrounding streets were to be called Great John St., Bridget St., Fryer St., Brock St., Mary St., Gage St., Robert St., Thurnham St., and Lucy St. Of these Great John St. and the west side of the square to Brock St., Mary St., Gage St., and Bridget St. were to be 'opened' on or before 13th February 1784 while the remainder of the square and Fryer St., Robert St., Thurnham St., and Lucy St. were to be 'opened' on or before 13th February 1787. The word 'opened' is ambiguous, but it may mean that the roadways would be available by that date.

According to the specification, purchasers were to level, cut and pave the ground of their plots within three months, and pavements were to be kerbed 6 inches higher than the roadway. Doorcases or other ornaments were not to project more than fifteen inches, while cellar flaps or steps into the house or cellar were not to project more than five feet. Those lots facing the square were to have the liberty of having rails or 'pallisadoes' extending no more than five feet from the front. Lots 1-9 would also be allowed steps projecting ten feet on the north side (presumably because of the fall of the land).

Access to the development over the land formerly belonging to James Brockholes Esq. was to be limited to a footway not less than two feet wide, while a sewer was to be built from the west side of Mary St. and Gage St. down to a main sewer at St. Mary's Square (Stonewell). Houses were to follow the building line and be not less than three storeys high. Nothing was to be erected in the centre of the square without the approval of 2/3 of the purchasers of lots around the square. The oval was to be prepared and repaired at the joint cost of these same purchasers.

All party walls and gables were to be held jointly. Walls containing chimneys were to be two feet four inches thick. Owners of adjoining lots were to share costs of common walls from six feet below to nine feet above the new ground level.

Ground rent was to be paid at the rate of one shilling a year for each yard of frontage to John Dalton on 29th September, commencing in 1784, and the highest bidder for each lot was to pay the price bid for his lot on 13th February 1784. A 41-year lease would be supplied by John Dalton to each successful bidder at that person's cost, renewable for further terms of 41 years. This curious term of 41 years seems to have been quite standard in Georgian Lancaster, though very old-fashioned by London standards.

All of the streets in the Fryerage were named after some member of the Dalton family, or from the Dominican Friary, and the names were chosen by 1783; however, some deeds have plans attached which show that it was intended in the 1790s or later to call Sidney St., 'Francis St.' and Robert St., 'Monk St.'<sup>16</sup> Bridget St. was named after Dalton's daughter, Bridget. Brock St. was named in honour of James Brockholes Esq., owner of an old house which was demolished to form access to Penny St. Bryer St. was named after Mary Bryer, tenant of the Fryerage House until 1783. Friar St. commemorates the Dominican Friary. Gage St. perpetuates the maiden name of Dalton's wife, Mary. Great John St. honoured John Dalton himself, while George St. may have been a compliment to the King. Lucy St. was named after Dalton's other daughter, Lucy. Mary St. was named after his wife, and Robert St. after his father. Sulyard St. was named after Edward Sulyard, who had married his half-sister Dorothy. Finally, Thurnham St. bears the name of the Dalton family property.

A further copy of this specification<sup>17</sup> lists all the successful bidders at the auction in October 1783, but only as far as lot no. 46. The plan, on the other hand, shows lots numbered up to 64, and many other lots without numbers, including five prime lots on the east side of the square and twenty others. Clearly it was the intention to hold another auction for these lots later, perhaps in 1787. This seems not to have happened, although many of these other lots had been sold by the end of the century.<sup>18</sup> On present evidence sales may have taken place piecemeal as Lancaster's economy began to stagnate.

The first purchasers of lots in the new square and adjacent streets probably regarded their purchases as a speculation. They included Richard and Robert Gillow (cabinet-makers), John Shaw (merchant), John Brockbank (shipbuilder), Daniel Eccleston (gent), and Richard Fisher (stone-mason). Some of them built houses on their lots but most sold on to others fairly soon. William Barrow bought four lots, three of which later became the site of the Catholic chapel and presbytery. The idea of building a church or chapel on one or more of lots 34-37 had been raised as early as 1784, but may well have been an aim of the Catholic landlord and substantially Catholic lessees right from the beginning. In fact the chapel was not built until 1798, after William Barrow, a surgeon, died and his heir subdivided the lots.<sup>19</sup>

Lots and roadways had already been staked out when there was a challenge to the legality of the leases soon after the auction. Evidence for this is contained within the subsequent Act. It seems most likely that a group of purchasers became uneasy about the legality of their title and that an action was started using as a sample case the lots bought by Dr. William Barrow.<sup>20</sup> John Dalton had to obtain a private Act of Parliament in 1784, to sort out the confusion over the entail of the estate and his marriage settlement. Bad legal advice was blamed for this embarrassing hiatus.<sup>21</sup> Trustees were appointed to receive the proceeds of the sale and hold them on behalf of his wife, children and successors. Then development could continue.

The lots were uneven in size.<sup>22</sup> The largest faced the east and west sides of the square. Then came smaller ones facing on to the north and south sides and at the corners. Finally there were all the remaining lots, away from the main frontages. These were in general both narrower and shorter, while those abutting the existing streets to north and north west were often awkwardly-shaped. Land to the east marked on the plan 'Brockholes Esq.' and 'Rev. Oliver Marton's land' was not developed until later.

When we compare the lots with subsequent maps<sup>23</sup> (Figs. 2, 3) it is clear that the initial vision fell victim to economic decline, or else the projectors had over-estimated Lancaster's stomach for property. Within three or four years large lots had been subdivided, especially where they lay side-on to streets or faced on to two separate streets. Others remained underdeveloped, such as the two blocks to the south-east of the square, now occupied by a Baptist church and War Memorial Gardens. More serious, for those intending this to be a fashionable area, were the gaps in the main frontage. The lots which should have become nos. 6 and 7 on the eastern side of

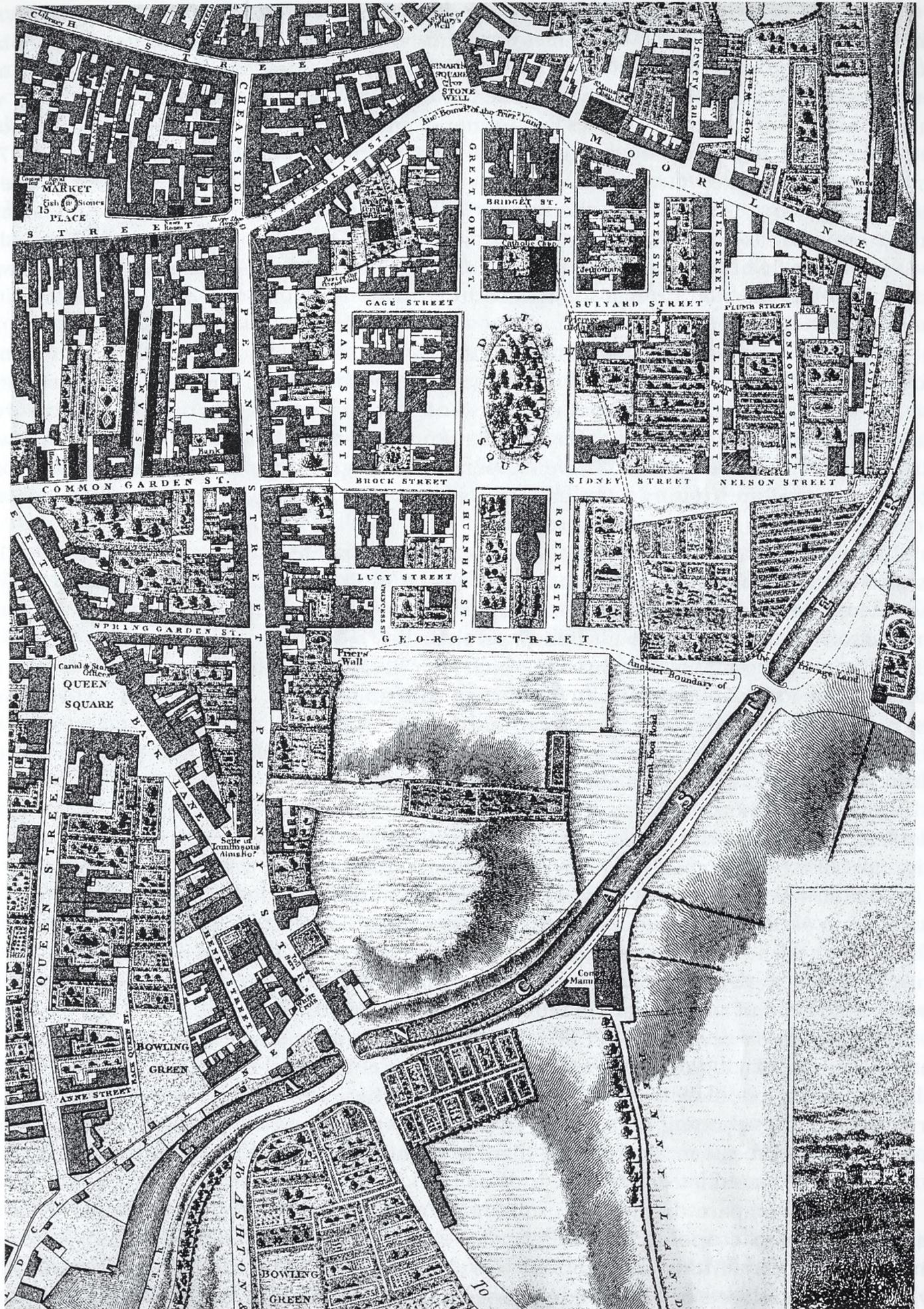


Fig. 2. Part of Jonathan Binns' map of 1821 showing Dalton Square and its surrounding streets. This map also marks the outline of the medieval precinct of the Dominican Friary, which determined the shape of the Georgian development.

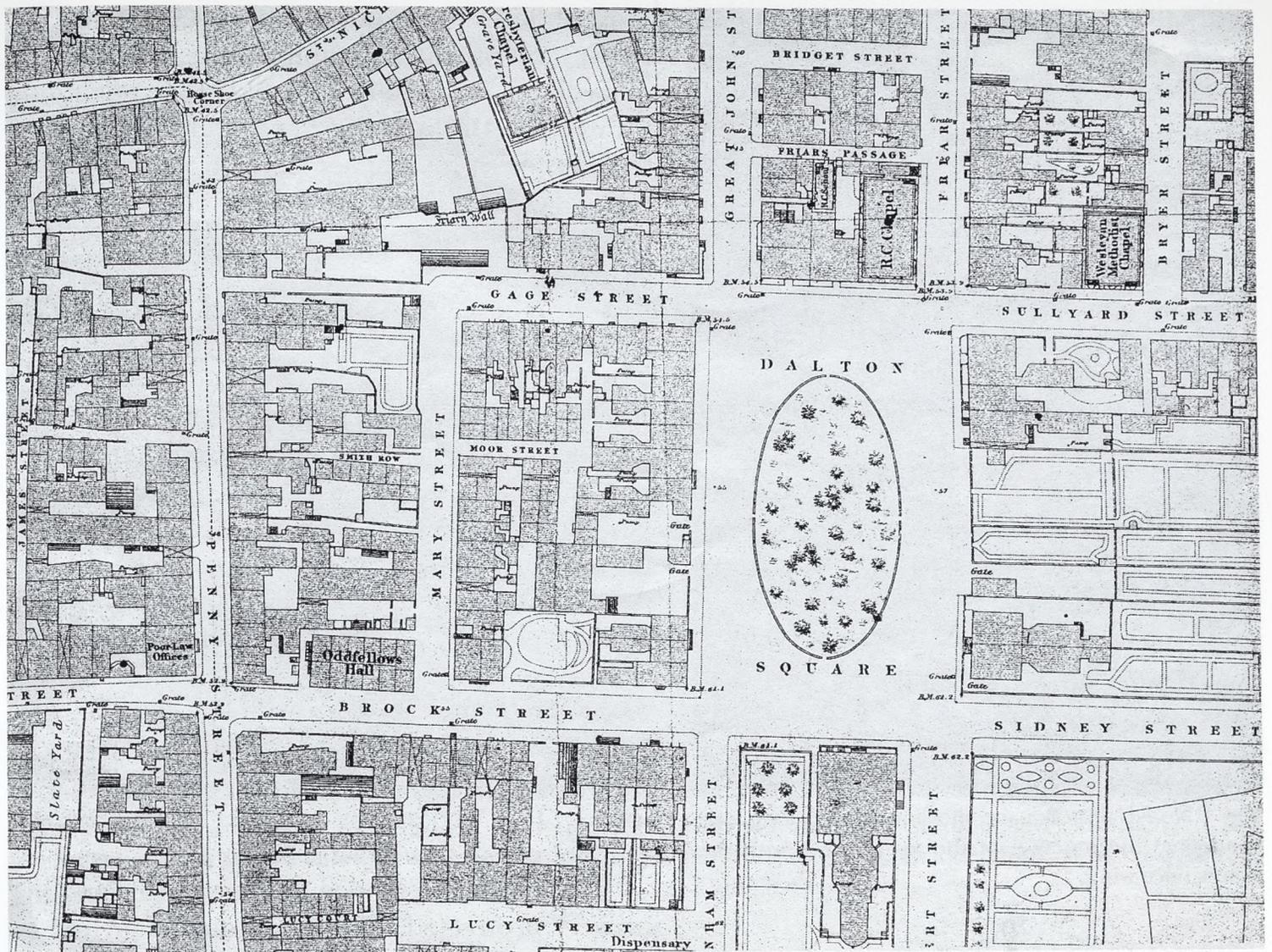


Fig. 3. Part of the 60" Ordnance Survey map of 1849, showing the still incomplete state of Dalton Square and the distinctive layout of houses with rear service wings.

Dalton Square remained empty until the 19th and 20th centuries respectively,<sup>24</sup> as did lot 20 on the western and lots 30 and 31 on the southern side.<sup>25</sup> Even some of those lots built upon were re-allocations of the original plan, perhaps because they were found to be too large.<sup>26</sup>

As well as general economic decline in Lancaster there were other causes of the failure of Dalton Square. Demand was not sufficient for the landlord to be able to maintain strict terms. The subdivision and incompleteness of building are eloquent testimony to that. More serious for the undertaking as a whole was the sale of freeholds. Some were sold at the termination of the 41 years but others were sold much sooner – in several cases at least by 1811.<sup>27</sup> This meant further loss of control over the scheme and may have been caused by the continued financial difficulties of the Dalton family.

### Purchasers and residents

The square developed unevenly. The west side was first. Christopher Bland (a cooper) had acquired lots 17 and 18 by about 1786 and built good houses on the frontage with lesser ones behind.<sup>28</sup> These now form nos. 16-21 Dalton Square and other addresses in Mary St. and Gage St. On the north side, as we have seen, Dr Barrow acquired all the lots 34-7 and, at the time of his unfortunate death in 1791, caused by falling out of an upper window of his house while trying to see the time by the town clock, had done nothing with them.<sup>29</sup> His heir, James Barrow, subdivided the four lots into twelve, created a lane across the middle (Friars' Passage) and built upon lot 37



Fig. 4. No.9 Dalton Square, showing the very long stair window at the junction of the main house with the rear service wing.

those houses now numbered 5,7,9,11 and 13 Great John St. and 1 Dalton Square.<sup>30</sup> All this was done by 1797 when he sold the remaining frontages to Dr. John Rigby, priest, who was acting as a trustee of his Roman Catholic congregation, his colleagues being Robert Gillow, Richard Worswick and John Kaye.<sup>31</sup> Within two years they had built the Catholic chapel (now known as Palatine Hall) and the presbytery next door (2 Dalton Square).<sup>32</sup>

To the south side of the square were four large lots. Two (30-31) were bought by W.van Trump Tyrill (Tyrill does not figure in local trade directories and may have been a speculator) and the other two by John Shaw (32-33).<sup>33</sup> Shaw built two very large houses on his lots before 1793 when he and his brother, both West Indies merchants, were declared bankrupt.<sup>34</sup> The houses were purchased by John Bond and Thomas Hinde, both merchants, and were numbered 10 and 11 Dalton Square. Tyrill had sold his lots to Shaw in 1791 and they became gardens for these two houses. The whole area was taken over for the building of the new Town Hall in 1909.<sup>35</sup>

On the eastern side of the square building was very protracted. The lots probably proved to

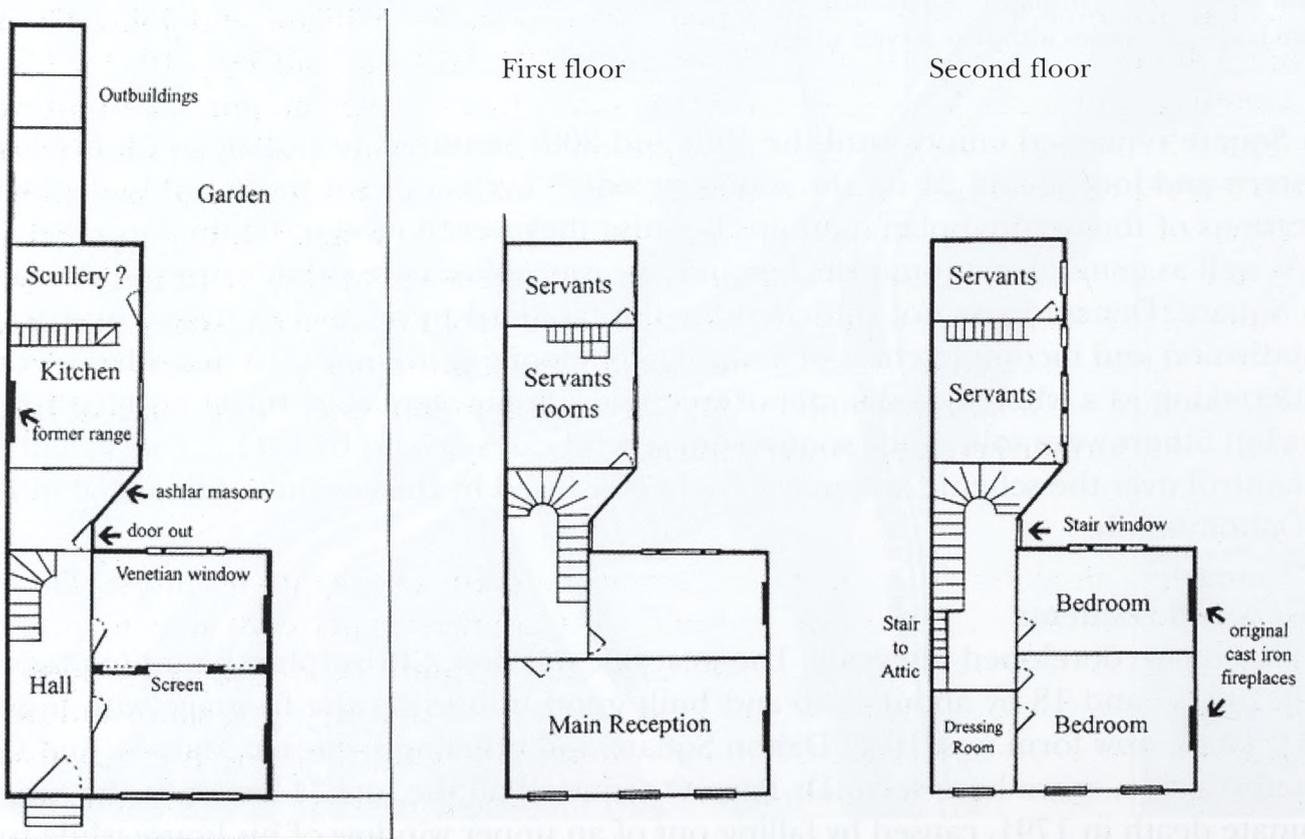


Fig. 5. Plan of no.9 Dalton Square showing the rear service wing, very long stair window and screen arrangement between the ground floor rooms.



Fig. 6. Dalton Square looking north in 1906, showing the original oval at the centre surrounded by iron railings. The levelled area in the middle of it was shortly to form the site for the statue of Queen Victoria, donated by Lord Ashton. The house furthest right on the north side was St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church.

be too large and thus unsaleable, so the boundaries were redrawn. At the southern end the two houses which are now 8 and 9 Dalton Square were built for William and John Thompson, merchants, who bought the leasehold in December 1797. William paid £227.10s for his, and a yearly ground rent of £2.2s. John paid exactly the same. In 1811 William purchased his freehold for £90.16.6.<sup>36</sup> Both houses were built at the same time, probably in 1798-9, and form a pair. As we have seen, the potential sites for nos. 6 and 7 Dalton Square lay empty and saw no building in the Georgian period. No.5 was built between 1801 and 1810 by Jacob Ridley, a merchant. He was declared bankrupt in 1810 and his house was sold by his bankers in 1812 to Dr. Campbell, MD, founder of the Lancaster Dispensary.<sup>37</sup> Little is known of no. 4 except that it seems to post-date no.3 and has been fitted in between that and no. 5.<sup>38</sup> It must date from soon after 1824. The former Borough Club (no. 3) was built in 1824, according to Jonathan Binns' map of Lancaster, on the site of the former Fryerage Coffee House.<sup>39</sup>

### Architectural features

Houses in Dalton Square conform to certain standards of height and finish. They are all of three storeys and are faced in ashlar. Even the Catholic chapel contrived to present the appearance of a house from the square, only its side elevation revealing its function. Many, however, exhibit three local idiosyncrasies. The first is the use of a very long stair window<sup>40</sup> at the rear, to light the main staircase (Fig. 4). This is a common example of northern vernacular, which can be seen in Lancashire, south Cumbria and North Yorkshire, and survived in Lancaster as late as the 1850s.<sup>41</sup> The second is a rear service wing. Because of the common survival of burgage plots in the town (and the lots in the Fryerage mirrored these in shape) there was rarely any shortage of land behind houses. Instead of building tall houses with all the services in the basement, like

London and other big cities where land was at a premium, Lancaster builders often put their services (including servants' bedrooms) into a rear wing (Fig. 5). This was usually about half the width of the house. At the junction of house and service wing would be the main stairs, lit by the long stair window, while the view to the garden from the main rear rooms was maintained by narrowing and chamfering the service wing at this point. Many Lancaster houses have a large window at the rear of the ground floor and the 'chamfer' facing this is often of the best ashlar, contrasting with the coursed rubble elsewhere. No.9 Dalton Square exhibits this feature.<sup>42</sup> This peculiarity is very marked in Lancaster and seems entirely absent in neighbouring towns, although the pattern of burgage plots is similar. The third idiosyncrasy is the provision of large internal folding doors between ground floor rooms, designed to allow the rooms to be thrown together for entertainments. Nos. 4, 5 and 9. Dalton Square have good examples of this feature, which is almost certainly associated with the social events which accompanied the Assizes twice each year.<sup>43</sup>

### Subsequent History

Dalton Square continued to be a 'good address' long after Lancaster's Georgian prosperity had become no more than a memory, and this helped to preserve it from the worst aspects of redevelopment or decline. However, there were various far-reaching changes in and around 1900 which affected it adversely (Fig. 6). The first, in about 1901, was the turning of Thurnham St. into a through road, which effectively separated the west side of the Square from the remainder.<sup>44</sup> This split continues and makes it difficult to see the square as a unity, as it was intended. The next was the demolition in 1906 of nos.10 and 11 Dalton Square to make way for the building of the Town Hall.<sup>45</sup> At the same time the railed oval in the centre of the square was given stone balustrading and became the site for a new monument to Queen Victoria.<sup>46</sup>

The Fryerage development had never consisted of just Dalton Square. It had always been intended that the streets leading to it would reflect something of the quality and style of the square. It is a great pity, therefore, that it has suffered the piecemeal demolition of a number of significant buildings, including the corner houses on Thurnham St./Brock St., Great John St./Gage St. and Sulyard St./Friar St., since they were large houses which helped to define the limits of the square. There never was a house at the corner of Robert St./Sidney St.

A worse disaster occurred when most of the houses on the west side of Great John St. and Gage St. were demolished to make way for a shopping development in 1967 – a deplorable and short-sighted move, in view of the unity of the Fryerage as a piece of Georgian town planning. The creation of a through route, noted above, and the seedy state into which many of the houses involved had sunk by the 1960s were no doubt contributory factors in the failure to see – or care about – the spoiling of this gem, but a glance at photographs of the period suggests that state of the buildings was by no means irretrievable and that it was the second-rate shop-fronts which made them appear to be in worse condition than they really were.<sup>47</sup> In any future rebuilding of this side of the St.Nicholas Arcades shopping development a restoration of these facades would be highly desirable.

Despite these mishaps Dalton Square and the rest of the Fryerage development stand today as a significant memorial to Lancaster's Georgian heyday, indicating what might have been had the prosperity continued. The remaining buildings are now generally in good heart and are appreciated for what they are, while there is a determined effort to introduce well-mannered new buildings into some of the gaps.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to staff in Legal Services, Lancaster City Council, for allowing me access to the deeds of City Council properties, to David Atkinson for the loan of deeds relating to nos. 18/19 Dalton Square, to Mr.Parkinson for those of no. 9, to Richard Hewlings for information about Edward Batty, and to Stephen Gardner for discussing no. 4 Dalton Square with me.

## NOTES

1. A.J.White, *The Buildings of Georgian Lancaster*, Centre for North West Regional Studies, University of Lancaster, Occasional Paper no.25, Lancaster, 1992, 1-3; N.R.Dalziel, 'Trade and Transition 1690-1815', in White, A.J., (ed.), *A History of Lancaster 1193-1993*, Keele, 1993, 91-144.
2. Anon, 'Beauties of the North; Lancaster', *Lonsdale Magazine*, 1, 1820 (reprinted 1989), 470.
3. *An Act to explain and amend an Act made in the 23rd year of His Late Majesty King George II for improving the navigation of the river Loyne otherwise called Lune and for building a Quay or Wharf near the town of Lancaster in the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 1772. Although the Act was dated 1772 work on building a pier at Glasson, the first stage of improvements which eventually led to the creation of a wet-dock and canal basin, did not take place until 1781-2, under the auspices of the Lancaster Port Commission.
4. Howard Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects 1600-1840*, New Haven and London, 1995, 467; *The Order of the Day; Thomas Harrison 1744-1829 and Architecture of the Greek Revival*, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, nd; *The Modest Genius; An Exhibition of Drawings and Works of Thomas Harrison*, Grosvenor Museum, Chester, 1977; *An Act for building a new Bridge, instead of the present ancient Bridge, commonly called Lancaster Bridge, at a more convenient Place over the River Loyne, near the Town of Lancaster, in the County Palatine of Lancaster*, 1782.
5. *An Act to explain and amend a Power vested in John Dalton, Esquire, to grant Leases, so far as it concerns certain Lands and Hereditaments within the Town or Precincts of Lancaster, called The Fryerage, and for the other purposes therein mentioned*, (1784)
6. White, (ed.), *op. cit.*, 1993, 38-40.
7. Act of Parliament, 1784, *cit.*, 13.
8. W.O.Roper, 'The Daltons of Thurnham', *Transactions of the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, NS 6, 1890, 97-124; E.Baines, *The History of the County Palatine of Lancashire*, 1836, IV, 542-3.
9. Act of Parliament, 1784, *cit.*, 1-8.
10. Lancaster, City Museum, LM74.121.
11. Lancaster, City Museum, LM74.69/1.
12. Colvin, *op. cit.*, 111.
13. Preston, Lancashire Record Office, DDMa (Marton of Capernwray, legal papers, uncatalogued in 1975); I am indebted to Richard Hewlings for this information. Batty's name also appears in Lancaster, Central Library, MS3706 (a valuation of property in Lancaster in 1796), as owner of a 'shop' [workshop?] and wood yard in Chapel Street. The Marton estates in Lancashire and Yorkshire are listed in a survey of 1767 [Lancaster, Central Library, MS201].
14. Roper, *op. cit.*; Baines, *op. cit.*
15. Lancaster, Central Library, MS1532.
16. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 165/1.
17. Lancaster, City Museum, LM95.29; this MS has only recently been acquired by the museum.
18. eg. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 165/1.
19. Deeds of nos.18-19 Dalton Square, in possession of Mr.D.Atkinson; R.N.Billington & J.Brownbill, *St.Peter's Lancaster, a History*, London and Edinburgh, 1910, 84-6.
20. Act of Parliament, 1784, *cit.*, 13-14.
21. Act of Parliament, 1784, *cit.*, 14-15.
22. Lancaster, City Museum, LM74.69/1.
23. eg. Jonathan Binns, *Map of the Town and Castle of Lancaster from Actual Survey taken in the year 1821*; Ordnance Survey 60" scale, 1849.
24. The empty site of no.6 was used for the single storey mess-hall of the 1st Royal Lancashire Militia in 1861 [K.Docton, *On Lancaster*, 1971, unpublished typescript in Lancaster City Museum, unpaginated], while the site of no.7 was occupied from about 1930 until 1990 by a Tourist Information Centre and subsequently by Charter House ( the Inland Revenue).
25. Lot 20 seems to have been a builder's yard and subsequently a cinema. [Ordnance Survey]. Lots 30 and 31 formed gardens for the large houses to their east and in 1906 were taken for the building of the Town Hall. [Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 158].
26. Among these were those un-numbered lots to the east of the square where five large lots became seven by shifting of internal boundaries within the block. The original proposed layout can be seen on the plan of 1783 [Lancaster, City Museum, LM74.69/1], while the actual layout appears in the deeds of 8 Dalton Square [Lancaster, City Council, Deeds, 165/1].

27. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 158, 165/11.
28. Deeds in possession of Mr.D.Atkinson.
29. Lancaster, Central Library, Anthony Hewitson, 'Memoranda' [volumes of press-cuttings of his articles], I, 198; Lancaster, City Museum, LM86.121, caricature of Dr.Barrow by John Nixon.
30. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 165/11.
31. *Idem.*
32. Billington & Brownbill, *op.cit.*, 84-6. A list of the contractors for the building of the new chapel includes Thomas Taylor, mason (£614), T.Standen (£196), Wren & Corry, joiners (£514), William Corry (£200), and Atkinson, painter (£57). Standen's occupation is not given and it is tempting to see him as the architect (he later designed the County Asylum), but it is more likely from the amount he was paid that he was functioning here as slater and plasterer. *Idem.*, 215; Holden's *Triennial Directory*, 1809.
33. Lancaster, City Museum, LM95.29.
34. Lancaster, Central Library, Hewitson, *op. cit.*, I, 200.
35. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 158.
36. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 165/1; the deeds of no.9 were kindly lent to me by Mr.Parkinson.
37. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds LRDC 141; Docton, *op. cit.*
38. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 21/2/D/24; discussions with Stephen Gardner, architect for its recent restoration.
39. Binns, *op. cit.* His map is dated 1821, although it also contains two late changes dated 1824 in the key. See also Lancaster, Central Library, Hewitson, *op. cit.*, I, 87, for the Fryerage Coffee House.
40. White, 1992, *op. cit.*, 14.
41. Very late examples can be seen at the rear of two mid-19th century Lancaster terraces, Halcyon Terrace and Belle Vue Terrace, both in Greaves Road.
42. Lancaster, City Museum, author's survey of this building while it was empty, 1992.
43. White, *op.cit.*, 1992, 1-2, 39-40.
44. This was part of a concerted series of 'improvements' by the Corporation, intended to address the rather straggling and unsatisfactory southern entrance into the town [M.Winstanley, 'The Town Transformed: 1815-1914', in White, (ed.), *op. cit.*, 1993, 173].
45. Lancaster, City Council, Deeds 158.
46. The monument is by Herbert Hampton, and was the gift of the local linoleum millionaire, Lord Ashton [S.Ashworth, *The Lino King: the Life and Times of Lord Ashton*, York, 1989].
47. White, *op.cit.*, 1992, 23.