

‘THE HOUSE THAT JOHN BUILT’:
A STUDY OF THE BUILDING OF A 17th-CENTURY
HOUSE IN CHESTER

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In 1589 Robert Whitby of Dunham-on-the-Hill, together with Richard Litler of Mouldsworth, acquired property in Watergate Street which had belonged to Edward Gee, so gaining a first foothold in the city which was to witness the rise and fall of his family.¹ A shrewd lawyer with four sons, he recognised that the galaxy of courts in Chester offered more glittering opportunities than a small village in rural Cheshire — and his ambitions were not disappointed.

The early 17th century saw him an attorney in the Exchequer and in 1602, with the support of Lord Keeper Egerton and a goodwill fee of £50 to the recorder, he was elected clerk of the Pentice, the title held by Chester's town clerk since the 15th century.² He thus became one of the most important officials in the city and was quick to set by his side Thomas, his youngest boy, who began a seven year apprenticeship under his father less than two weeks later.³ William, the eldest son, was already a practising lawyer in London, from whence he sent letters to his young brother, answering his legal queries and giving details of cases.⁴ By April 1606 Thomas Whitby had acquired sufficient expertise to be appointed clerk of the peace and in July the city granted him his freedom gratis, since he had served his father well and had close contact with the city's records.⁵ In his petition Thomas claimed to have been brought up in Chester from his cradle, perhaps a slight exaggeration, for he is known to have been born by 1586. He was possibly now about twenty-one years of age.⁶

Paid employment as clerk of the Pentice precluded neither gentlemanly status nor civic office and Robert Whitby progressed steadily through the cursus honorum. He was elected sheriff for 1607-8, although he had not served as leavelooker (leader of the common councilmen), the normal prerequisite, but the customary fine was waived.⁷ Just before his year of office was at an end, while

All documentary references are to material in Chester City Record Office unless otherwise specified.

¹ Flints. R.O., D/GG/4, 26 Sept. 1589.

² AB/1, ff. 272, 280d.; 3 *Sheaf*, xxx, no. 6639.

³ 3 *Sheaf*, vii, no. 1488.

⁴ P.R.O., CHES 38/48.

⁵ *Ibid.*, AB/1, f. 294d.

⁶ AF/7/8.

⁷ AB/1, f. 303d.

still in position to exert maximum influence, he resigned as clerk of the Pentice, but only in order to request an immediate reappointment, jointly with his son. Thomas Whitby had now served six years and five months of his apprenticeship and this, combined with his good conduct and a letter of support from Lord Ellesmere, inclined the assembly to agree. Father and son were appointed clerks of the Pentice for their lives and also granted the clerkship of the courts of Crownmote, Portmote, sessions of the peace and county court within the city, together with all the customary profits and duties of office, except those due to the recorder. The right to remove them from office for any notorious offence or misdemeanour was, however, reserved.⁸

The pair continued to move smoothly on and upwards, Thomas being elected common councilman on 1st June 1610, Robert chosen alderman on the 29th.⁹ Two years later they reached the top of the corporation tree, for October 1612 saw the election of Robert as mayor with Thomas appointed to serve as one of the two sheriffs. Like his father before him, Thomas had failed to hold the office of leavelooker but his fine too was remitted because of the 'good respecte and love' which the assembly bore towards him.¹⁰ The family's power and influence was now almost at its height although one important bastion of privilege remained in other hands — the recordership. But Thomas Gamul, the then incumbent, most conveniently died during the Whitbys' year of office, on 11th August 1613, at four o'clock in the morning. The mayor did not have to ponder long to discover a replacement for was not Edward, his second son, already 'learned in the laws' and eminently suitable in every way? Two days later Edward was duly appointed, having been elected a freeman and alderman at the same session of the assembly.¹¹

The family now appeared to hold an unassailable position at the summit of the civic hierarchy, a position of dominance reinforced by advantageous marriages.

In 1607 for example, Robert's daughter Anne became the second wife of the alderman, William Aldersey junior, while Thomas married Sarah, eldest daughter and co-heiress of the gentleman Thomas Handley of Boughton, perhaps around 1610.¹² Wealth as well as influence came their way, and some of it was spent on property. The manor of Bache, just north of Chester, was purchased from the Chantrells in 1606. From them too may have come some property in the Northgate ward of the city, where Robert Whitby is recorded as living in 1609. By 1612 he also had a house on the east side of Bridge Street, north of St. Michael's church, where he seems to have kept his mayoralty.¹³

Clearly he could afford to be generous to his youngest son and accordingly

⁸ AB/1, ff. 304(i)d.-304(ii).

⁹ Ibid. ff. 310-310d.

¹⁰ Ibid., f. 320d.

¹¹ Ibid., f. 326d.

¹² *Marriage Licences Granted Within the Archdeaconry of Chester, 1606-16*, ed. W. F. Irvine, R.S.L.C., liii (1907), 17; *Ches. and Lancs. Funeral Certificates*, ed. J. P. Rylands, R.S.L.C. vi (1882), 184.

¹³ AB/1, f. 308; QRJ/1/13; QSF/61/6; 3 *Sheaf*, vi, no. 1026.

gave him three tenements, two in Northgate Street and a third in Parson's Lane, the present Princess Street, which leads into Northgate Street opposite the Abbey Gateway. This gift was made c.1610-1, possibly when Thomas Whitby became a common councillor or perhaps on the occasion of his marriage.

None of this property was in good condition and the new owner soon embarked on a programme of renovation and repair, initially attempting to patch up the old houses but ultimately opting instead for a total reconstruction. His training and position led him to keep a careful record of the expenditure he incurred and the notebook in which he wrote up these accounts has most fortunately survived. Records of building town houses in this period are rare and this Chester example is thus of considerable interest. Its value is increased, however, by the fact that it includes not one but two such accounts, close together in time and space, but far apart in status and design.¹⁴

The house in Northgate Street was built for Whitby's own occupation and at a time when he and his family were reaching the apogee of their power and influence in the city. The first deliveries of bricks and stones arrived on the site in December 1612, when he was some two months into his year of office. The new dwelling was possibly ready for occupation by the end of the following summer, thus providing a suitably impressive setting for the final weeks of his shrievalty and for the aldermanic status which would ultimately follow. As such it doubtless represented the most advanced and ambitious architectural trends and techniques currently available in Chester. It cost, with some of its furnishings, in the region of £300 and was intended to dazzle and impress.¹⁵

This outlay perhaps led to a temporary neglect of the tenement in Parson's Lane which Whitby had attempted to repair in the autumn of 1612, putting on a new roof and mending some of the internal walls. In February 1617, however, he acknowledged that it had been 'unsufficientlie erected and builte' in the first place so it too was taken down and three new bays of building set up in its stead. This house was not a prestige dwelling for an aldermanic family but a speculative venture, designed to be leased out to tenants and thus representative of the more typical accommodation on offer in the city.¹⁶

At this time the Whitby family were still riding high. In April 1616 Edward had married Alice Gamul, daughter of Richard Bavand and widow of his predecessor in the recordership and in September Thomas had been elected alderman.¹⁷

It was impossible, of course, to climb so high without incurring enmity and their meteoric rise had indeed earned the Whitbys powerful foes. One faction grouped around Hugh Davenport, another lawyer, whose expectations of gaining

¹⁴ P.R.O., CHES 38/28/6. For details see below.

¹⁵ An almost exactly contemporary house built in the market place at King's Lynn (Norf.) cost £168 11s. 1d.: V. Parker, *Making of King's Lynn* (1971).

¹⁶ See below.

¹⁷ AB/1, f. 334; R.S.L.C. liii. 17.

the recordship were frustrated by the mayor.¹⁸ The controversy aroused spread beyond the city and led to the appearance of a messenger from the royal Exchequer at Chester's quarter sessions in September 1613. This man had spoken ill of Robert Whitby, calling him 'Balaam' and 'Balaam's Ass' and maintaining that his son was 'fitter to dryve a cart than be a recorder.'¹⁹

Another hostile grouping was perhaps led by Robert Brerewood who was among the instigators of the attack on the Whitbys which finally came in June 1618. Their holding of civic office in addition to their paid position as clerks of the Pentice contributed to their downfall, but the Whitbys were also accused of practising extortion and of committing offences against the law in the execution of their duties.²⁰ The lack of any recognised table of the fees belonging to their office facilitated such misdemeanours. The assembly had ordered one to be drawn up at the start of Robert Whitby's clerkship and these orders were renewed in 1618 when the new clerk took over, but it was not until August 1621 that the table was finally set up in the Pentice. The new clerk was, incidentally, Robert Brerewood, and four days later Hugh Davenport was elected alderman.²¹

Edward Whitby survived the upheaval surrounding the dismissal of his father and younger brother, in spite of trying to obtain a fair hearing of their case from the king himself.²² But the following May an attempt was made to remove him as well and feelings again ran high, with much 'abusyve and disorderlie cariage' on all sides. Tempers were still short in August and a stormy meeting of the assembly resulted in William Aldersey, Whitby's son-in-law, being confined to his house and John Leech, son-in-law of William Aldersey senior, actually imprisoned in the Northgate.²³ But Edward Whitby managed to clear himself and remained in office as recorder until his death in 1639.

His younger brother was less fortunate. His dismissal from office led to his involvement in a Star Chamber case concerning the clerkship of the Pentice and he was also pursued, together with Peter Drinkwater his fellow sheriff, for repayment of money owing from their shrievalty. A cause between him and Robert Brerewood was also pending.²⁴ These public trials were exacerbated by private troubles. The daughter whose baptism was recorded in his diary in May 1619 does not appear to have survived and his wife too must have died soon afterwards.

¹⁸ CR 469/542. This account in the Chester annals reveals that Edward Whitby was not even present in the city when his appointment was forced through.

¹⁹ QSF/61/131. Balaam and his ass figured in *Balak and Balaam*, a play found only in the Chester mystery cycle, last performed in 1575.

²⁰ AB/1, ff. 343d.-344.

²¹ Ibid., ff. 280d., 344, 345d., 355d.

²² *Calendar of Chester City Council Minutes, 1603-42*, ed. M. Groombridge, R.S.L.C. cvi (1956), 89, n.1.

²³ AB/1, f. 349d. More details of the attempt to dismiss Edward Whitby are contained in Thomas Whitby's diary (CR 374/1) and in a letter to the recorder from Robert Whitby (P.R.O., CHES 38/48) which shows Gamul and Davenport leading the attack while Thomas Whitby and John Ratcliffe were 'somewhat peremptory' with the mayor (Sir Randle Mainwaring) and Davenport.

²⁴ P.R.O., CHES 38/48; AB/1, ff. 355, 359, 372.

Thomas Whitby was also heavily in debt, owing at least £830 to various friends and relations. Small wonder that he withdrew from the city c.1620, retiring to Boughton where he spent the last few years of his life, dying there on 4th January, 1624.²⁵

Very different must have been the hopes and expectations of the young sheriff in the late autumn of 1612 when he made an agreement with John Garratt, the master carpenter charged with the overall design and construction of his new house.

Few 17th-century houses were built of brick or stone, even in London, and Garratt's appointment reveals that Whitby's home too was to be a timber-framed structure.²⁶ It was, however, set on solid new foundations of stone (and perhaps brick) and the first entries in the account refer to the materials used for this purpose. 200 ashlar were purchased from Hugh Gill of Northgate Street and then dressed and placed in position as 'basting' by William Wyan, the city mason.

Temporary blocks were often used to support a timber frame until after completion but here the stone plinth designed to keep the sill beam from the ground was apparently put in place at a very early stage.²⁷ 'Basting' may be a local dialectal word, used in Cheshire since the medieval period. In 1442 Lord Grey of Ruthin sold the timber from some houses in the manor of Rushton to William Troutbeck 'as well as all the heling of the said houses and all the basting stone under the said timber.'²⁸ The ashlar used in the foundations of the Northgate Street house may have been similar to those recently excavated in Goss Street. These were made of the soft local red sandstone and measured some 60-70 cm. in length and c.30 cm. in square section.

Another local term, 'timber trees', is used in the document, apparently to indicate the unsquared trunks as they came from the wood to the saw-pit. Lengths of 18-20 feet seem to have been fairly standard in early 17th-century Cheshire while 'flitches' of timber could measure 15 feet.²⁹ Upwards of 25 'timber trees' were perhaps used in the Northgate Street house, some costing in excess of £1 apiece. The less expensive timbers, of smaller scantlings, were possibly used for the rafters and in the outbuildings. There is no indication in the document of the actual dimensions of Whitby's house but entries in the treasurers' accounts from 1614 onwards show him regularly paying rent for five posts on the city's land. The building was evidently jettied over the pavement and perhaps had two gable ends fronting the street.³⁰ Two old houses had previously stood on the site and it is likely that the new building occupied both plots.

Quantities of brick were also utilised in the construction, 1,500 arriving in

²⁵ CR 374/1; Ches. R.O., WS 1639 Whitby; R.S.L.C. vi. 184.

²⁶ J. Schofield, *Building of London* (1984), 169.

²⁷ R. Harris, *Discovering Timber-Framed Buildings* (1979), 16-17.

²⁸ 3 *Sheaf*, xxx, nos. 6556, 6571.

²⁹ CR 469/542 includes a fragmentary timber account of 1604.

³⁰ e.g. TAR/2/32, 35, 38, 40. In 1603/4 William Cotgrave paid rent for '5 posts with 2 fronts': *ibid.*, 2/23.

December 1612, listed alongside the 200 ashlar. They may have been needed for the foundations or perhaps work on the chimneys in the ground floor rooms commenced at an early stage in the proceedings. 3,000 bricks were required to build the kitchen chimney on the Parson's Lane house and in excess of eight times that amount were purchased for Northgate Street. Six chimneys are mentioned in the document, apparently constructed in two separate sessions: payment for those in the kitchen, hall and dining chamber being made between February and May and for the remaining three — in the parlour and two in the rooms above — between 5th and 22nd June. Stone mantletrees were purchased for those in the ground floor rooms and two were provided with stone 'cornish'. The end result may have been similar to the fine 17th-century chimney piece still in situ in the Pied Bull in Northgate Street.

The spaces between the timbers were filled with wattle and daub and there are frequent references to the rods, windings, hair, clay and water needed for this purpose. Laths and lath nails are also mentioned, so perhaps some of the panels were tall and narrow and filled with horizontal lengths of oak lath instead. Lime was regularly purchased but the standard limewash finish was not good enough for all parts of this house and later many of the internal walls were panelled with wainscot boards or embellished with decorative plaster work. Some of the ceilings may have been similarly adorned. The plasterer William Smith carried out this work, together with a fellow craftsman, and they were paid 2½d. per yard. Smith also undertook the less skilled tasks of daubing and whiteliming, for which he received a daily wage. His team of two men and a boy assisted him in these more routine jobs.

William Butler was paid £8 10s. for slating the house and the associated out-buildings. The slates were probably of stone, in the form of flags or tiles. He no doubt also roofed the lantern, the wooden turret set round with windows on all sides which provided additional lighting for the interior.

On the roof three iron 'fanies' were placed, of which the most splendid was painted. Weather vanes served utilitarian purposes but they also had considerable decorative value. At Hampton Court there were nine on each of the three stair turrets, gilded and painted with the royal coats of arms, and a further sixteen on the battlements.³¹ The Whitby family had their own coat of arms and perhaps this was painted on the main vane which was possibly set up on top of the lantern. Further opportunities for display were provided by the 'cartooses', decorative elements which could take a scroll-like form and which were often placed under the eaves. Three were made for Whitby, all of them brightly coloured.

Love of display was strong in Chester and coats of arms a familiar feature of gatehouses and windows.³² Inventory after inventory also records them as prominently exhibited in the major reception rooms of aldermanic interiors. Rows

³¹ L. F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540* (2nd edn., 1967), 235-6.

³² e.g. 3 *Sheaf* xiii, nos. 3170, 3190.

of escutcheons decked the parlour of William Aldersey the elder and the hall of Thomas Harvey. There were four in the great chamber of John Ratcliffe as well as two coats of arms, seven pictures and a map. Similar items adorned the walls of his parlour and dining chamber. Men who had served as mayor continued to exhibit the table and frame which had held the city's sword and mace.³³ The Whitby family would no doubt have joined in this ostentatious self-advertisement with enthusiasm. In his will the status-conscious Robert Whitby asked to be buried 'in decent manner according to my estate wherein I have lived, neither prodigally nor too sparingly.' His widow too was to be provided with a house 'as shall bee fitting for her sorte and degree'.³⁴

An impressive amount of glass was used in the Northgate Street house, some 500 square feet in all, sufficient to furnish 50 windows each measuring five feet by two. Perhaps some were larger. Payment for 31 iron casements is recorded and for the repair of another. The main living rooms probably contained the largest quantities of glass, as was certainly the case in the house of William Leicester in Bridge Street. His parlour was furnished with 54 feet of glass, his street chamber with 58 feet and his hall with 80 feet. All the glass in the house of John Ratcliffe was estimated at c.436 feet. Both these men had held the mayoralty and their homes doubtless reflected their status, so young Thomas Whitby was more than keeping up with the aldermanic Joneses when he built his house at the start of his term as sheriff.³⁵

The building account does not systematically name each room, mentioning only those furnished with chimney pieces (hall, dining chamber, kitchen, parlour and two chambers above) or serving a particular functional purpose (cellar, milkhouse, closet, house of office, i.e. latrine). Clearly there were other rooms, not specifically itemised. There was also a court, a garden and a backside.

Most expenditure was lavished on the reception rooms, with the dining chamber perhaps singled out as worthy of particular *éclat*. Sumptuous dinners were an important element in the social calendar and entertainment of fellow dignitaries another means of display. 69 yards of wainscot panelling lined the walls of this room and there were also 14 yards of seating.

Here perhaps was placed the fine drawing table specifically purchased in London and the set of silver plate. The amount of panelling suggests that Whitby's dining chamber was larger than the average reception room. The hall of Henry Mainwaring, who lived in Watergate Street, contained only 40½ yards of wainscot, and that of Christopher Chaloner, another wealthy inhabitant of the same street, only 37½ yards.³⁶ Whitby's dining chamber also contained two wooden pilasters which perhaps framed the chimney piece, the central feature of the room. This, like those in the parlour and hall, was painted in glowing colours by Randle

³³ Ches. R.O., WS 1614 Harvey; 1616 Aldersey; 1617 Leycester; 1621 Throppe; 1633 Ratcliffe.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, WS 1633 Whitby.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, WS 1617 Leycester; 1633 Ratcliffe. These measurements are square.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, WS 1610 Mainwaring; 1614 Chaloner.

Holme, herald painter, a highly respected figure whose work was much in demand. He had recently undertaken a commission to draw the city's arms upon the flag and was evidently in great vogue.³⁷

The expensive furnishings and plate brought into the house are listed separately. They included six beds — a best bed, two fair beds with testers, one panelled bed and two canopy beds — three court cupboards with their cloths, a drawing table and evidently one particularly fine chair furnished with silk and damask cushions. Wrought satin, silk and lace were purchased and there was an array of gilt and silver plate. The stage on which the young sheriff hoped to strut and swagger was finally set.

But Thomas Whitby was not to enjoy his fine new home for long, dishonour and disaster overtaking him less than five years later. A sick and broken man, heavily in debt to many of his kin, he retired to Boughton where he received letters full of biblical quotations from John Ratcliffe, urging him to stand fast in his afflictions.³⁸ He died a few years later, in January 1624, and in his will he left his messuages and lands in Northgate Street to his executors, for them to dispose of at their discretion to help repay his debts.³⁹ They evidently decided that the best returns could be obtained by leasing the property, which they regularly managed to do.

In 1637 Sir Percy Herbert was the new tenant, taking over from Dr. Bispham. A schedule of the standing goods in the property, originally attached to his lease, has most fortunately survived, and provides additional information as to the scale and internal arrangement of the house.⁴⁰ Some of the furnishings and silver plate evidently went with Whitby to Boughton but much else remained *in situ*, as was customary in Chester, and is still recognisable a quarter of a century on.

The dining chamber, wainscotted and fully glazed, with its large drawing table, fair court cupboard and iron grate in the chimney, is readily identifiable. Also familiar is the lodging chamber over the parlour, furnished with carved bedstead, court cupboard and chimney piece. But more details emerge of other rooms and features. The lantern, for example, was panelled with wainscot boards and contained seven casements and a staircase too. Was this designed to give access to the upper-floor levels or was it merely for show and pleasure, intended as a vantage point from which to overlook the neighbours? Such towers and turrets had come into fashion in London in the second half of the 16th century and were much disapproved of by Stow who was delighted when one owner was stricken with gout and no longer able to negotiate the stairs.⁴¹

The numbers of chambers and service rooms appear more clearly from the schedule than from the building account. There were at least nine chambers,

³⁷ TAR/2/26.

³⁸ P.R.O., CHES 38/48.

³⁹ Ches. R.O., WS 1639 Whitby.

⁴⁰ P.R.O., CHES 38/48.

⁴¹ J. Stow, *Survey of London* (1956 edn.), 121, 137.

including one on a second storey under the eaves. The provision of buttery, cellar, larder, milk house, kitchen and separate pastry kitchen attest the scale of hospitality envisaged for the household while the mention of the yard with its penthouse, latrine, stable and the garden complete with henhouse indicate something of the exterior arrangements.

Locks and keys for interior doors are thought to be uncommon before the end of the 17th century so the numbers found in the house are impressive.⁴² Also impressive was the scale of the glazing and the destination of some of the 500 square feet of glass can be determined: two panes of glass in the casement of the study, for example, three glass windows in the pastry kitchen and seven casements in the lantern.

The one room which is specifically described as being unglazed was that used for drying clothes. It was boarded with the deal boards which Thomas Whitby had purchased from John Stratford of London.

Deal was an imported soft wood and evidently not easily obtainable in Chester. The vast majority of the timber used in building the house, however, was probably oak and readily available in the locality. The building account refers to timber from Boughton or purchased from the saddler Thomas Willcocke and from William Rosingreave of Warton [Waverton]. The latter regularly supplied building materials to the city and the treasurers' accounts record payments to him for waggonloads of windings and for timber trees used for repair work on the Roodee. Occasionally these are specified as coming from Hatton Wood. In 1614/15 one such tree cost £1 10s., a price which included carriage.⁴³ Rosingreave was a 'gentleman', however, and known to Whitby's father-in-law. Such sales were one way of exploiting the resources of his estate and in no way detrimental to his status.⁴⁴

The saddler Thomas Willcocke appears to have been his partner and was handily placed to oversee the transfer of timber from Hatton to Chester for he lived in Foregate Street. In 1613/14 both men were prosecuted for placing seven timber trees in this street, a nuisance for which each was fined 2s. They had a saw-pit there as well, which also annoyed the neighbours. This was the location, perhaps, where some of the timbers used in Whitby's house were converted into beams.⁴⁵

Other timber, however, was carried to the Northgate Street site from Dee Bridge and had possibly come from Wales. The glover Robert Brerewood had incurred the wrath of the Company of Joiners, Carvers and Turners by purchasing timber there at the turn of the century and small parcels of waste ground below St. John's

⁴² H. Forrester, *Timber-Framed Houses of Essex* (3rd edn., 1976), 45-6.

⁴³ TAR/2/31. See also *ibid.*, 2/23.

⁴⁴ 3 *Sheaf*, xiii, no. 3036.

⁴⁵ MB/30/36; QRJ/1/10; QSF/62/42.

were used to store timber in the 1630's.⁴⁶ Supplies continued to be shipped into the city from Wales in the 18th century, some of it floating down the river on rafts, and the 'almost exhaustless woods of Wales' were still being vaunted in 19th-century newspapers. But Cheshire oak trees were also famous, especially for their great size.⁴⁷ Thomas Whitby would have experienced no difficulty in obtaining suitable timbers for his house.

Stone for the foundations, cellar and chimneys was almost certainly the soft red sandstone of the area. Hugh Gill supplied much of it and as he lived beyond the Northgate near the quarry it may be thought that it came from there. But payment was also made for the carriage of ashlar from Dee Bridge which suggests that they may have come from the quarry below St. John's churchyard or from beyond the river in Handbridge. The inventory of Richard Bavand lists slates and limestone at the waterside, however, so the possibility that imported stone was used remains.⁴⁸

The bricks were doubtless of local manufacture, made from the clay of the district. As the use of brick in building became more widespread many claypits were dug near the roads in and around the city, creating hazards for pedestrians and wheeled traffic.

The area around Gorse Stacks was an early focus of this activity but later the industry came to be centred in Hough Green, south of the river. Thomas Knee, supplier of several consignments of brick for Whitby's house, was living in Wolf Lane (perhaps near Wolf-gate, later known as Newgate) in the 1630s, and applied for permission to sink a pit to make bricks next to his home.⁴⁹

Thomas Whitby purchased some of his raw materials directly from his building craftsmen. John Garratt found a considerable quantity of the timber and Hugh Gill much of the stone. William Butler provided the pins needed to fix the slates in place and William Smith the rods for the infill panels and also the mysterious 'crispes' whose purpose has not yet been ascertained. These master craftsmen were in effect acting as artisan retailers but it is unlikely that they dealt in such commodities on a large scale, their dealings necessarily restricted by lack of capital. It was the wealthy gentlemen and aldermen of Chester who were able to control the market and their inventories reveal that many of them dabbled in timber and stone to a greater or lesser degree. To them the smaller tradesmen had to turn.

The glazier John Walker, for example, purchased a chest of glass from William Powell, gentleman, one of the procurators of the consistory court of Chester.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ D. M. Woodward, 'Chester Leather Industry, 1558-1625', *T.H.S.L.C.* cxix (1968), 65-111; D. M. Woodward, 'Robert Brerewood: An Elizabethan Master Craftsman', *Cheshire Round*, ix (1968), 311-12; AB/2, f. 31.

⁴⁷ AF/56; E. Willshaw, 'Inns of Chester, 1775-1832' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Leicester University, 1979), 36.

⁴⁸ Ches. R.O., WS 1603 Bavand.

⁴⁹ AB/2, ff. 1, 21, 41d., 54d.; AF/15/36.

⁵⁰ MB/30/72.

John Garratt and John Booth, the carpenters who worked side by side on the Northgate Street house, both owed money for timber to Raph Finchett, operator of the Walk Mills on the Dee. Several joiners were also in his debt and his inventory lists boards, spars, laths, planks and pieces of ash in front of his house in Foregate Street.⁵¹ The inclusion of joiners among Finchett's debtors proves that their company was fighting a losing battle in its attempt to control the supply of timber to the city. The quarter sessions files contain numerous references to aldermen presented for timber lying about the city in inconvenient places: Mr. Recorder in Claverton Lane (Duke Street) and Mr. Aldersey in Watergate Street for example.⁵² Inventories too demonstrate the extent of their involvement. Robert Brerewood's stock of timber was worth £112 6s. 1d. and several timbermen were in his debt. John Aldersey had 16 pieces of timber and bough wood at St. Martin's Ash, William Aldersey a courtyard filled with deal boards, half-inch boards, one-inch boards and also ten fir poles each valued at 6s. 8d. John Leech's timber, at Mollington and 'about the city', included redwood worth £30 and deal boards held in partnership with Mr. William Edwards.⁵³ Thomas Whitby purchased some of his materials from such men: two flitches of timber from 'Brother Aldersey', for example, and one rood of boards from 'Cousin Finchett'. He also obtained stone from the alderman Edward Button and nails from Peter Drinkwater, his fellow sheriff. Many of these suppliers were within his kinship network and social relationships evidently influenced his choice. Drinkwater also acted for him in London, purchasing the fine new drawing table and court cupboard.

The supplying of raw materials was apparently an economic activity open to women, presumably the wealthy widows of aldermen. Mrs. Golborne sold Whitby some bricks and Mrs. Birkenhead supplied five roods of boards. Particularly energetic was Ellen Piers who provided the lead for the windows, gutters and spout of the new 'dormante.' She also furnished the lead for work done at the Pentice, Common Hall and Northgate at this time and seems to have operated something of a monopoly, her name and lead sufficiently synonymous for the records to refer to her as Ellen Plummer on several occasions.⁵⁴ The role of poorer women was confined to preparing meals for labourers and carrying water.

A close examination of the craftsmen employed by Whitby to build his house reveals that their selection was not entirely arbitrary. Obviously he could be expected to look first for experienced men of proven skills. But John Garratt, his principal craftsman, was still relatively young, having been elected freeman via apprenticeship as recently as 1609 and awarded a portion of Robert Offley's legacy in 1612. This award, intended to help young freemen set up in business on their own, indicates that he was then at least twenty-four years old but probably not a

⁵¹ Ches. R.O., WS 1612 Finchett.

⁵² QSF/60.

⁵³ CR 63/1/47; Ches. R.O., WS 1602 Brerewood; 1625 Aldersey; 1641 Leech.

⁵⁴ e.g. TAR/2/33, 37, 39.

great deal more. He had evidently proved his competence, however, and he it was who was chosen by the city to make the new 'dormante' for the Common Hall in the same year.⁵⁵ His youth perhaps commended him to Whitby, himself still in his twenties, and he was possibly more open to new ideas than were the older men.

William Butler, on the other hand, had been undertaking civic contracts for many years and by 1612 was nearing the end of his life. His skills were still in demand, however, and he it was who was employed to slate the roof of the Common Hall.⁵⁶ John Walker was another established craftsman, alderman of his company in 1611-12 and with sons old enough to register as apprentices under his tutelage. He acted as the city glazier, paid on an annual basis for repairing the windows in the Pentice and Common Hall.⁵⁷ Another city appointee, the mason William Wyan, was Whitby's choice to execute the necessary stonework on his new house. He was responsible for the foundations, the chimneys, the cellar and the flagging in the court, kitchen and hall. Perhaps this caused him to neglect his official duties for in July 1613, when he petitioned for the payment of his annual stipend of 26s. 8d. plus the accustomed livery coat, he was refused, the assembly maintaining that he had been discharged from his post since he had never seemed to do any work.⁵⁸ After this he disappears from the records and Whitby employed the new city mason, Randle Hall, when building the house in Parson's Lane.

For other men, their involvement in the construction of the Northgate Street house proved more advantageous and some may have owed subsequent civic employment to the influential young clerk of the Pentice. Hugh Gill, to whom Whitby had regularly turned for stone and for paving work, was appointed city paver in 1615 and held the position until the early 1620s. William Tapley carried out plastering work in the Pentice in 1614 and 1615, in the same year the smith Richard Stockton provided a new beam for the Common Hall.⁵⁹

But these men were not the only craftsmen who carried out work for the corporation and an additional consideration apparently governed Whitby's choice. This further determinant seems to have been the locality in which they lived. Where this can be discovered, it proves to be in the vicinity of Northgate Street too often to be mere coincidence.

Hugh Gill lived just beyond the Northgate, on the west side of the street, a tenant of Edward Dutton the innholder. A little to the south, just within the walls, stood the shop in the row newly erected by William Catterowe, who lived round the corner in Barn Lane, the present King Street. Nearby was the dwelling house and smithy of Richard Stockton, possibly the same premises as those

⁵⁵ Ibid., 2/25, 28; AB/1, f. 320d.

⁵⁶ TAR 2/24, 28.

⁵⁷ G 17/1.

⁵⁸ AB/1, f. 324d.

⁵⁹ AB/1, f. 334; AB/2, f. 18; TAR/2/31.

formerly occupied by his father. The plasterer William Tapley lived in Parson's Lane with the carpenter James Hamlin a near neighbour. John James, John Booth, Nicholas Bannister and Thomas Field all lived in Northgate Street, either within the gate or just beyond. Erasmus Price, who provided meat and drink for the labourers who carried away rubbish, may actually have lived next to the site of the new house and would ultimately become Whitby's neighbour.⁶⁰

The home of William Butler was further away. It had been left to the city by Alderman Thomas Greene and stood next to the Eastgate on the north side of the street. But it belonged to St. Oswald's parish like most of Northgate Street, and the slater was doubtless known to Whitby as a fellow parishioner.⁶¹ Another familiar figure was the baker John Ashton, responsible for the carriage of many of the building materials to the site. He also lived in the same parish, although further out, at Boughton. This was a convenient location for carters and men who transported goods into Chester are recorded as living there in the medieval period.⁶² As Whitby's wife came from Boughton and he himself purchased further property there Ashton was almost certainly a personal acquaintance. *En route* from that suburb to the city Whitby would have habitually passed the house of the joiner William ap Hughe, which was located in Foregate Street.⁶³

It thus seems probable that Whitby opted for craftsmen who lived in the same ward or parish as himself and that his first loyalties lay with his own particular area. Even a small and compact city like Chester thus appears to have comprised a series of urban 'villages', each the focus of the allegiance and affection of its inhabitants. The young sheriff and clerk of the Pentice would have had a wide circle of contacts but he apparently turned first to his own folk wherever possible. Failing them he perhaps looked to men known to his father, like the carpenter John Garratt who lived in St. Michael's ward, for which Robert Whitby regularly served as alderman.⁶⁴

Only one master craftsman who did not live and work in Chester was employed in the Northgate Street house, the joiner Robert Hood who made the wainscot panelling and much of the furniture and fittings. He came from Nantwich, a town some twenty miles distant, and Whitby had to pay 3s. 6d. composition fee to William Catterowe [Catterall], an influential member of the Joiners' Company, to enable Hood and his two servants to work in the city.

The company records show that Catterowe was the right person to approach, evidently quite willing to work with foreigners and somewhat scornful of the secrets of his gild, maintaining that they were 'nought.' This disrespect did him no apparent harm, for he enjoyed a long career in the city spanning some forty

⁶⁰ AB/1, f. 345; AF/10/43; CHD/7/4; Ches. R.O., P 29/7/2.

⁶¹ MB/29/332; Ches. R.O., P 29/7/2.

⁶² Ches. R.O., P 29/7/2; J. Laughton, 'Prolegomena to a Societal History of Late Medieval Chester' (unpublished M.A. thesis, Leicester University, 1987).

⁶³ QSF/60, 66.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 62/30, 56.

years and often held office in his company, serving as steward nine times and alderman four, albeit often with reluctance.⁶⁵

Robert Hood prefabricated the wainscot and furniture in Nantwich and from there it was brought to Chester by cart. He perhaps travelled with it, accompanied by his two men. The three spent a fortnight in the city, setting up the panelling and beds, and Whitby paid 16 shillings for their diet. At 2*d.* per meal, the price paid some four years later for the diet of the carpenters working in Parson's Lane, this would provide 32 meals per man, implying that they spent ten full working days in Chester, with perhaps one meal also on the day of their arrival and departure.

The reasons for Hood's employment are not clear. At first glance his prices appear cheaper, e.g. 56*s.* for a fair bed with tester and a court cupboard as compared to 53*s.* 4*d.* for a similar bed from Catterowe. Once the extra costs of transport and diet are added, however, this price advantage largely disappears. Perhaps Hood was a finer workman, or more abreast of contemporary fashion.

Whitby's craftsmen were independent masters with their own workforce. As many as five men worked with John Garratt at a time but they may have represented two teams. Two journeymen do seem to have been the normal complement. William Smith, William Butler and Robert Hood were each accompanied by two journeymen, probably already competent workers. No youngsters appear to have been entrusted with tasks requiring any degree of knowledge or skill, but they were employed to sweep and clean or to prepare raw materials. Each journeyman slater had a boy working with him, evidently passing up the pins and slates. Such boys are specifically mentioned in the list of the wages of carpenters, slaters, bricklayers and masons drawn up in 1653. Then they earned 4*d.* a day, 2*d.* less than the 1617 rate.⁶⁶

The building account leaves it unclear as to whether payment was always made to the master for the whole team or whether wages were given to the individual journeyman or boy. One shilling a day seems to have been the standard wage for a master craftsman in 1612 and 1613, 10*d.* for a journeyman and 5-6*d.* for a boy. These are lower rates than those paid in Norwich in 1611, where a labourer working on the hospital received a shilling a day and a mason 1*s.* 6*d.* They are also lower than those received by contemporary masons and slaters in Norfolk. But they do represent the norm in Cheshire at that time and are exactly comparable with the rates the city paid to men carrying out civic projects.⁶⁷

Although the document is ambiguous on the question of payment of wages it

⁶⁵ G 14/1, 2. Pers. comm. Donald Woodward.

⁶⁶ AB/2, 102*d.*

⁶⁷ TAR/2/24, 28; J. C. Tingley, 'Assessment of Wages for County of Norfolk, 1610', *English Historical Review*, xiii (1898), 522-7; J. P. Dodd, 'John Stanley, Warrener, c.1583-1639', *J.C.A.S.* lxx (1982), 59-66. Cf. his 'Frodsham Castle Domestic Accounts, 1612-14', *History Studies*, ii (1969). Over the period 1580-1629 as a whole, however, Chester wage rates conformed to those paid in southern England: E. H. Phelps and S. V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of Building Wages', in *Essays in Economic History*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson, ii (1962), 177-8.

does make it clear that diet was not considered a normal element in the wage packet of Cestrian craftsmen. Meals were provided only for Robert Hood and his servants and payment for these seems to have been made direct to the supplier and not to the men themselves. Casual labourers were given meat and drink in return for taking away rubbish or for carrying wooden boards and money for beer was very occasionally provided, perhaps to mark the completion of a particular stage of the building. Provision of ale and beer was, however, a regular item in the accounts for Parson's Lane and was evidently an accepted element in the remuneration of an unskilled worker.

Whitby's craftsmen, like many of their contemporaries, did not rely solely on their wages — or those of their journeymen and apprentices — for their livelihood. They also acted as artisan retailers, supplying some of the raw materials, and occasionally supplemented their income by pursuing other business activities in addition to their basic trade. Several engaged in brewing and sold the ale and beer they produced. John Garratt, Ralph Holme and William Butler were all presented for breaking the assize.⁶⁸ The joiner William ap Hughe dealt in barley and had land in Chester town fields which he rented to the carpenter Nicholas Bannister who carried on a vigorous trade in malt.⁶⁹ William Butler leased lands and tenements in Trafford and his inventory begins with his cattle, horses and agricultural produce — barley, beans and malt. At the time of his death in 1614, his goods were valued at £123 8s. 2d. and he was evidently a prosperous man.⁷⁰ His son did not take up his trade, however, preferring instead the less hazardous occupation of scrivener and it was left to his widow to carry on the slating business. This she managed to do, with the help of the two journeymen, but only for a short time.⁷¹

Other sons, however, did follow in their father's footsteps. Christopher and William Walker both registered as apprentices with their father in 1613 and William Catterowe's long career overlapped the equally lengthy one enjoyed by his son. William Catterowe junior began his working life in 1630 and pursued it (apart from a break 1650-5) until it was abruptly terminated in May 1672 when he fell to his death from a high 'periel' in St. Oswald's.⁷² The most famous Chester example, of course, is provided by Randle Holme who was succeeded by three generations of his family.

The Northgate Street house was ready for occupation by the autumn of 1613 and from 1614 the treasurers' accounts record the payment of rent for the five posts standing streetwards under it, although the assembly had apparently only sanctioned four.⁷³ After Whitby's death the family retained ownership, leasing the house to tenants of high status. In 1639 Whitby's son Robert was receiving

⁶⁸ MB/29/285d.; QSF/62, 66.

⁶⁹ MB/29/283d.; Ches. R.O., WS 1619 Bannester.

⁷⁰ Ches. R.O., WS 1614 Butler.

⁷¹ TAR/2/31.

⁷² C/1/12.

⁷³ AB/1, f. 340.

the rent but by 1643-4 his son-in-law William Crompton seems to have obtained possession and he it was who paid for the five posts in the street. The Cromptons continued to pay the rent until the early 18th century.

The use to which the house was put had changed, however, certainly by 1690 and possibly much earlier. It had become an inn, for which its accommodation — chambers, service rooms, large dining room, gardens and stabling — made it eminently suitable. In 1708 Robert Crompton, Whitby's grandson, was given permission to erect a sign at the corner of the Flesh Shambles opposite his inn, presumably as an advertisement. But when in 1713 he set about rebuilding the back of the house and asked to 'run up his said building with brickwork even with the jetting over of the first floor of the said house in Parson's Lane' he was refused.⁷⁴

This petition reveals that Whitby's house stood at the junction of Northgate Street and Parson's Lane. The name of the inn allows its exact location to be determined. From 1690, if not earlier, it was known as the Coach and Horses and it stood, as its successor does today, on the northern side of the lane.

The subsequent history of this inn has been traced elsewhere. In the mid-19th century it was described as having an open porch in the front, but this need not have been original. The present building dates only from 1872 and then the reconstruction was total. Even the cellar so laboriously dug by Hugh Gill and walled with masonry by William Wyan and his servants has been transformed. Apart from the two gables facing the street which may mirror the original design, all trace of Thomas Whitby's house has completely disappeared.

THE ACCOUNT BOOK AND THE BUILDING IN PARSON'S LANE

The account, which is among the palatinate records in the P.R.O. in Chancery Lane, consists of 28 pages of coarse paper sewn inside a thin parchment cover, forming a notebook which measures $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches in length by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches in width. On the cover, in elaborate script, is the 'title', describing the contents as a note of the building expenses. Originally, however, the book was used for a different purpose and several pages near the front have been torn out.

Writing begins on the second surviving page with a note of money received for the repair of a lane near the Bars and a list of those men appointed to oversee the work.⁷⁵ The disbursements for this repair are noted after three blank pages. The building account begins on page 10 after three further blank pages and runs continuously for fifteen pages. It covers two separate projects: the reconstruction of the Northgate Street property for which payments were made from

⁷⁴ AB/3, ff. 165d., 166d.; AB/3, ff. 206d., 207; AF/49e/38.

⁷⁵ Cf. AB/1, f. 318d.

December 1612 — December 1613 and secondly, the building of three new bays in Parson's Lane which began in February 1617 and continued for several months thereafter. After two blank pages the furnishings brought into the Northgate Street house are listed on the final two pages in the book. The entries concerning the repairs to the lane postdate the building work in Northgate Street but are roughly contemporary with the Parson's Lane project.⁷⁶ Perhaps the Northgate Street section was copied up from elsewhere at this later date, possibly for ease of reference.

The notebook is in excellent condition, somewhat dog-eared at the corners but not damaged in any way. The paper is slightly discoloured and there is some staining towards the front and also on the last eleven pages. The ink has not faded, however, and the script remains clear. The hand is small and spidery and initially difficult to read. A small section, listing the ironmongery, is in another, finer hand.

Nowhere does the accountant mention himself by name but clues within the document allow his identity to be determined. It was always likely that he would be one of the seven men appointed to survey the lane behind Alderman Dymmock's dwelling and when some names are eliminated e.g. William Aldersey the elder (dead before the work was completed) and David Dymmock (who lived beyond the Eastgate near the Bars) then Thomas Whitby emerges as the most promising candidate.

References to family relationships support this hypothesis. 'Brother' Aldersey is William Aldersey the younger who married Anne, Whitby's sister, in St. Oswald's in May 1607.⁷⁷ 'Brother' Drinkwater was also kin, as Whitby's will reveals, but this fraternal appellation stems from the fact that the pair served as fellow sheriffs 1612-13.⁷⁸ Conclusive proof comes from a comparison of the handwriting in the notebook with that in Thomas Whitby's diary.⁷⁹ They are identical.

Only that section containing the accounts of the Northgate Street house has been printed here. The accounts pertaining to the building of three bays in Parson's Lane lack the detail as to structure and timetable which is to be found in the earlier record and Whitby's interest and involvement were evidently less intense. The decorative elements and expensive fitments which featured so prominently in his own home were absent from the simpler edifice round the corner.

The young sheriff had probably spent much time on the Northgate Street site, observing progress and getting to know many of his workmen by name: John Garratt's man James, for example, and Richard Smith who made the clay. The names of the principal craftsmen are also recorded in the Parson's Lane accounts,

⁷⁶ Thomas Whitby is referred to as alderman, a position to which he was elected in Sept. 1616: *ibid.*, f. 334.

⁷⁷ R.S.L.C. liii. 17.

⁷⁸ Ches. R.O., WS 1639 Whitby.

⁷⁹ CR 374/1. Whitby's hand is also found in the corporation records: e.g. MB/3/11d.; SB/15/1d.

but there was also more frequent use of casual labourers, who remain anonymous, and the suppliers of raw materials are less often specified. Perhaps this was because such small sums of money were involved, often amounting to pennies rather than shillings. The totals so carefully noted at the foot of each page in the earlier section are not given in the second, nor is there a grand total at the end. Every single penny seems to have been noted, however, and when all are added together give a final bill for the three bays of building of £93 13s. 6d.

Regular payments of workmen's wages at the rate of so much a day occupy a considerable portion of this second account and purchases of raw materials are duly recorded. These figures allow some estimate of the quantities of materials needed for a three-bay building, an indication of the number of man hours worked and some idea of the scale and appearance of the finished structure. All this is of interest and would repay further study.

Evidently the existing foundations of the 'formerlie although unsufficientlie erected building' were re-used and the account opens with the purchase of the timber needed for the superstructure, two trees from Mr. Thomas Wall costing 50s. and 24 timber trees from an unknown source priced at £26 10s.. Apart from 5d. spent much later on half a spar these are the only payments recorded for timber and 26 unhewn tree trunks were apparently deemed adequate for the job in hand. Some of the old timber, however, may well have been incorporated in the new house.

Then follows a series of payments for sawing and squaring timber, the rate varying from 6s. 8d. to 7s. per rood of boards. £5 3s. 1d. was spent on these tasks, which would give something in the region of 15 roods of boards.

After this a note of payments to named workmen begins, starting with the carpenter Robert Denteth whose primary position perhaps indicates that he was in overall charge of the project. Unlike John Garratt he did not live in Chester but came from Alvanley, in the parish of Frodsham, some eight miles away. He had worked in the city before, in early 1607, when his employment by Roger Hurleston, gentleman, had led to a suit with the Company of Wrights, Carpenters, Slaters and Sawyers. They maintained that their charter of incorporation forbade strangers from exercising those trades in Chester and they challenged Denteth's right to work there. The matter came before the mayor but the judgement is unfortunately lost.⁸⁰ Whatever it was, however, it clearly did not prevent Denteth from working in Chester again and in early 1617 he appeared on the Parson's Lane site, together with his own team.

This team consisted of a maximum of three men and included his son and also John Thusworth whose name is regularly linked with his own. Payment for the diet of these men, at 2d. a meal, is duly recorded as well as a generous 4s. 11d. spent on a convivial beverage at their departure.

⁸⁰ AB/1, f. 299d.

A second team of carpenters can be identified, this time evidently composed of local men — Nicholas Kennion, Henry Barton and James Hamlington. The last mentioned had been admitted to the franchise in 1604 and had worked for Whitby on the Northgate Street house. His own home was in Parson's Lane and Nicholas Kennion is known to have served as his journeyman.⁸¹

But when Kennion applied for the freedom, in October 1617, his petition was opposed by several members of the company who objected that he was a stranger. There was clearly some hostility towards the company at this time and they were alleged to habitually use their charter of incorporation to keep better men out of the city. The members were also much complained of for 'their negligence and insufficiencie' in their work.⁸² If these charges were true it is hardly surprising that Whitby opted to put Denteth in charge.

Work on the three bays of building had begun in February 1617 and initially only the two teams of carpenters seem to have been involved, paid on a regular weekly or fortnightly basis for several months. But by the end of May or early June there are indications that the basic frame was in position and ready for the next stage of construction. Stone flags were purchased and masons paid to lay them. Windings, rods, spikes, nails, clay and lime arrived on the site, closely followed by William Smith and his team. The plasterer was another veteran of the Northgate Street house and again he provided some of the raw materials — 19 'crispes' used in Parson's Lane as compared to 24 on Whitby's own house. Sometimes he worked alongside two men, sometimes with one and not infrequently he left them on their own. Clearly the ornate plaster work in Northgate Street did not figure in the three bay building. But the routine tasks of daubing and whiteliming took time. Smith himself put in 64 days of work and his men 80-5 days. They thus worked through the weeks of high summer, clearly the optimum time for such tasks. For although the daub was made as dry as possible in order to minimise shrinkage, fine weather was eminently desirable.

The slater George Lloyd was paid for two days' work in June but it was the slater William Skellington who was entrusted with the majority of this work. He received 36s. on the 23 June for 8,000 single and double slates and, with his men, put in some 35-6 days' labour. The total bill for the roofing of the three bays in Parson's Lane came to just under £4, less than half the price paid to William Butler for slating Whitby's own house and outbuildings. Butler had died in 1614 but Whitby did not have to look far to find a replacement, for Skellington lived just beyond the Northgate, on the west side of the street.⁸³ He had been admitted freeman in 1601/2 and was thus an experienced craftsman by 1617. In subsequent years he carried out work on the Common Hall and the shambles and his descendant, the slater Richard Skellington, is recorded as living in

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, f. 284; Ches. R.O., P 29/7/2.

⁸² AB/1, f. 342.

⁸³ Ches. R.O., P 29/7/2.

Northgate Street within the walls in 1660, on the north side of what later became the potato market.⁸⁴

Randle the mason, to whom payments begin towards the end of June, was probably Randle Hall who had been appointed city mason the previous September, and allowed an annual stipend of 20s. In 1617 he had already been busy in this official capacity, mending the stairs between the High Cross and the Pentice in January and making a pair of stairs to go up into Newgate in June. In September he did some work at the Northgate.⁸⁵ In between he carried out some unspecified masonry tasks in Parson's Lane for Whitby, sometimes working with two of his men, sometimes leaving them to work on their own. The stone used cost just over £2 in total and included flags and gutter stones. 10s. 9d. was spent in late summer on 15 yards of flags and 3 steps. Did these steps lead up to the front door perhaps, and did each bay measure some five yards in length?

This entrance door and the door at the stairs had been provisioned with hooks and hinges sometime earlier but the main consignment of ironware arrived after 26th September and, as in the Northgate Street account, is listed in one consecutive entry. The amounts used were meagre when compared to the quantities used in Whitby's home but six doors were apparently furnished with bolts and four more in addition to the main door and the door at the stairs were given hooks and hinges, latches and catches: the kitchen door, the garden door, a 'joynt' door and one other, unspecified. Other ironmongery included curtain rods, two case-ments, a key for the coffer and six hooks on which to hang meat.

Some ironware was refurbished. Seven keys were made clean and old bars made new. Lead too seems to have been re-used. There is no record of any new lead being purchased but 4d. was spent on soldering a hole in the gutter. Glass was also carefully salvaged. Four of the windows which had been taken down were set up again and old glass purchased for glazing, 26 feet at 2d. a foot. But some new glass was used, 35 feet in all, costing 5½d. a foot. A solitary pane of glass was set in the slates to provide additional lighting for the interior, a poor imitation of the magnificent lantern on Whitby's house. But both were the work of John Walker, another craftsman employed on each project.

The use of brick in Parson's Lane was restricted to the kitchen chimney and, probably, an oven. 3,000 bricks were needed for the chimney and they were purchased from John Johnes, who had supplied some for the Northgate Street house just over four years before. He was paid 31s. 6d. for these 3,000 bricks on 26th September, a price roughly comparable with what Whitby paid in 1613. 200 bricks were apparently used for the oven which was built by the bricklayer George Title, assisted by his wife and also a labourer.

Two panelled doors were set up in the house by William ap Hughe, another influential member of the Joiners' Company — although even more irascible

⁸⁴ TAP/3; TAR/2/35, 37, 39; 3 *Sheaf*, vi, no. 932.

⁸⁵ AB/1, f. 334d., TAR/2/33.

than William Catterowe.⁸⁶ He also made a new canopy bed, for which pins, plates, hooks and bed cords were provided. This, plus one old coffer, appears to have been the sum total of the interior furnishings.

For this later project Whitby remained faithful to some of his 1613 craftsmen, again employing John Walker the glazier, William Smith the plasterer, Hugh Gill the paver and George and John Title the brickworkers. John Ashton continued to do the carting and Thomas Field to provide some stone. Other men were given a greater role, including James Hamlington and William ap Hughe.

But many names disappear. Clearly there was no call for the artistic talents of Randle Holme and his elder brother, the smith Ralph Holme, may have looked down on the more mundane fittings needed in the three-bay building. William Wyan had vanished in some ignominy and William Butler had died. Nicholas Bannister may have been too elderly and was perhaps already sick.⁸⁷ The reasons governing the non-appearance of other men — John Garratt, for example, and several other carpenters — are lost, although general dissatisfaction with the craftsmanship of the Wrights' Company may have played a part.

And evidently Whitby was anxious to keep the costs as low as possible. Hence the extensive use of casual labour, a regular feature of the second set of accounts. These unskilled workers received 8*d.* a day and were also provided with drink from time to time.

No payments for beer and ale were made when the two teams of carpenters had the site to themselves but start more or less simultaneously with the arrival of the labourers. Thereafter some two dozen entries record the purchase of drink, usually in quite small quantities, averaging between one and two quarts. The supply may have been associated with extra work being done as it appears to have been in the medieval period.⁸⁸ The vendor is occasionally mentioned and was perhaps always the same man — Richard Ince, who himself lived in Parson's Lane and was thus conveniently placed to supply the workers on the building site.⁸⁹

The anonymous labourers cannot be traced of course but the named craftsmen continued to be chosen from within the network woven around ward and parish. Randle Hall lived somewhere in Eastgate Street, possibly in St. Oswald's parish, and the smith Thomas Eaton leased a house and shop from the city at Dee Lane End, just beyond the Northgate. The carpenter Hugh Tillston lived in Boughton and is revealed in Whitby's will as one of his own tenants. Even Robert Denteth may have belonged to this network for Alvanley was very close to Dunham-on-the-Hill, where the Whitby family continued to own extensive property.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ G 14/1, 2.

⁸⁷ Ches. R.O., WS 1619 Bannester.

⁸⁸ D. Knoop and G. P. Jones, *Medieval Mason* (1967), 104.

⁸⁹ Ches. R.O., P 29/7/2.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*; WS 1628 Eaton; WS 1639 Whitby; *Ches. Inquisitions Post Mortem, 1603-60*, III, ed. R. Stewart-Brown, R.S.L.C. xci (1938), 165; AB/1, f. 289.

It is not possible to locate the site of the three-bay building in Parson's Lane. In his will Whitby's son-in-law William Crompton refers to four messuages, a barn, a stable and two orchards which he then (c.1675) owned on the south side of this street but there is no proof that any of these messuages was the house erected almost sixty years before by his father-in-law.⁹¹ All remains of this structure have vanished even more completely than Whitby's own house, its foundations lost for ever beneath the concrete and clay of subsequent developments.

TEXTS

PRO, CHES 38/28/6

A booke wherin is particulerlie set downe & menconed all the charges that I have beene at in buildinge & furnishinge the newe howse in the Northgate streete

[p. 10]	A true note of what I haue disbursed for & Concerninge the buildinge anewe and rep[ar]acon of the houses in the northgate streete latelie giuen vnto mee by my ffather doth hereafter p[ar]ticulerlie followe. Incept. to repaire the xviiij th . of September 1612 by John Garratt Carpenter	
17 Septem[ber]	Imprimis ffor a hundred of double sparrs bought by John Garratt for my Use	liijs. iiij ^d .
	payd ffor Carriage of the same sparrs	xij ^d .
	payd ffor half a hundred of nayles	iiij ^d .
	payd ffor another half hundred of nayles	iiij ^d .
	payd ffor repayringe the ij tenement[e]s and makinge vppe some walls & p[ar]titions in the ij ould houses in the northgate streete	viijs. vjd.
	payd ffor a horse loade of rodd[e]s	xij ^d .
	payd John Garratt carpenter ffor his paines & worke in the rep[ar]acon of the ten[emen]te in the p[ar]sons lane	ixs. 6d.
	payd ffor a Thousannd & half of slates ffor the same house	vs. ijd.
	payd Wm. Butler ffor slatinge the same & ffor some newe tyles to the same house	vijs. vjd.
	payd ffor seuerall load[e]s of rodd[e]s	iijs. iiij ^d .
	payd ffor seu[er]all load[e]s of lime ffor the same house	iijs.

⁹¹ Ches. R.O., WS 1675 Crompton.

	payd Wm. Smith ffor daubinge & for whitliminge the same house	xs.
	payd John Ashton ffor Carryinge Vppe timber of John Garratt[e]s to the new house	xs.
1° decem[ber] 1612	paid ffor a Thousannd & a half of brick[e]s vnto Thomas Knee for the newe house	xjs.
£7 2s. 0d.	paid ffor ij hundred of Ashlers vnto Gill in the northgatestreete	xvijs.
[p. 10v] xij decem[ber]	payd vnto Wm. Wyan for hewing of ij hundred of Ashlers	xs. vjd.
	payd ffor Tenn Thousannd of slates at iijs. the Thousannd	xls.
17° decem[ber] 14s.	payd ffor Carriage thereof ffrom the Watergate payd to henrie Guest ffor ij Thousannd of brick[e]s payd ffor viij daies worke to a laborer	iijs. 14s. iijs. 3d.
	payd to Wm. Wyan for bastinge my newe buildinge w[i]th stonne	iijs. vjd.
	payd vnto John Ashton baker for carriage timber and ashlers from dee Bridge	xs.
18° Janu[ary] 1612 23° Janu[ary]	payd for seuerall burues of rodd[e]s to Wm. Smith payd for iiij ^{or} dosen of Tyles to h Guest payd for seuerall load[e]s of rodd[e]s & Winding[e]s payd for seuerall burues of rodd[e]s payd Wm. Smith for 3 daies worke payd moore for rodd[e]s to Wm. Smith	vjs. [] iijs. iijs. ijs. [] vjs.
28 <i>li</i> .	payd vnto John Garratt carpenter accordinge to an agremente made for buildinge the p[ar]te of my newe house in readie money xx <i>li</i> . & in timber viij <i>li</i> .	xxviij <i>li</i> .
13° ffebruar[y]	payd vnto Wm. Smith for rodd[e]s & iiij daies worke at xd p[er] diem	vs.
13° ffebruar[y] 1612	paid vnto John Garratt carpenter for makinge my lantorne vppon the house hee beinge at the Chardge whollie of timber	xls.
	payd to John Ashton ffor carriage of stonne timber & slats iij load[e]s	vijs.
26° ffebru[ary] 1612	payd for x Thousannd of slat[]s and for the Carriage thereof from the waterside	xls.
	paid ffor iiij ^{or} Thousannd of Brick[e]s at the rate of xs a Thousannd	xls.
	paid ffor carriage thereof & of stonne paid for Timber wch I brought ffrom Boughton	xxx <i>xi</i> [] iiij <i>li</i> . xs
iijs. iiij <i>d</i> . abated	paid ffor iiij ^{or} trees of Timber wch I bought of Thomas Willcocke Sadler	V <i>li</i> .
£50 12s. 9d.	paid ffor leadinge of sannd ffrom Boughton	vjs. []

[p. 11]

viiij^o may 1613

£36 1s. 2d.

[p. 11v.]

at 30s.
the roode

paid ffor iiiij ^o hundred of bricke	iijs. vjd.
paid Wm. Wyans man ffor mendinge the Chimney & harth in that house the [two words illegible]	ijs. iiijd.
paid vnto Wm. Catterowe ffor takinge downe the Joyned worke & bedsted[e]s in the house in the northgatestrete	iijs.
paid ffor a Thousannd & half of nayles	xiijs. viijd.
paid to Wm Wyan ffor makinge my kitchin hall & dyninge chamber chimney	vli. vjs. viijd.
Payd vnto John Garratt & John Boothe ffor buildinge my new p[ar]lor & ffloors over and I to finde all timber the somme of	vjli. vjs. viijd.
paid to George Title ffor a Thousannd of brick[e]s wch I am to haue	viijs.
paid vnto hughe Gill ffor ij hundred of Ashlers iij stonne mantle trees & cornish ffor ij chimneys	xxiijs. iiijd.
payd vnto William Rosingreave of Warton ffor vj timber trees for my new buildinge	vjli.
Paid hughe whicsteed ffor seuerall load[e]s of lime ffor my new buildinge	xxxviijs.
Paid vnto hughe Gill ffor sinkinge my seller viij foote deepe and findinge mee all stonne necessarie to bee vsed for the same Celler	xxxijjs.
paid vnto my brother Aldersaie ffor ij fflitches of timber	xls.
paid to John Barnes ffor a peece of timber	viijs.
paid Wm ap hughe ffor iij longe boord[e]s giuen to John Boothe & John Garratt barriage	ijs. iiijd. vs.
paid to Wm Wyan & other his servants laborers ffor workinge & makinge my seller	xxvs. ijd.
paid to hughe Gill barriage ffor sinkinge my seller	xijd.
paid to Wm Smith ffor vj daies worke	iijs.
paid Wm Smith & his man ffor worke	viijs.
paid ffor xxj Thraue strawe	vs.
paid to ij laborers ffor claie worke & other worke	xixs. 6d.
paid ffor half a hundred of double sparrs	xxvjs.
paid to John Johnes & Mrs Golborne ffor viij Thous[and] brick[e]s	iiijli. xs.
paid to Mrs Golborne ffor xij hundred of brick[e]s	xxs.
paid ffor carriage of xviiij loade of sannd	ixs.
paid ffor v rood[e]s of boord[e]s at 30s. the roode & 14 sparrs 9 foot longe jd. of a foote	ixli.

	paid ffor rodd[e]s to winde w[i]th	iiijs.
	paid for seuerall laborers to worke given to John Garratt for settinge the gutturs	vs. xijsd.
	paid vnto Thomas Knee ffor vij Thousannd & half of brick[e]s at viijs. vjd.	iiijl. iijs.
	paid vnto George Title ffor ij daies	iijs. iijsd.
	paid vnto myles Pierson laborer ffor ij daies	xxd.
	paid ffor another laborer to gett in bricke	xijsd.
	paid ffor 10 dosen Tile	viijs. vjd.
	paid ffor ij dosen Crispes	iijs. iijsd.
	paid Thomas Knee more then agreed Vppon	iijs. vjd.
	paid ffor rodd[e]s to winde w[i]th	vs.
v° Junij 1613	paid Wm. Smith & ij men ffor wages	xjs.
	paid vnto Ellen Piers ffor 13 C & 26li. of lead ffor by gutturs & vijli. of soder the lead at xvs. the C soder vs. iiid. layinge ij gutturs	xli. vjs. vjd.
	paid vnto Wm Smith ffor vj daies Worke at xd. p[er] diem and ffor roddes ijs. ijd. and to his boy at vd. p[er] diem v daies	ixs. iijs[d.]
	paid to ij laborers	iijs.
	paid vnto Mrs Birkenhead ffor v roode of boord[e]s and one roode to my cosen ffinchett at 33s. iijsd.	xli. []
	paid ffor leadinge of water to water lime	viijsd.
	paid ffor seuerall laborers to fill Carts to lead rubidge from our garden	iiij[]
	paid ffor nailes double gad[e]s ij hundred half & a hundred of spik[e]s	ijs. v[d.]
36s.	paid ffor v Thousannd & 3 hundred of latt[e]s at vjs. xd. the Thousannd	36s.
	spent at Erasmus Price of meat & drinke of those p[er]sons that did lead rubbish from my doore	vjs.
£40 17s. 5d.	paid to Wm. Wyan ffor makeing my three last Chimneys viz the p[ar]lor Chimney & ij aboue in the Chimney over the p[ar]lor	xl[]
[p. 12]	paid to John Wood[e]s	iijs.
	paid to Robt Wood[e]s	iijs. vjd.
	paid to John Title	iijs.
	paid to George Title	viijs. xd.
	paid Wm Smith ffor himself & man thone xd. & thother vd. p[er] diem	vijjs. vjd.
	paid ffor a load of rodd[e]s	xd.
	paid to another man	iijs. vjd.
	paid to John Poole ffor strawe	xviijsd.
	paid to John Ashton ffor leadinge timber bricke claie slats & other stuffe	xljs.

	paid to ij laborers ij daies	xiiij <i>d.</i>
	paid to Thomas harvy ffor v hundred brick[e]s	vs.
	paid to ij sawers ffor hewing & sawinge	vs. iiij <i>d.</i>
22° Junij 1613	paid to John Garratt out of my owne guift beinge earnestlie intreated & p[er]suaded That hee had a bargaine of mee w[h]ich was soe hard as tended to his losse in the p[re]sence of Tho. Ince & nic Bannester	v <i>li.</i> ix <i>s.</i>
	paid him moore ffor sparrs wyce & other Worke done for mee	x <i>js.</i>
	paid to Wm Smith ffor worke & rodd[e]s	iijs. x <i>d.</i>
	paid to Wm Butler ffor mendinge my ould house & Aynsdales house	x <i>js.</i>
	paid ffor vj Thousannd nayles at ix <i>s.</i> the Thousannd & a Thousannd latte nayles at xxiij <i>d.</i> the Thousannd	iiij <i>li.</i> xiiij <i>s.</i>
	paid to Willm Smith & his man ffor worke vij daies	vs.
	paid to John Garratt & ij of his men ffor vij daies Worke	xv <i>js.</i>
	paid vnto hughe Whicsteed ffor glovers lime & other lime boughte ffor my Vse	v <i>li.</i>
	paid to my Brother Aldersaie ffor v hundred of slats	ijs.
£22 Os. 8 <i>d.</i>	paid to ij sawiers	ijs. viij <i>d.</i>
	paid to Willm Smith ffor rodd[e]s	ijs.
[p. 12v]	paid to ij laborers ffor vj daies at viij <i>d.</i> p[er] diem	vijs.
	paid ffor rodd[e]s & Prick[e]s	iiij <i>s.</i>
	paid to iij Claimen & a boy ffor iiijor daies Worke	x <i>js.</i> 4[i <i>d.</i>]
	paid to John Garratt & James his man ffor xj daies Worke	x <i>js.</i>
	paid ffor Cartinge iij Cartooes	iijs.
	paid ffor makinge iij fanes of Iron vnto Richard Stockton Smith	xv <i>s.</i>
	paid to the Painter ffor paintinge the best of them & Culloringe my cartooeses	xs.
	paid to John Garratt ffor Joyce & sparrs & boord[e]s to make steares & p[ar]titions & for Worke	xv <i>s.</i>
	paid to Wm Smith & Wm Tapley ffor worke	iijs.
	paid moore ffor mendinge my ffanes to Ric S	ij vj <i>d.</i>
	paid to Robte Coddington ffor lime & haire	vs.
	paid to a nailer ffor x Thousannd of nailes	xviiij[]
	paid to ij laborers ffor iij daies to carrie out gravell from my backside at viij <i>d.</i> p[er] diem	iiij[i <i>s.</i>]
	paid ffor leadinge of water ffor my plaisterers	ijs.
	paid ffor lime to the Tanners	vs.
	paid ffor carriage of water	iijs.

	paid ffor the dinn[er]s of those p[er]sons that Carried my broode boord[e]s & given to them	vj[]
	paid John Garratt ffor himself & v men ffor worke at my newe house	xx[]
1° August 1613	paid Richard Bird ffor haire	xiijd.
	paid ij workemen carpenters ffor worke	ixs. v[d.]
	paid ffor seuerall sort[e]s of nailes to Edward hurste	34s.
	paid to Mr Button for C of fflagg[e]s	xxvs.
	paid to a laborer to cleane the house of office	iijs. 4[d.]
£11 16s. 10d.	paid to Wm Tapley to paie ffor water & haire	3s. []
	paid to a laborer vj daies 8d. p[er] diem	iiijs. []
	paid Ric Warmingsham ffor stonne	vs. []
[p. 13]		
7s.	paid Wm. Wyan ffor his man & self	xs.
	paid him moore ffor his man & self	vijs.
	paid vnto a stranger ffor ij rood[e]s & quarter of boord[e]s at xxixs. the roode	iiijl. 18d.
	paid to James Hamlin ffor vj daies Worke	vijs. iiijd.
20s.	paid to Richard Crosse and Willm Cooke ffor a fortnight at xd. p[er] diem	xx [s.]
	paid to Ric Crosse James hamlin & Wm. Cooke ffor worke & ffor sparrs	xviijs.
	paid vnto John Garratt & his men ffor worke	xs.
£3 11s.	paid ffor lead to Ellen Piers ffor my windowes one spoute of lead ffor the newe dormante and settinge them vppe	3li. 11s.
	paid ffor haire to John Barnes	vs.
	paid moore ffor haire to Wm. Tapley	vjs.
	paid ffor nailes	xiiijd.
	paid to ij carpenters ffor a week[e]s worke	xs. vjd.
	paid to Wm. Wyan w[hi]ch hee paid ffor mee to laborers	vs. jd.
	paid to the Joyner & his man ffor ij daies worke & half to either of them	iijs. ix d.
	paid to a timber man ffor a roode of quarter boord[e]s being in number	xxxs.
	paid to ij laborers ffor vij daies Worke	iiijs. jd.
	paid to a woeman for carringe of water	ijs.
	paid vnto iij carpenters ffor a weeke & iij daies	xiijs.
	paid to ij masons ij daies a peece	iiijs.
	paid the Joyner ffor himself & man	ixs. vjd.
	paid vnto Wm minshull ffor 1 yard[e]s of fflagg[e]s at vjd. the yard	xxvs.
	paid ffor iiijor paire of hinges & nailes	ijs. ijd.
	paid to iij carpenters ffor v daies worke a peece	xijs. jd.
	paid ffor 24 of sparrs	xijd.
	paid to Richard Smith ffor to make Claie	ijs. 8d.
£17 14s. 6d.	paid vnto James Smith ffor sylinge at xixd. the yard	xiiijs. vjd.

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	paid vnto iij carpenters ffor v daies	xiiis. []
	paid to a mason ffor iij daies worke	iijs.
	paid ffor carynge water to a woeman	ijs. xd.
	paid to a dawber ffor v daies	iijs.
	paid ffor a sparre to John Garratt	xd.
	paid ffor a Thousannd of latts to Tho. Walsh	xjs.
	paid ffor xxtie yard[e]s of fflagg[e]s	xjs. 8d.
	paid ffor iijor yard[e]s of gutturinge stonne	xijd.
	paid ffor a loade of stonne	vjd.
37s.	paid moore to hughe Whicsteed ffor lime & haire	37s. 6d.
	paid Thomas lynaker ffor xij C of latts	xjs.
	paid ffor ij bedd Cord[e]s	ijs. ij[d.]
	paid to ij carpenters ffor worke	vjs.
	paid ffor double & single sparrs	iijs.
8li. 10s.	paid to Wm. Butler ffor slatinge my new building[e]s houses of office	8li. xs.
	paid to ffoulke salisburie ffor ij Thousannd of slats	x []
	paid vnto my ij carpenters ffor a week[e]s worke	xs.
	paid a laborer ffor ij daies worke	x []
	paid ffor a sparre	xiii []
7li. 11s.	paid ffor x trees moore vsed to my house & other houses of office well worth 15s. a peece	vijli. xis.
14li.	paid vnto Wm Tapley & Wm Smith ffor plaist [] my newe house after the rate of ijd. ob [] q [] the yard & I to find all stuff[e]s & necess [] beinge in the whole the somme of 14li. xs. & in yard[e]s in number 100 & 28 yard[e]s	14li.
	paid ffor fflagg[e]s vnto John ffeild	iijs.
	paid ffor sparrs vnto mr maior	iijs. 6d.
	paid vnto him moore ffor 3 Thousannd of slats	xjs. []
£3 5s.	paid to John Stratford of london ffor dale boord[e]s and sparrs	iiijli. 5s.
£3 11s. 6d.	paid to Wm Wyan mason ffor fflagginge my Courte & kitchin at vijd. the yard	iiijli. xjs. vjd.
£35 2s. 4d.	paid Wm morris & James hamleton	xs. []
	paid ffor lime tanners & glov[er]s	iiij []
[p. 14]	paid ffor ij bedd cord[e]s	ijs.
32 yard[e]s	paid Wm Wyan ffor fflagginge my hall at the rate of vijd. the yard	xvijs. 8d.
	paid to Wm morris and James hamleton ffor a week[e]s worke	xs. vjd.
6s.	paid ffor seu[er]all sort[e]s of nayles to P. Drinkewater	vjs.
	paid ffor v paire of hinges	vs.
	paid ffor v laches and katches	vjs. 8d.
	paid vnto Wm Wyan ffor makinge my ho[us]e . . .	xviijd.
	paid vnto Wm morris and James ham'lin ffor worke	viijs. ix d.

15s. 2d.	paid vnto Thomas ffeild ffor 28 yard[e]s of fflagg[e]s at vjd ob[] the yard	xvs. ijd.
xxs.	paid Wm Tapley & Wm Smith ffor pavinge my [...] & the [...]ses Courts & Whitliminge my ould houses	xxs.
ix° decem. 1613	Paid vnto Robt. hood of namptw[i]ch Joyner ffor lxix yard[e]s of sylinge ffor my dyninge chamber at ijs. the yard	vjli. 18s.
	paid him moore ffor xiiij yard[e]s of seats	xxiiij s.
	paid him moore ffor ij Pylosters	iiij s.
	paid him for one Chimney peece	xijs.
	paid ffor varnish & other stuffe to varnish my bedd[e]s table and frame & court cubbord	vjs. vjd.
	paid ffor iiij ^{or} bed Cord[e]s	iiij s. iiij d.
	paid ffor the dyett of Robt. hood and his ij men ffor a ffortnight	xvjs.
	paid Wm Catterowe ffor composition ffor my Joyner to sett vppe Wainscote & bedd[e]s	iijs. 6d.
	paid moore ffor varnish & other stuffe	xviiij d.
	paid moore ffor a newe axeltree and puttinge it in when I sente ffor my joyned worke	ijs. vjd.
	moore I sente iij Carts ffor my silinge the one carte cost mee vjs. and the other ij were my owne and my freind[e]s but the Chardges of them if I had hired them would haue cost mee	xxxxs.
£17 12s. 9d.	moore giuen and bestowed on the Joyn[er]s men	ijs.
[p. 14v]	paid vnto James hamlin and Wm morris ffor worke & a sparre	viijs. ijd.
	paid to laborers to fill the Carte to gett my mucke & gravell from my doore	viiij[]
	paid to Wm. Catterowe ffor worke done in my house	vj[]
	paid to John walker Glaseor ffor all my newe glasse about my newe house after the rate of vd. the foote in the whole	xli. [] 3d.
	paid Wm Catterowe ffor ij truckle bedd[e]s	viiij[]
	paid for xij Casem[en]ts	xxs.
	ffor mendinge an old Casem[en]t	vjd.
	ffor makeinge a Lock for a iointe doore	xij d.
	ffor makeinge a payre of hookes and hinges	xd.
	ffor makeinge a Guard to the Chimney	xd.
	ffor makeinge a payre of hookes and hinges	xij d.
	ffor makeinge vj payre of hookes and hinges	vs. iiij d.
	ffor a Lock and a stapple to the hall doore	ijs. viij d.
	ffor iiij ^{or} Locks and iiij ^{or} staples	iijs.
	ffor a grate weighing xvjli. & a halfe	vs. vjd.
	ffor a paire of Curtayne Roddes	ijs.
	ffor iij Latches and iij Catches	ijs.
	ffor iij paire of hooks and hinges	ijs.

	ffor iiij ^{or} payre of hookes and hinges	ijs.
	ffor makeinge a Longe a longe Naile	ij ^d .
	ffor peeing a Boulte and a Staple	iiij ^d .
	ffor makeinge ij longe Nayles	ij ^d .
	ffor j payre of hooks and hinges	ix ^d .
	ffor a Latche, a Catche and a Ringe to the hall doore	xij ^d .
	ffor a grate waighinge xxij ^{li} . and a halfe	vijs. vj ^d .
	ffor a paire of hookes and hinges	xiiij ^d .
	ffor a stock Lock and Staple	xvj ^d .
	ffor a payre of hookes and hinges	xx ^d .
	ffor makeinge ij grates to the milk house	vij ^d .
£15 9s. 9d.	ffor a Latche and a Catche	xiiij ^d .

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	ffor a grate to the dyninge Chamber waighinge xxxiiij ^{or} li.	xjs. iiij ^d .
	ffor a stock Lock and ij staples	xij ^d .
	ffor Plats and hookes and pins to ye seeld bed	vij ^d .
	ffor a paire of Jointed hinges	vij ^d .
	ffor ij Latches and ij Catches	xvj ^d .
	ffor a stocke Lock to the back doore	vj ^d .
	ffor a Latche Catche and a hinge	xj ^d .
	ffor a Latche to a doore	j ^d .
	ffor a grate weighinge xxxiiij ^{li} .	xjs.
	ffor a payre of Curtaine Rods to the windowe	ijs.
	ffor a locke to the Closett doore	vij ^d .
	ffor vj Boultes	xvij ^d .
	ffor xxij Barrs weighinge xj ^{li} . & a halfe	iijs. x ^d .
	ffor a key to the Closett doore	iiij ^d .
	ffor makeinge a fire staffe	iiij ^d .
	ffor a Latche a Catche and a stocke	xvj ^d .
	ffor Lime	ijs. iiij ^d .
	ffor worke to the Plaisterer	vs.
	ffor Worke to his Man	vj ^d .
	ffor a Bedd Corde	x ^d .
	ffor Lime and haire to John Barnes	vijs.
	ffor Haire to Richard Sponne	x ^d .
	ffor iiij ^{or} Yards of wainescote w[i]the Latche and hinges for a doore vnto James Smith	vijs. vj ^d .
	paid vnto hughe Whicsteed glover ffor lime	vjs.
	paid to Robte hoole ffor a Smith of namptw[i]ch ffor ij paire of hing[e]s & ij paire latches & Catches	vs. iiij ^d .
	paid to Robte hoole Joyner ffor a Portall to my dyninge Chamber doore, ffor sylinge ffor my Closset and sylinge ffor my lanterne beinge in the Whole 45 yard[e]s half at the rate of ijs. the yard	iiij xjs.
£8 15s. 2d.	Paid to John Stockton the yonger ffor carriage of the same to Chester ffrom namptw[i]ch	[]s. 6d.

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paid vnto Raffe holmes Smith ffor xix Casements & hook[e]s & hinges	ljs.
paid To a Carpenter ffor makeinge my Closs[] Windowe xij ^d . & the timber xij ^d .	ijs.

	paid to the Joyner ffor settinge Vppe my shilves and braggetts vs. & my Wood iiij s.	ix s.
	Paid To Mr Randle holmes Painter ffor layinge my hall Chimney my p[ar]lor chimney and my dyninge Chamber chimney in seu[er]all sorts of oiles & Colours	xls.
	paid him allso ffor layinge iij other chimneys in iij chambers in Blacke Colors	vjs. viij d.
	paid vnto John litlor Ald ffor ij Thousannd of latts at ix s. the Thousannd	xviij s.
	paid ffor ij loades of lime	ijs.
	paid ffor fflagginge the milkehouse & fflagg[e]s to the same	xiijs. iiij d.
£13 2s. 0d.	payd moore vnto John Garratt Carpenter moore then I promised or agreed vnto of my owne good Will at thend of my Worke before menconed in this booke w[ith] purpose to make him a gain	vj li.
	Summ[] total [i]s 276 li. 6s. 6d. total[] of the whole charge form[er]lie & p[ar]ticulerlie Contayned in this booke is the somme of £276 li. 6s. 6d.	
[p. 28]	A note of What good[e]s and implements of houshold I bringe vnto my newe house doth p[ar]ticulerlie follow	
	ffirst I bought one faire bedd w[ith] a tester of William Catterowe ffor	liijs. 4d.
14 ^o Julij 1613	of Robte hood of namptw[ic]h one faire bedd w[ith] a tester and a court cubbord both varnished	lvjs.
£3 11s. 6d.	bought at london by my brother drinkewater & Mr Robte Ince & nicholas Ince one drawinge Table & a court cubbord ffor	iiij li. xjs. 6d.
	paid ffor ij wrought Cushions to Mrs Ca[] the one xijs. & the other at xxiijs.	34s.
	paid ffor a Chaire to putt in one of them	ijs. 6d.
	paid ffor a damaske to make a cushion	xjs.
	paid to the Imbroderer ffor makinge ij Cushions & dressinge the chaire & stufte ffor the same silke & lace	ix s.
	paid ffor a brasen candlesticke	iiij s. xd.
	paid ffor a fire shovell & tong[e]s	iijs.
	paid ffor ij paire of tong[e]s & shovells	vjs.
	paid ffor a pottell newe	vjs.
	paid in exchange of brasse	vjs.
	paid ffor [] Court Cubbord clothes	ix s. 6d.
	paid ffor a kitchin grate wayinge cxxv li. at iiij d. the pound	31s. 3d.
	paid ffor a hall grate wayinge lvj li. at iiij d. the pound & given them moore besid[e]s	xvs. ix d.

	paid Ric Stockton for a litle grate	vs. <i>ijd.</i>
	paid ffor a barre of Iron in my kitchin Chimney	<i>iijs. vjd.</i>
	paid ffor a paire of Potthook[e]s and Rackornes	<i>ijs. viijd.</i>
[p. 28v]	paid ffor ij paire of Curtaine Rod[e]s beinge vj in number	<i>iijs.</i>
IX ^o decem. 1613	paid vnto Robte hood Joyner ffor my best bedd and the Courte Cubbord	<i>iiijli. xiijs. 4d.</i>
	paid him ffor one seild bedd	<i>xls.</i>
	paid him ffor ij Canabie bedd[e]s the one <i>xiijs. iiijd.</i> & the other <i>vjs. viijd.</i>	<i>xxs.</i>
	paid vnto John Annion drap[er] ffor ij yard[e]s of ffrenche greene colour[] clothe	<i>xviijs.</i>
	Paid vnto Christopher Bleas m[er]cer ffor a yard & half of Wrought sattin at <i>13s. 4d.</i> the yard	<i>xiiijs.</i>
	<i>iiijor</i> yard[e]s and a half mixt galloone lace and ij skeynes silke half <i>xjd.</i> Waight	<i>16d.</i>
	ffor vj yard[e]s of draughte worke called the dorr[] at <i>ijs.xd.</i> the yard	<i>xvjs.</i>
	ffor ij white bowles & one Candell Cuppe way[] 37 ounces [] at vs. p[er] ounce	<i>ixli. 7s. 6d.</i>
	ffor 1 guilte Cuppe & j guilte Can way [] 22 ounces [] at vs.xd. p[er]ounce	<i>6li. 12s. 9d.</i>
	ffor ij Cuppes p[ar]cell guilte Wayinge 14 ounces [] at vs. p[er] ounce	<i>3li. 10s. 7d.</i>
	One voydiar ij broche dishes 5 pye plat[e]s 5 small dyshes wayinge <i>26li. 3 []</i>	<i>£1 2s. 3d.</i>
	1 paire Wrought valance j buttrie Wrought cloth ij ffeather bedd[e]s and ij boulsters way[] ij feather pillowes ij needleworke Cushions one basen & ewer at 3 Wrought Cubbord clothes one Chaffinge dishe One brasen ladle	<i>4li. 10s. 6li. 6s. 0 7s. 0d. 0 10s. [] 0 8s. [] 0 10s. [] 0 3s. 4d. 0 1s. 2d.</i>
[p. 29]	ij brasse potts j brase Chaffer one brasse pott lidd wayinge <i>92li. 7d.</i> p[er] pound	<i>2li. 13s. 8d.</i>
	One Case of trenchers	<i>0 2s. 0d.</i>
	One stitched fflocke bedd	<i>0 5s. 0d.</i>

P.R.O., CHES 38/48

Memorand[]

Mr. Edward Whitby Recorder of Chester Esq. hath this second day of March lett vnto the Right Wo. Sir Percy Herbert Knt & Barronett All that howse w[i]th thapp[ur]tenances in Northgate Strete in Chester late in the occupacon of Doctor Bispham w[i]th all implem[en]ts therein from this daye vntill midsom[er] next at the rent of Eighte pounds for that tearme whereof xxs. is p[ai]de in hand the implem[en]ts are to bee rec[]ed by a Noate in wryteing at Sir Percyes Comeinge to Chester & the said howse to bee repayed before his comeing & the same implem[en]tes to bee soe left as well at midsom[er] next by the s[ai]d Sir Percy wittnes the hand of Thomas Jenner Esq.
the day & years []

Thomas Jenner (signature)

dorse

2° die Martij 1636

the howse in the Northgate Streete demised vnto Sir Percy Herbert Knt. till midsomer next

Inpris in the Hall next the street one table & frame one bench & alsoe a forme of wainscott

Item A portall w[i]th two doores th'one of them haveing latch & catch the same Roome furnished w[i]th glasse windowes & one glass Lanthorne Item the street doore w[i]th locke and key, one Round grate in the Chimney & the stayre foote w[i]th a latch & catch & a little bolt at the Inner side thereof

In the Parlor a faire new Court Cubbard & A Closett furnished with shelves & with Locke & Key & fairly glased with two Curtayne Rods & hookes & two long Curtaines of dor[]

Item a portall w[i]th two doores haveing Latches & Katches & one iron grate in the Chimney

In the Roome next the Parlor furnished with glasse one doore Lock and Key with three shelves therein & the Roome over it furnished with glasse & severall shelves in the same

In the buttery one presse with Locke & Key one table with a frame & two Rowes of shelves & the doore with Lock and key & a glasse window & A casem[en]t

In the Seller three stillages to sett Beare on & one Lattice Particon w[i]th locke & key A glasse windowe with a casem[en]t & a doore with a locke to a Roome vnd[e]r the staires

In the kitchen 3 dresser boards & a stoope to sett a malter on also ffive shelves Two doores with lock[e]s and keyes the windowes fullie glased A barre of iron the chimney with one payre of pott Rack[e]s A bolt to the biggest doore three new Rack[e]s to hang spitt[e]s on & a faire wainscott settle fower covers for the windowes

In the Milke howse ffive shelves & two panes of glasse well glased one doore w[i]th lock and Key

In the Larder the windowe well glased and ffive shelves one doore with Lock and Key and one dresser board.

In the yord xxij^{tie} barres of iron over the seller windowe and a painthouse of three Board[e]s over it

In the Pastrie kitchen one oven, one Choppinge Board three glasse windowes well glased

Item A garden plott enclosed with A pale except one doore w[hi]ch is wanteing A hen pen of three heigh[t]e[s] with two board[e]s over the same

In the Stable two particons of Board[e] with Rack & Manger two door[e]s w[i]th Lockes and Keyes one little bench

Item A howse of Office with two doores tho'ne of them haveinge Lock and Key

In the dyneinge Chamber a faire new large draweing table

Item a faire new Court Cubbard the Roome wainscotted about & glased fully A iron grate in the Chimney & A closett with shelves unto it And a doore thereof with Locke and Key & the doores of this dyneinge Roome with Lock[e]s and Keyes

In the lodgeinge Chamber over the Parlor one faire large wainscotted & carved bedsteed corded with Curtaine Rod[e]s & hookes Item one Court Cubbard fairly glased a doore with locke and key & one old Round iron grate in the Chimney

In the next Chamber unto it one standinge beddsteed with curtaine rodd[e]s and hookes one Court Cubbard one Round iron grate in the Chimney alsoe A studdy with Nyne shelves in it one Casem[en]t with two panes of glasse well glased one doore with Locke and Key one doore to the Roome haveinge Lock & Catch this Roome is well glased & A doore at the staire foote with latch & Katch

In the two Chambers over the said dyneinge Chamber in tho'ne of them A Canapie bedsteed with an old Mapp corded haueing a presse in that Roome to hang apparrell in w[i]th Locke & Key and the outward doore with Locke and Key Also three glasse windowes fairly glased in the said Roomes

In the Chamber over the kitchen one New bedsteed corded with curtaine rod[e]s and hookes one Court Cubbard one iron grate in the Chimney & the windowes fairly glased

Item one doore att the stayre foote of the Lanthorne w[i]th a bolt the Lanthorne wainscotted about and glased with seaven casem[en]ts and a doore above the staires with a bolt lock & key latch and Katch

It[e]m one faire Roome part over the kitchen Milkehowse & larder boarded with Dale board[e]s the same is especially for dryeing of cloathes vnglased.

It[e]m three other lodgeing Roomes fairly glased with doores latches & catches lock[e]s and keyes in one whereof next to the street is a faire bedsteed corded & curtaine Rod[e]s & hookes there vnto belongeing

In the Lodgeinge chamber over the kitchen Chamber one bedsteed corded one shelve one table and fairly glased

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