ART. XIII. – *The Demolition of the Priory of St Mary, Carlisle.*
By D. R. PERRIAM

THE original intention of this paper was to discuss the demolition of the nave of Carlisle Cathedral, but after further investigation it was discovered that, as the subject was so complex, it was necessary to include much material relating to the attached priory and the defences of the city. In fact it was found that it would be impossible to describe the history of the Cathedral without mentioning the Priory of St Mary, as one was an integral part of the other, and although the Priory ceased to exist by name in 1540 its buildings form an important part of the Cathedral today.

It has always been thought that the crucial local event in the Civil War was the destruction of the nave of the Cathedral, the original Priory church, but the date at which this was done has always been in question. William Hutchinson quotes two dates, 1641 and 1644, in the same volume:[1] Ferguson says 1646[2] and Kenneth Smith says this was done about 1650,[3] while Sir Nikolaus Pevsner considered this "was destroyed by the Scots between 1645 and 1652".[4] Charles Purdey, superintendent of Ewan Christian's restoration work at the Cathedral said in a lecture of 1855, "the greatest work of destruction . . . took place during the civil wars in 1646, when nearly the whole of the nave was pulled down . . . and many other injuries were inflicted . . . exterior walls near the ground are everywhere disfigured and scarred by the impression of musket balls and shot and many mouldings, etc., which at a distance appear to have dropped off by decay, upon a close examination show plainly that the idle soldiery amused themselves by firing at them".[5] Nightingale questioned the interpretations of what had been written about Carlisle Cathedral during this period, saying "the truth is much of what is alleged in this way was simply impossible, because of the political and religious complexion of the area: it was too preponderatingly Royalist for a tithe of the evil things to have happened, which writers are in a habit of assigning to that period".[6] To arrive at the correct date it is necessary to look at many seemingly unrelated references, which when seen together, give an overall picture of the sequence of events leading to the partial destruction of what had been a flourishing Priory.

It has been proved that an Augustinian Priory, dedicated to St Mary, had been established in Carlisle before Henry I created the see of Carlisle in 1133,[7] which meant that the Priory church, then in the course of erection, became a Cathedral. This did not preclude the Augustinian Canons who were able to make full daily use of the Cathedral as though it were their own church, nor did it prevent part of the nave being used by the citizens as the parish church of St Mary.[8]

Although Bishop Strickland completed the Cathedral by 1419[9] and little seems to have been done to the exterior until almost 250 years later, apart from minor repairs, further Priory buildings were added or rebuilt by successive priors from the 13th century up to 1528.[10] By the time of the Dissolution, therefore, the Priory was in a better state of preservation than the Cathedral.

With the Dissolution, the decline of the buildings belonging to the Priory of St Mary seemed inevitable, but at first they were saved by being granted in their entirety (Plate

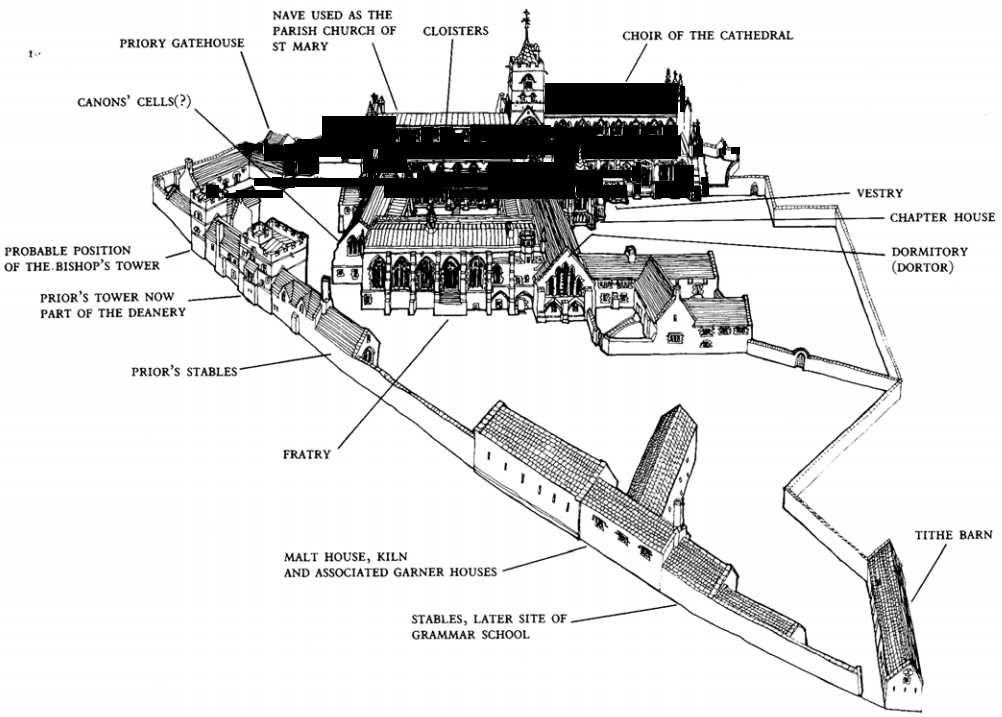

PLATE 1. – Reconstruction drawing of the Priory of St Mary viewed from the south west, as it probably appeared in 1528: based on a drawing by Sir Charles Nicholson reproduced in *The Builder*, 23 February 1907, with additions and corrections by D. R. Perriam, redrawn by John Robinson.

1) to the new Dean and Chapter of the rededicated Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, on 8 May 1541.[11] As the first Dean had been the former Prior, he would have done all in his power to retain the Priory buildings. Other priories and abbeys in the area were demolished, some to provide materials for the new fortifications at Carlisle, the bell from Wetheral Priory being used to call the workmen employed on building the Citadel[12] and lead being requested from Shap Abbey for the Citadel roof in 1543.[13] Bishop Aldridge, as treasurer of the King's works in Carlisle, could have conveniently used stone from St Mary's Priory for building the new Citadel, but the fact that he was requesting materials from as far away as Shap Abbey suggests that he was protecting those building now forming part of his Cathedral.

Since the Dissolution, the Dean rather than the Bishop had been responsible for the Cathedral fabric, but as no dean was resident in Carlisle, nor had been since the death of Dean Salkeld in 1560,[14] it was necessary for the King to remind Dean Comber, on 4 September 1639, of his responsibilities: "we have lately been informed . . . that our cathedral church of Carlisle is fallen exceedingly into decay so far that if there be not present care taken for the repair thereof it cannot be long upheld. The government of this place is by us committed to you and the chapter there, and we doubt your long continued absence together with some negligence of your predecessors, have hastened this fabric, which should have been upheld both by your charge and care, towards the

ruin in which it is now like to fall without speedy supply . . . and therefore to require you by yourself or your vice-dean and chapter to take present care for the yearly repair of such parts of that church as are most faulty, that so every year some what may be done according to the proportion of your means there, till the whole church shall be sufficiently repaired".[15]

A copy of this letter was also sent to Bishop Potter, who having discussed this with the Dean, thought it better that he should reply on 6 December 1639, he being Chaplain to the King; "that he [the Dean] conceived the meaning of his Majesty's letter to be, that the reparations of the church should rise only out of the rents and not from the fines", these fines forming part of his salary, whilst the Bishop felt "if the charge be laid only upon the rents little will be done and if there be not something yearly reserved out of the fines, I am not like to live to see the church sufficiently repaired".[16] The matter was not taken up again because of the events that were to follow.

With the impending danger of a Scottish invasion, the Governor of Carlisle, under his powers of martial law, was allowed "to do and execute all and every other matters and things fit and necessary for the good and safe government of the said city",[17] and he found on 4 February 1640 "divers convenient places belonging to the Abbey, under the dean and chapter, which being repaired will serve for cellarage and storehouses".[18] The King had already ordered on 8 March 1639, a survey of the coast between Carlisle and Workington "to certify the general and most convenient place for a magazine"[19] and it is significant that on the 14 March 1640, the Earl of Newport, as master of ordnance was ordered to deliver 600 arms "into his Majesty's magazine at Carlisle by indenture with the governor of the garrison there".[20] The position of this was later given by Bishop Nicolson writing in 1697; "our Chapter-House and Treasurery had been turn'd into a magazine for the Garrison".[21] He dated this to "the days of Rapine and Rebellion", but he cannot have been correct because the Civil War did not start until 1642 and a secondary use was found for it during the siege of Carlisle in December 1644, showing that a magazine had existed as such before that date: "now was all the corne taken from the Citizens and carried to the Magazeene, a portion thence distributed weekly to every family according to their number".[22] Moreover, what Nicolson seems to be referring to was not the Priory Chapter House, but the Fratry which became the Chapter House in 1668; proof of this was given in a report to Bishop Smith in 1693;[23] "that the great Room (in the Fratry) where the dean and Prebendaries and all other members of the Church used to meet and dine upon solem occasions" was full of timber and stone "which were put up there [an upper floor room] to make a Magazine in the late usurpac'ion" and were a "perfect lumber".[24] This is further complicated by the fact that there had been a magazine "in the late Friary",[25] but this was in the Blackfriars Convent and had obviously been demolished after the dismantling of border fortifications in 1603, otherwise it would have been used again in 1640.

The aftermath of the 1644-45 seige was to affect the Priory buildings again. The Royalist garrison surrendered the city on the 28 June 1645, to a Scottish army supporting the Parliamentary cause and the favourable terms of surrender allowed the defendants to march away with their arms to join the King. The nine-month seige had done nothing to improve the defences of Carlisle and as an immediate act to secure the city, and even more to prevent hostile citizens from surprising the garrison from within the walls, "the abbey, cloister, part of ye deanery, chapter houses, and houses built for ye prebendaryes

and ye rest of ye members of ye college which were stately buildings, they pulled downe and imployed ye stones to build a maine guard and a guard house at every gate, to repaire ye walls and other secular uses as they thought fit".[26] For this the Scots were condemned because they had included a clause in the surrender to say that they would deface no church; but it is questionable whether these Priory buildings could be interpreted as a "church", having been previously used by the garrison for military purposes and hence of strategic importance. Most of the evidence, especially that of Hugh Todd, shows that it was not the Scots who were responsible for the destruction of St Mary's Church, but this did not prevent the blame being placed upon them by various commentators, including Sir Christopher Musgrave, who could not have been a witness of the event, he being young and elsewhere at the time: "all these Guard-houses were built by the late Rebels, who made use of the stones of the parish Church of St Maries".[27]

Storer, writing in 1816, was perhaps the most scathing, but as we can now see, he was completely wrong; "such was our cathedral when the worse than vandal bands in 1644, despoiled it of 'its fair proportion', by destroying the west front and 92 feet of the nave, to erect guard-houses and batteries! Of all the infernal acts of delirious despotism, committed by those infurate fanatics, this seems to have been the most laborious and expensive. The very idea, indeed, of taking down such a massy structure to make a guard-house, is worthy of the age and people".[28]

Confirmation that stones from the Priory were used in the construction of the main guard, which stood in the centre of the market place, was given in the local press at the time of its demolition, "on a post mortem examination of the relics of this departed building the city antiquarians discovered unmistakeable evidence of 'Old Noll's' sacrilegious work in the shape of several stones whose former connections with the cathedral their appearance leaves no doubt".[29] It will be shown that it could not have been stone from the Cathedral that was used to build the guard houses; references to the "Cathedral" refer to it in its entirety, i.e. including the Priory buildings. When Queen Mary's Tower was demolished in 1834, carved stones used in the repair of that part of the Castle, were found to be from the "Cathedral" and were returned there in 1835.[30] Also "a large number of the stones from the 'Cathedral' were discovered during the works at Carlisle Castle and returned to the Dean and Chapter by H.M. Office of Works in 1914. Among these were stones belonging to this [Priory] Chapter House, including several of the internal octagon quoins . . . two capitals, also one base stone, and sufficient arch stones of the wall-arcading to complete one side".[31] There is no doubt about the date of the construction of the main guard, "on the front of it was sculptured a coat of arms (which in 1788 was defaced) with the date under it 1645".[32]

Parliament was aware of the threat of having a Scottish garrison in Carlisle and instructed the Commissioners going to Scotland on the 12 July 1645, to "propose that the works about Carlisle may be slighted and the place dismantled and that the Scots' garrison now in Carlisle, put there, without the consent of the Parliament of England be forthwith removed, in pursuance of the large treaty of both Kingdoms".[33]

As Parliament intended to reduce Carlisle's defences, they had no intention of spending money on repairs, especially when this would be to the Scots' advantage, but the Governor, Major Jeremiah Tolhurst, did not understand the delay and petitioned Cromwell on 3 April 1646, "the garrison, citadel, castle and drawbridges are very ruinous, there having been no repairs since Col. Fitch commanded them $3\frac{1}{2}$ years ago,

except a few necessary ones, from which I have had to pay . . . if the place is not repaired this summer it will cost much the more".[34]

Eventually the Scots left Carlisle on 20 January 1647 and the Commissioners "commenced the work of slighting the fortifications on 26 January . . . and had found the town a model of misery and desolation as the sword, famine and plague had left it".[35] Such was the fear that the guns from Carlisle would fall into enemy hands, they were to be taken to St Herbert's Isle on Derwentwater and kept under strong guard.[36] It was perhaps the lack of city defences that resulted in the recapture of Carlisle for the King in 1648 and it was some months before the threatened further siege resulted in capitulation. Despite the receipt of £500 from Parliament for repairs to Carlisle's fortifications in 1649,[37] Colonel Fitch, on 21 May 1650, still spoke of "the great ruins of his garrison and the need of repair . . . else the summer will be almost spent before I can fall to work, for want of money".[38] Some further money was sent together with provisions to supply the army, because of the possibilities of another Scottish invasion, but little could have been done by 14 October 1651, when the emergency was over and Parliament "ordered the troops of Col. Fitch, Governor of Carlisle . . . to be disbanded with a weeks pay from Monday".[39] All of the border garrisons were removed at the same time and this seems to have been the result of Cromwell's successful Scottish campaign.

The city was now in the military grasp of Parliament but the civic administration remained in Royalist hands, Edward Aglionby continuing as Mayor from 1644 to 1647. His successor, George Barwick was "cast forth by Parliament for his deliquency"[40] in February 1648 and his replacement by Richard Barwise, M.P. for Carlisle and Commissioner for Parliament with the Scottish Army, was an attempt to establish firm Parliamentary control of the city. However, before he could implement any changes "the enemy upon their surprising of Carlisle [in March 1648] took Mr Barwise . . . prisoner and so keep him still. They cannot pretend him to be a prisoner of war, he being there upon a civil employment and not in arms".[41] George Barwick was reinstated as Mayor and remained so until the 1 October 1648, when the city was recaptured and the Parliamentarian, Robert Collier, took his place.

The final ejection of the Royalists from Carlisle Corporation, towards the end of 1648, left only the settlement of religious problems in the city. Parliament abolished the episcopal system, dismissing bishops, deans and chapters, and settling "their Lands and Possessions upon Trustees for the use of the Commonwealth", so that Cromwell would have more money for the army, but the actual sale of land thus siezed was held in abeyance until the King's execution in 1649.[42] Money was also required to attract Presbyterian ministers to the north, to replace those who would not conform to the national religion and this was made the responsibility of the Committee for Propogating the Gospel. Realization of the Dean and Chapter assets in Carlisle was the task of the Committee for Sequestration in Cumberland and the natural choice of a suitable person to take charge of this would be someone on both committees.

Such a person was Thomas Craister, who had been a captain in Cromwell's army and was also Mayor of Carlisle from 1649-1651. However it was reported to Parliament on 1 August 1650 that the lack of activity in the north was due to "several towns with the plague . . . especially Carlisle and Mr Craister one of the Commissioners, being mayor . . . is utterly disabled from doing any work so that the service of sequestration is wholley at a stand".[43] This was perhaps the reason why the survey of Dean and Chapter

possessions, started in 1649, was not completed until 11 June 1650.[44] The survey gave the value of Priory buildings if they were sold, but it again pointed out their military use, which led to the saving of otherwise useless and ruinous properties.

Although Thomas Craister seems to have had the power to do what he wished with the Cathedral at this time, he was not irreligious and in October 1649 reaffirmed the Corporation's religious committments: "we order that (according to an ancient order) the aldermen of this Citty shall attend the Maior upon every Lord's day to the Church in their gownes and likewise to attend the Maior in the markett place at or before the sermon bell to the church . . . and Common counsellmen to attend likewise",[45] so it is quite clear from this that the civic authorities had no sacrilegious intent towards the Church in Carlisle.

The Church of St Mary in the nave of the Cathedral, was the traditional church attended by the Corporation and because it had been in full use in this way, it was saved from the destruction that befell the other Priory buildings in 1645. However its condition must have given cause for concern and now that the city, through the interests of its Mayor, was financially involved in church maintenance, they had a much more realistic approach to their responsibilities. St. Cuthbert's Church appears to have been in a much better state of preservation, so that Hugh Todd was perhaps partly correct when he said "they dessigned to pull down the whole Cathedrall and to have noe church but only St Cuthberts".[46]

What Todd perhaps meant to say was that they intended to pull down the whole of St Mary's Church and to *use* no church but St Cuthberts, which is what happened. St Mary's Church did not occupy the entire nave "but only the 6 western bays, the [remaining] two bays belonging to the Chapter".[47] The reason for this was that the two eastern bays formed part of the choir of the Cathedral and "that some sort of wall or division existed at this time, possibly in its lower stages the remains of the old choir screen".[48] Although the destruction of the nave was not entire, what was left had formed no part of St Mary's Church; and the eventual use of the two remaining bays for the parish church, after the Restoration, was a completely new use for that part of the Cathedral. Todd forgot to add that with the abolition of the episcopacy, the Cathedral no longer had a purpose and the parishioners of St Mary's were thus able to use the main body of the Cathedral as their church.

This change of civic patronage was perhaps not entirely due to financial considerations and may have been much more deep seated. Ferguson perhaps explains the reasons for this, "Queen Elizabeth issued an order appointing 'lecturers' in all Cathedral churches. These lecturers appear soon to have been considered as not only rivals, but as direct opponents of the clergy; and into this way of opposing the church the Puritan party threw all their strength and with great success".[49] It seems that the Civil War was used as an excuse to break with the Cathedral.

The physical move of the Corporation is recorded in the Chamberlain's accounts where payment was made on 7 January 1650 to "Robt. Lightfoot & Robt. Browne for Shifting the pews from St Maries to Cuthberts church, 4 days worke".[50] This would have involved moving sufficient pews to take the Corporation, a total of thirty-six places and fitting them in as best as they could into the already cramped St Cuthbert's Church. The remaining pews were moved into the choir of the Cathedral. A number of minor repairs to St Cuthbert's church are recorded by the Chamberlain including a final act of

preparation, on 29 October 1651, "for washing forth the late Kings Arms",[51] no doubt to be replaced with those of the Protectorate.

Now that the congregation and importance of St Mary's was very much reduced, such a large church was no longer required; this was the main reason for its demolition. There are many further payments recorded by the Chamberlain, which perhaps show that lead was being taken from the roof of the nave and flags were being taken from the floor, but there is no evidence of large-scale demolition; "19 October 1650 . . . for leading with a horse and a cart lead from the church to the workhouse"; "20 March 1651 . . . for leading stones from the church . . . for the payment without Caldew gaite".[52]

Todd continues the story "the westward of St Maryes Church they demolished which was after built shorter as it now stands";[53] and Jefferson takes this a little further "the opening at the west end was afterwards closed up with a wall, strengthened with huge buttresses and the space between the wall and the transept fitted up as the parochial church of St Mary".[54] When this was done it must have involved considerable expense in taking down part of the nave and using the stone to build a new west end and therefore there should be some record of this work. On 8 April 1652, the House of Commons Committee for Compounding issued a warrant for the payment of £340 to Thomas Craister and Cuthbert Studholme, Mayor of Carlisle, "for repairs [to] the Great Church of Carlisle".[55] This is also confirmed by Kip's engraving of the Cathedral,[56] (Plate 2) where the key states that the nave was demolished by 1652. Because this engraving is so accurate in its depiction of the Cathedral, there is little reason to doubt the inscription and the date is probably corroborated by the facts already given. That the ruins of the nave are shown on this engraving of 1715, proves that the demolition was never completed and Todd gives one reason why so much was left standing, "ye Kings Hapie Restoration putt an end to these and such like sacriligious intencon".[57]

The truth is that such a vast quantity of stone would have had no immediate use and demolition would be gradual over a number of years. There is evidence to show that some materials were used by the Corporation to repair other Priory buildings and on public works, but there is nothing to suggest that stone from the nave was used to repair the city defences and the disbanding of the garrison in 1651 would obviate the necessity for this.

Purdey thought that while the nave was under demolition the previous "high roof was also substituted by a flat one".[58] However, when Bishop Strickland heightened the tower of the Cathedral in the early 15th century, he gave the north transept "a low-pitched roof; the Perpendicular tracery which now appears within the north arch of the crossing was placed above it as a window to let in light over the north transept roof".[59] 18th-century watercolours of the Cathedral show almost identical tracery windows over low-pitched roofs on the nave and south transept. Unfortunately both windows were lost in 19th-century restorations, but with this pictorial evidence it seems likely that the low-pitched roofs were all of the same date, the existing roof on the nave being merely contracted and given hips. This may explain why, even after the repairs of the Commonwealth, the old roofs required further work on the 26 September 1696, "whereas the decayes of the Leeds of this Church have been Great that the Repaires thereof have of late cost a Considerable Sume of Money and other parts of the leeds as well of the Church as Fratry Requiring Speedy Reparacons".[60]

Historians of the Cathedral have dated the removal of the spire from the tower to

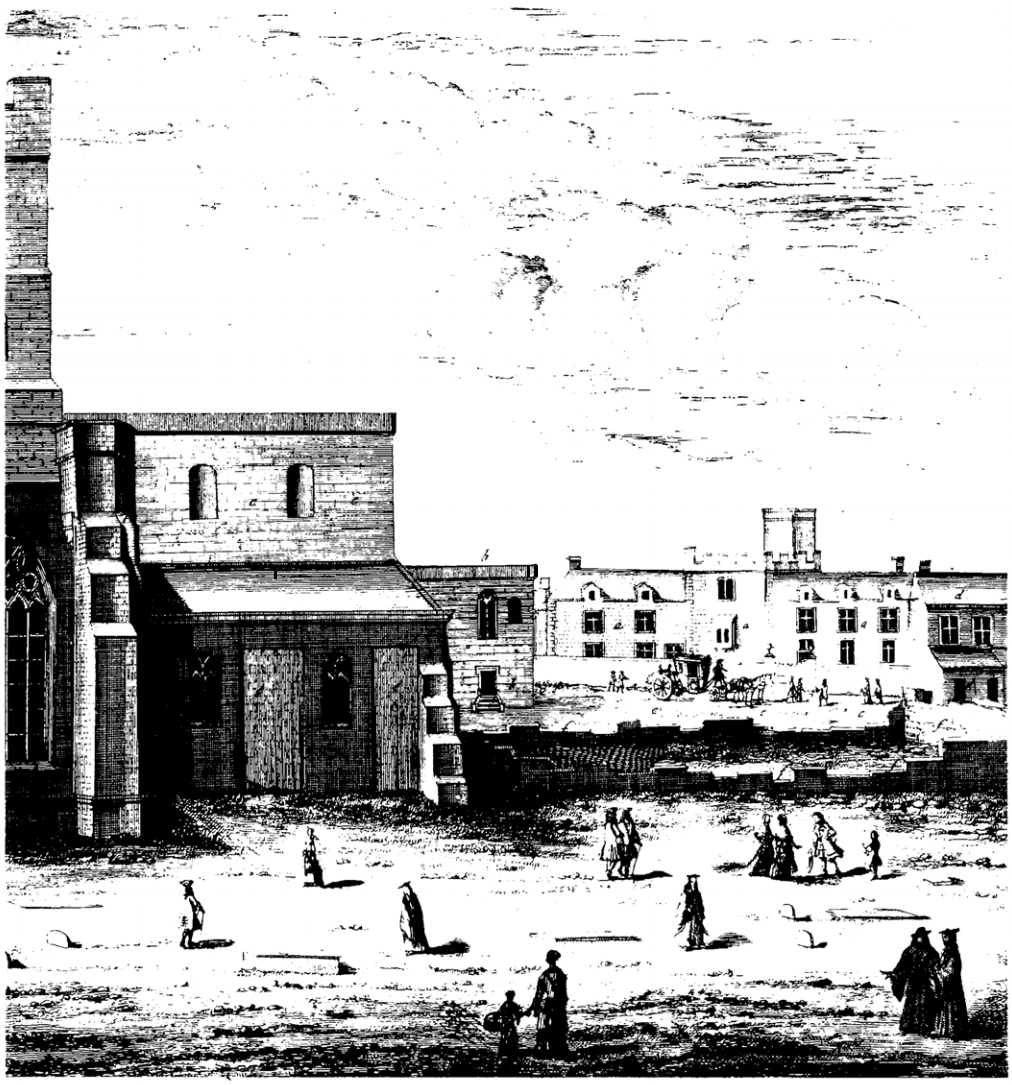

PLATE 2. – Detail of the 1715 engraving of Carlisle Cathedral by Johannes Kip, 1653-1722, showing the remains of the nave, which the key indicates was demolished by 1652:

aaa	AEdes D Decani	House of the Dean
bb	Refectory Comunis Pars	Part of the Common Refectory
ccc	Area intra Collegy Septum	Area within the College's wall
dd	Pars Domus, Unius Canonicorum	Part of a Canon's house
eeee	Ecclesia Parochialis B MARIAE Carliol Cathedrah conagua	Parish Church of the Blessed Mary adjoining Carlisle Cathedral
fffff	Pars Occidentalis Ecclesia Parochialis B Mariae impys Perduellionum Manibus diruta, ad AD 1652 nondum vero Restaurata	Western part of the Parish Church of the Blessed Mary, thrown down by the godless hands of traitors and not yet (as at A.D. 1652) rebuilt

From the engraving in the collection of John Robinson

about 1661, but there is no documentary proof of this. As the Civil War had so disrupted life in the Cathedral it took a few years for the Dean and Chapter to settle into their routine and it appears no repairs were done. It was not until 6 April 1669, when James Nicholson was appointed as "overseer of the public works" at the Cathedral[61] that any determined effort was made towards restoration and if the spire was taken down after this then it would have been the subject of a Chapter minute.

What seems to have happened during the Commonwealth, after the demolition of the nave, was that the tower was given a flat roof in connection with more general repairs of the Cathedral roofs; the final act to commemorate this was the hanging of three new bells in the tower, dated between 1657 and 1659, one of which was inscribed "THIS RINGE WAS MADE SIX TUNEABLE BELLS AT THE CHARGE OF THE LORD HOWARD AND OTHER GENTREE OF THE COUNTY AND CITIE AND OFFICERS OF THE GARRISON BY THE ADVICE OF MAJER JEREMIAH TOLHURST GOVERNOR OF THE GARRISON 1658".[62]

The Church of St Mary did not immediately move into the remains of the nave and Nightingale gave the reason for this "the floor of the Cathedral itself was common ground at the disposal of all the sects".[63] This is perhaps confirmed by the fact that George Fox, the Quaker, was allowed to preach in the "steeple house" in 1653.[64] At the first episcopal visitation after the Restoration, on 6 September 1666, it was agreed "that the now remaining part of St Maries Church be left free that it may be fitted in the best manner, for divine services and other offices to be performed there as formerly, the deane and prebendaries procureing a Curate with convenient Salary to Officiate there".[65] Nothing appears to have happened by 20 December 1669 when the Chapter ordered "whereas in the late troublesome times severall pews and seats have been sett up in the body of the Quire of the said church to the great disornament thereof, that the said seats and pews be taken downe and placed in the remaining part of the Church of St Maries being the body of the Cathedral . . . and that the ordering of the sd seats and the placing of others in St Maries be done in the Dean's absence".[66] The Cathedral authorities obviously wanted to rid themselves of the now unwelcome parishioners, but history decreed that they had to be accommodated within the "Cathedral".

No mention is made in the Parliamentary Survey in 1650,[67] of the Cathedral or the Church of St Mary, which were obviously not considered because they were in use as churches and the only part of the building to suffer was the vestry which "was pulled down and ye materals, as stone, lead, wood and iron, sold and gone".[68] This would have been the fate of the other Priory buildings, which were described in the survey as ruinous, but "the Governor is about to repaire and dispose for the use of the Garrison of Carlisle are worth to be sold £320".[69] The survey also mentions "the ruinous Houses not desired by the Governor worth to be sold £31.10s.0d.",[70] which shows that he intended to make use of most of the Priory buildings.

Before the Governor could receive Parliamentary consent for the proposals in the survey, Thomas Craister had secured part of the deanery "for maintaining 24 poore children with meat and cloathes and teaching them the triad of knitting [from the beginning of November 1649] £55:15:08."[71] Repairs were in hand when the Chamberlain recorded payment on 18 October 1649 "for leading wood and lead to the workhouse, one horse and cart £00:01:06"[72] and a similar payment on the next day shows the origin of the materials was the "Church", hence the small charge for cartage: and again in 1650

"for the mending the glass windoes at the deanes house for the poore £00:04".[73] However the Commissioners also looked at this and its adjoining buildings for the military; "all that house, called the Dean's house, a stable with a large open house like a barn adjoining the south end thereof. All of which are in great decay . . . and the other large houses adjoining, the Governor desireth for a storehouse, for a horse mill, and bakehouse for baking bread for his soldiers in case of necessitie and for his store keeper to live in, this place being much incumbered with thieves and many other inconveniences".[74]

However, it seems that the Governor had to put up with his "thieves" and utilize the other buildings around the deanery as best he could. He was allowed to use the Malt House to which he added the horse mill, to grind corn for the garrison, as is shown by a government report compiled at the Restoration, "in regard to the house or room where the horse mill is placed doth appertain to the Church and is therefore claimed by the dean and prebends of the place, if it shall be thought meet to remove the same, the most convenient place is supposed to be in the castle yard adjoining to the store house".[75] Once the garrison had been disbanded in 1651, none of the Priory buildings were further required by the garrison and on the 20 August 1652, Parliament paid £416:5:5 to Thomas Craister's successor as Mayor, Cuthbert Studholme, for the more permanent establishment of the Deanery "for the setting up of a manufacture of certain merchandices in Co. Cumberland and employing the poor".[76] That it was the Deanery to which this referred is given in a petition by Guy Carleton, Chaplain to the King and the newly appointed Dean of Carlisle, in August 1660, "certain persons, under colour of authority during the usurpation, withheld from him the mansion house of the deanery, for erection of certain manufactures" and he requested a "mandate for its speedy delivery".[77] His request was granted and he was in residence on 23 November 1660, when the Chamberlain recorded "paid for sack and wine to Mrs Monke when you [the Mayor George Barwick] went to visit the Deane in his chamber £01:03:08".[78]

The condition of the city in 1649 left few buildings which were of any use to the garrison so that every available structure was made use of; "one ruinous timber house situate on the north side of the Deane's house, called the singing mens house, which said house or houses the Governor intends presently to take down and to remove into the stable yard [in the Castle?] for the quartering of his soldiers, for as much as the ruins of the cittie are so great as at present hee is forced to quarter neere about halfe of his souldiers without the Cittie".[79]

As has already been established, the Fratry (Plate 3) had been used as a magazine, probably until 1641, when it was no longer required by the garrison. Because the Tithe Barn of the priory had been partly let for secular use from the Dissolution,[80] along with the Malt House[81] and associated Garner Houses, they had been kept in repair, but as a result there was a lack of convenient disused buildings which could be used by the Canons of the Cathedral, who often had other sources of income, which being paid in kind, required suitable storage. When they saw that some of the more substantial Priory buildings had been used for storage by the garrison they thought that they could do the same, but this met with the extreme displeasure of the Dean and Chapter, "whereas the Petti Canons have committed a strange insolence in housing their corne in the new fraterie, contrary to the intentions and purposes of the pious and royall founders of the magnificent structure, for the chastening of the present offenders and for preventing the like offence and insolency to be done hereafter we doe and award that everie of the said

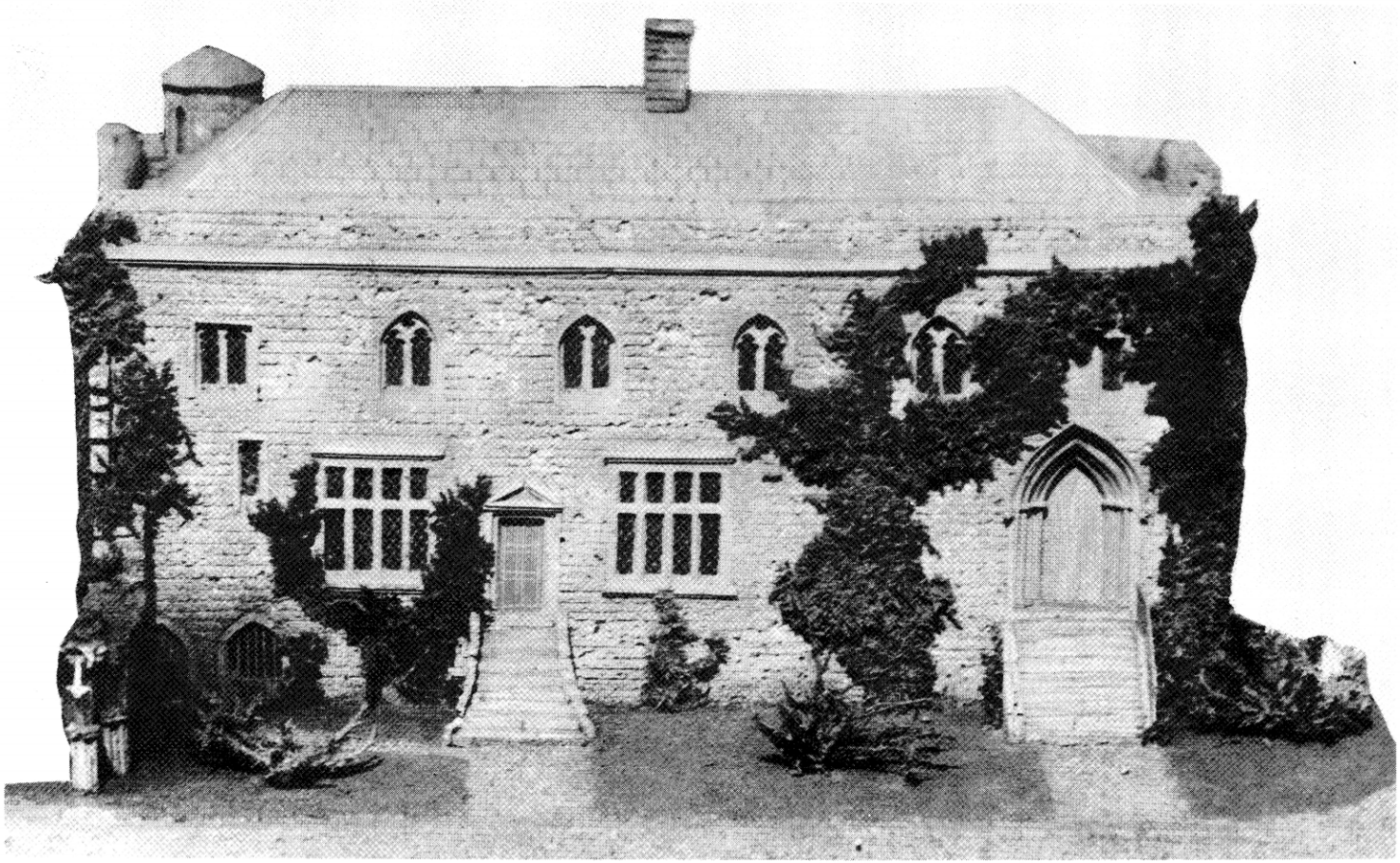

PLATE 3. – Scale model of the Fratry, *c.* 1860, by John Bellamy, 1808-93, showing the late 17th century doorway with flanking windows and right doorway inserted by Sir Robert Smirke. As few engravings and photographs exist which show this part of the Priory before the 1880-1 restoration, this is a unique record of the building.

Photograph by G. Pawle. *Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery*

offenders shall have a pecuniarie mulct of fiftie shillings to be subtracted out of everie of their next yeare wages".[82]

Having once been used as a barn it was again put to that use in 1649, "one house called the Fratree, being lately very ruinous but now repaired, had in repairing for a barne to lay corne in [for the garrison] and now employed for that use".[83] By 1677 the upper floors of the Fratry were in full use, but the basement being empty and the Malt Kiln let to a private individual, it was "ordered that a brewhouse be made convenient fitted under the Fratry for the use of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle and that a chimney be there made and also convenient partitions and likewise a lead brought and gott upp, with convenient and necessary brewing utensills".[84] However on letting the Malt Kiln a clause was inserted to safeguard the Chapter's malting.[85] Sufficient space must have been left, because in 1684 it was ordered by the Chapter "that a convenient meal garner be made in the Low Fratry for the Farmers of our tithe meale from the first row of pillars there to the north wall, and that a doore be broken forthe in some part of the said walls and stepps made to goe into the same and the farmers are to be at the charges of making arks or other convenient places for putting their meal in".[86]

The long period of neglect and the events of 1645, already referred to, left "the fabrick anciently designed and used for the chapter house . . . utterly ruinated in the late times of troubles".[87] Also "the building called the dormitory was pulled down and totally ruined in these late times, by reason whereof the stone arches underneath are much decayed and in danger of falling to the great hazard of that part of the Church adjoining to it. That for the securing of the two arches [the slype and Chapter-House vestibule] next to the Church and the preventing further danger, all the arches except those two adjoyning the Church be taken down and those two arches secured by buttresses and such other meanes as skilful workmen shall direct – provided the wall between the south syde of the Church and the east end of the Fratry be left intire – and for the better ornament of the places within the precincts of the said Church which by the taking down of the said arches might in some measure be impaired, that the ground where the said arches stood be assigned to the fourth Prebendary for a garden to be annexed to his house".[88] From what remains today of the Dormitory (Dorter), the above appears to have been done, but the slype arch, next to the south transept, which had been so carefully saved was later destroyed; "until the year 1833 a considerable portion of this building remained, when probably on account of its ruinous state it was all taken away except [the west wall]".[89] The suggested inclusion of the remains of the dormitory into a new Cathedral Library in 1693, has been covered elsewhere.[90]

Despite the destruction which is supposed to have happened during the Civil War, a surprising amount of the Priory survives today; the Tithe Barn; the Prior's Tower and stables; the Priory Gate;[91] parts of the Priory Walls; the Fratry; the Chapter-House doorway; and parts of the Dormitory.[92] The Cloisters are still there as an open area, but a road was driven through them in the 1850s as part of the Cathedral "restoration", which now has bollards to prevent its use. In 1705, what was perhaps the last remaining fragment of the covered Cloister walk was removed, "we are directed . . . to take down that useless porch before the Fratry, and to employ the stone, lead and timber towards building a Vestry on the south side of the Cathedral where the Vestry was formerly built".[93] This porch was rebuilt in replica by G. E. Street as his contribution to the restoration of the Priory in 1880.[94] The recreation of the Cloisters as a grassed square

with a flagged walk around it, would enhance the appearance of the Cathedral grounds and would give a better understanding of the original layout of the Priory for visitors.[95]

It has been suggested that "the house of the second Canon . . . at the west end of the nave of the Cathedral . . . was rebuilt, partly over the site of the ruined nave by Canon Arthur Savage, wood for the purpose being assigned to him in April 1669".[96] However, whilst a house is shown in this position on the 1715 engraving,[97] it does not appear to be built over the ruins of the nave. The present house which is definitely built over that part of the nave indicated, looks early eighteenth century and could well have been rebuilt after 1715, incorporating part of the earlier house in its double span.[98]

In more recent years, the site of the nave became part of St Mary's churchyard (closed for burial on 1 May 1854), but in 1930 many of the gravestones were cleared from the area,[99] including a monument by Sir Robert Smirke, to the memory of his brother:[100] of those that are there today, few are in their original positions and many are laid flat.

That the nave of the Cathedral should be completely rebuilt was the dream of many of the architects who wrote on its history and worked on its restoration. Billings in 1839 regretted that more had not been done in the 18th century; "instead of restoring that portion of the Cathedral destroyed during the civil wars and rendering it an ornament to the city", they stripped out much of the medieval woodwork to replace it with "the present barbarous masses of Gothic woodwork"[101] designed by Thomas Pitt in 1764. Cecil Bulman, writing in 1938 about the recent redundancy of St Mary's Church, built beside the Cathedral in 1870, said "it might have been better if the money expended on the building of a new church had been devoted to the building, of some part at least of the demolished nave. Even if only one or two bays had been rebuilt it would not only have given the congregation much more room in their cramped quarters, but would have been a great architectural contribution to the fabric of the Cathedral as a whole and a beginning which could have been followed up in later time, so as to restore to the Cathedral the nave which vanished in the middle of the seventeenth century".[102] An ambitious scheme was proposed by Sir Charles Nicholson in 1934, but this only went as far as the publication of a drawing of the restored nave in the local press[103] (Plate 4).

Because of the difficulties of excavating on a site which is an integral part of a Cathedral in full daily use, there have not been many excavations. Apart from the limited investigations of the apse of the Priory church in 1892 and a drain beneath the Fratry in 1922,[104] only four excavations have been carried out in recent years. C. G. Bulman investigated the nave in the 1930s: "recent excavations, however, over the site of the destroyed portion of the nave . . . proved without a doubt that the nave, when entire, consisted of eight bays. The position of each pier-base was dug over and the foundations exposed".[105] Again in 1953, F. G. Simpson excavated within the demolished nave, in an attempt to reach the Roman levels beneath, but the results were inconclusive and never published.[106] Further work was carried out by Bulman in the mid 1950s, when he uncovered part of the floor of the Chapter House, proving that there are remains of the Priory buildings below the present ground level, but again the results of this excavation were never published and the only evidence of this dig is a photograph in Carlisle Museum.[107]

In 1985 limited excavations were carried out by Carlisle Archaeological Unit to provide information on the depth and nature of the foundations of the Cathedral for the Dean

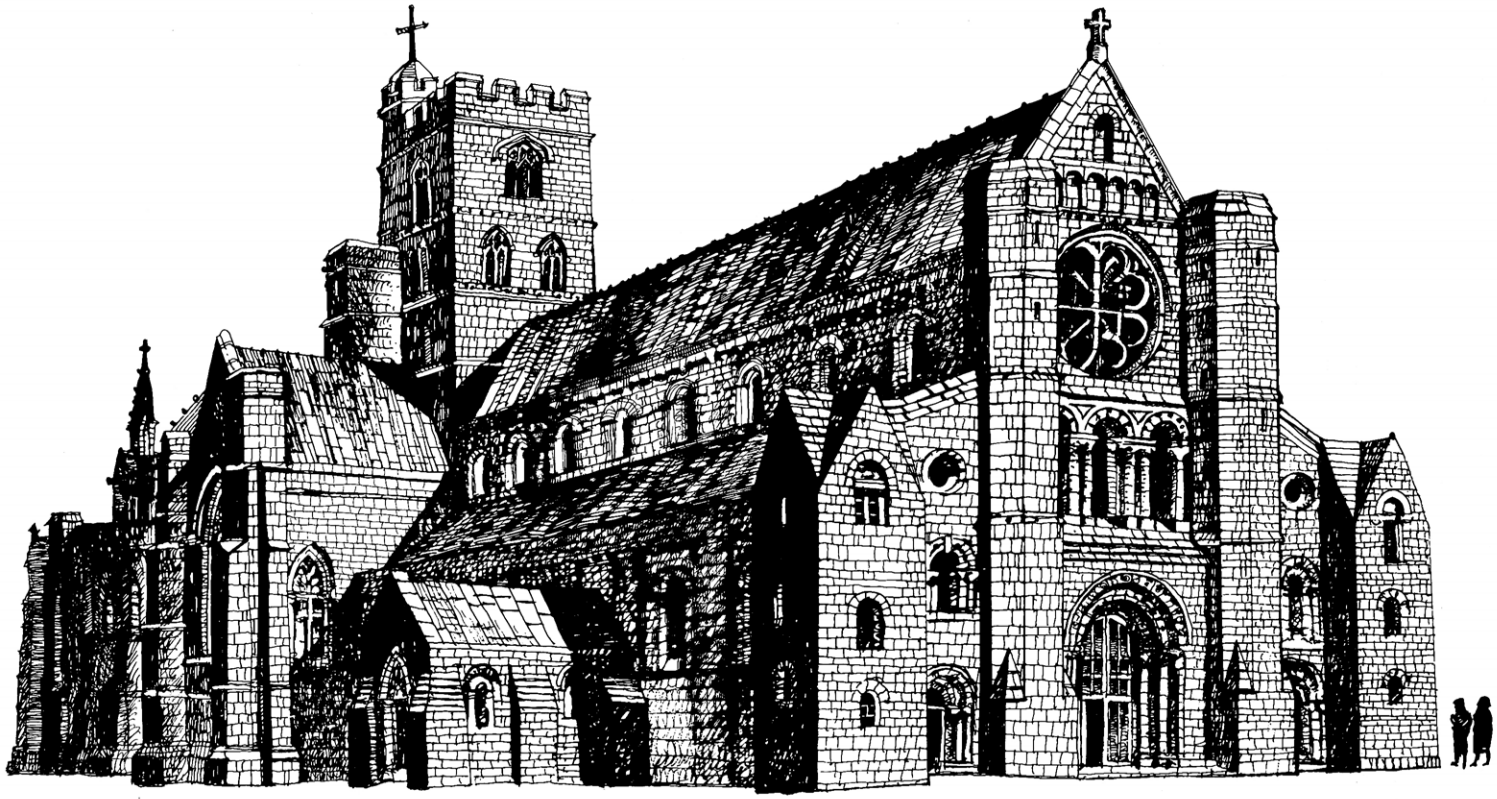

PLATE 4. – Sir Charles Nicholson's suggested restoration of the nave of Carlisle Cathedral, 1934, redrawn by John Robinson from the illustration in the *Carlisle Journal*, 6 July 1934.

and Chapter. Three of the six trenches were along the 17th century west wall within the nave.[108]

In summary, although Wilson[109] thought that the destruction of the priory buildings was carried out "in a moment of fanatical fury" by a conquering army wanting revenge and in violation of a signed treaty, the evidence presented here shows that this was not the case. The Scottish garrison in 1645, did demolish small parts of the Priory to add to the city fortifications. It is perhaps now possible to say that it was not the military who were responsible for the destruction of the nave and if materials from this part of the Priory were used by the Governor of Carlisle, for whatever purpose, it was not his decision to start the demolition. It seems that the overall destruction was the result of action by a number of different parties and perhaps the Cathedral authorities were not entirely without blame. When they were commended for having "heald in a great measure those wounds the Civile Ware made"[110] in 1693, this referred to demolition carried out by them of remaining Priory buildings, so that their fabric could be used to build prebendary houses destroyed in the Civil War.[111]

With the current restoration work at the Cathedral, perhaps this is a fitting time to make a proper record of the Priory buildings, which have never been fully researched. Publication of their entire history is long overdue and one of the first steps towards this could be a new guidebook to "Carlisle Cathedral and Priory of St Mary".

Appendix I

Later History of the Cathedral Nave

The later history of the nave of Carlisle Cathedral is of interest: when the city surrendered to the English army in 1745, the Scottish "Officers yielded themselves Prisoners immediately, and their Men laid down their Arms in the Market-Place, and retired into the Cathedral", as had been agreed in the terms of surrender.[112] This is confirmed in a letter from Bishop Fleming to Humphrey Senhouse on 3 January 1746, which indicates that part of the Cathedral used; "the Duke [of Cumberland] enter'd the Town Tuesday last [31 December 1745] and [took] them [the Rebels in Carlisle] all Prisoners without opposition, and they were all, at least the great part of them, brought together into St Mary's Parish Church where, I suppose they yet continue".[113] On the 16 January 1746 he was again writing to his nephew "however, he [General Howard] has sent away all the Rebels able to be removed (and cleared the Ch[urch] wch had great occasion for it)".[114] According to Creighton the rebels "were sent off on 10 January to Lancaster and Chester".[115]

Prebendary Thomas Wilson (the later Dean) wrote on 20 January 1746 to Dr John Waugh, the Chancellor of the Diocese, then in York, "it will be sometime yet before it will be safe to have services in the Cathedral".[116] Part of the reason for this was given by Thomas Jackson in a letter to Dr Waugh on 23 January 1746, "the Rebels made a most nasty church".[117] Prebendary Wilson again wrote to Dr Waugh on 27 January 1746; "cleansing and washing . . . proves of little use, for the flags being old, spungy, and ill laid, the earth under them is corrupted and till that is removed the Cathedral church will not be sweet, nor will it be safe to have service in it. The pews in the parish church are most of them broke to pieces".[118] Dr Waugh responded on 6 February 1746, "I have made it my business to find out some method to get the church of Carlisle put in a decent condition . . . I think from all I can learn if the Dean and Prebends are willing, the best way is to do it effectually and speedily, and if possible to get an allowance for it afterwards".[119]

An epidemic of smallpox amongst the prisoners had also affected some of the garrison and it was mistakenly feared that the foul air left in St Mary's Church, which had also pervaded the

Cathedral, would spread the disease. Anthony Nixon (adding his own notes in *c.* 1820, when copying Todd's, Ms History of Carlisle, Carlisle Library, A9822), shows that cleaning was all that was done: "the Churches was Cleant ought and the Church flowers [floors] was wased with watter: the Churches had Verey Bade smell for Severall Weekes after". Prebendary Wilson told Dr Waugh on 14 February 1746 of the further remedial action taken, "the burning of sulpher and tar had that effect that we had service in the Cathedral on Sunday last, which was well filled, and chiefly by the military".[120] Whilst the Cathedral was reopened, the question of who was to pay for the cost of repairs to St Mary's Church was uncertain; "I am not willing myself", said Prebendary Wilson to Dr Waugh in the same letter,[121] "to undertake the repairs of the parish Church, as I cannot yet certainly be informed whether they lay upon the Parishioners or the Dean and Prebendarys". The matter closed on the 3 April 1746, when Prebendary Wilson again wrote to Dr Waugh, "it is but a few days since I got an estimate for workmen of the expence we must be at to put the Church in the repair it was before it was made a prison. If it fall wholly upon us, we need not, I think, be much dismayed as thirty pounds will defray all".[122]

When, in the aftermath of the 1745 Rebellion, the rebels were to be returned to Carlisle to stand trial, Mr Wardale wrote to Dr Waugh in July 1746, of his fears of how this would affect the Cathedral; "the Brigr. [Fleming] is strongley distressed what to do with the Rebel prisoners when they come here; the Sherif will not part with the County Gaol; and the Corporation, whom he curses from morning till night, will lend no assistance, so that I am afraid ye expedient of putting them again into the Church (w'ch G.P. advises) will be fallen upon . . . the Brigr. . . . says . . . nothing but the last necessity, shall make him have any thoughts of making use of the Church".[123] However, following a meeting on 5 August 1746, between Philip Carteret Webb, the crown solicitor and the High Sheriff and magistrates, Webb reported "all the assistance I could get from them was an old Malt House which may contain 120 Prisoners or Witnesses and that not a Place of Security".[124] Entries in the Quarter Session Rolls, quoted by Jarvis,[125] shows that "ye kiln" (i.e. the old Malt House of the Priory), was used for this purpose during August and September 1746. As the building was leased by Richard Gilpin, Deputy Lieutenant for Cumberland from the Cathedral authorities at this time and faced with the threat of the alternative use of the Cathedral, there were no difficulties in obtaining permission to use it in this way. Quarter Session Rolls for 5 March 1747, quoted by Jarvis,[126] show that the building was returned in a satisfactory state, "to repairing ye Kiln, Thatching and Straw etc, 12s. 6d.".

However, little seems to have been done to return the nave to its previous use, until the Bishop's visitation in July 1753, when he ordered, "the wall separating the nave or St Maries Church from the Cross Isle to be taken away . . . moveable benches or seats Reading Desk, Communion Table, and Pulpit be placed in the part called St Maries Church . . . all within two years".[127] It was argued that "the wall is for the warmth of the congregation and cannot be taken away without inconvenience",[128] but despite this appeal the Bishop's order was carried out. Billings wrote "the only material alteration in the interior of the Cathedral since the repairs in 1764 was the erection [in 1813] of the Parish Church of St Mary, or rather that portion of it constituting the east wall (between the openings on the west side of the Tower) the ceiling and the galleries in the remains of the nave and its Aisles . . . the only separation of the parish Church from the Choir, previous to this addition, was the lower part of the present wall at the transepts, about ten feet high. To prevent the services of the Church and Choir interfering with each other, the former began at nine o'clock AM and terminated at eleven when the latter commenced".[129] The partition was taken down when the new St Mary's Church was opened in 1870; the pews were removed and it is now the Border Regiment Chapel. Formation of a treasury beneath the floor of the ruined nave, with steps down into it from the remaining nave, is a major development planned for the near future.[130]

Appendix II

Priory Gate

Since its construction in 1528, the Priory Gate has presented problems for historians, some suggesting that the history of the gate is inextricably linked with that of the Grammar School.

It is shown on the *c.* 1563 map of Carlisle[131] as a round-arched gateway with a room above, under a gabled roof within parapets, but without the porters' lodges which were probably added in the late 16th century. C. J. Ferguson thought that the gate had been a tower and that the 19th century alterations had been fairly drastic; "the battlements and parapets have been long since removed and replaced by chimneys and imitation chimneys set up at the four corners of the roof".[132] A watercolour by Robert Carlyle of the gate *c.* 1790,[133] drawn before the alterations, shows that the building has changed little over the last 400 years.

The gate was repaired in 1783 and this may have had some connection with the opening of the Carlisle Dispensary on 1 July 1782 "in a small house in the entrance of the Abbey, up a narrow passage".[134] However, it was some time before it moved into the room over the gateway; "the Dispensary re-opened on 1 February 1810 in Prior Slee's Gatehouse".[135] It continued there until "in 1824 the Dispensary was given notice by the Dean and Chapter that the room in Prior Slee's Gatehouse was required for the storage of records but, as alternative accommodation, the eastern end of the Tithe Barn was offered . . . [where] the new Dispensary premises were opened in 1825",[136] and remained there until a new purpose-built Dispensary opened in 1858.

The later history of the Priory Gate partly involves the Grammar School: a school administered by the Cathedral can be traced back to 1188 and mention is made in 1285 of "the school of the church of Carlisle",[137] "but there is no evidence of a continuous school before 1545".[138]

C. F. C. Padel said "it is impossible to say where the earlier school was housed . . . several buildings within the Cathedral precincts seem to have been successively occupied by the school".[139] At an early date schools appear to have been conducted in churches and it is probable that the Carlisle School was held in the Cathedral, particularly after its refoundation in 1545, one of the statutes of the Cathedral making provision for "the Teacher of the Boys in Grammar".[140] Bouch,[141] notices the graffiti on the Canons' stalls, dated between 1569 and 1660, and suggests "that at this time the Grammar School was held in the choir and that we have the handiwork of the Scholars". Evidence that the school was well established by 1565 is given by Edward Mitchell "prebendarie of Carlysle" who left legacies to the Cathedral staff in his will which included "to the two scuyll masters iiis iiijd a piece".[142]

During the Civil War the city authorities were forced to take responsibility for the Grammar School until the Restoration but no mention is made of a school in the Parliamentary Survey of 1650, although reference was made in the Chamberlain's accounts for 10 February 1659, to repairs to the windows in the "High School". In his will, dated 27 September 1700, Bishop Smith endowed the school with £500, which was used to purchase an estate at Addingham in 1719. His interest in the school and the general rebuilding of the "Abbey" after the Civil War, during his residency as Dean 1671-1684, may have resulted in a new or repaired school building. Prescott identified this; "the old schoolhouse within the precincts, which opened on the West Walls, called for substantial repair from time to time. As early as 1720 there are records of work done, timber being obtained for the purpose from the woods at Prior Park. In 1831 it was determined to take down and rebuild the schoolhouse".[143] That the school was in the cathedral precincts in 1794, was confirmed by Hutchinson,[144] "in the abbey, contiguous to the church and in which property the church stands, are several venerable buildings, such as the deanry, fratery, *head school*, cloisters, porter's lodge, etc.". Padel,[145] located the exact site; "when the old School House was pulled down the present Vicarages of St Mary [now Church House] and St Cuthberts were built", and these stand on West Walls, close to the Tithe Barn. Whilst the new school was being constructed nearby, "the Abbey Gate seems to have been used during the 1832 enlargement and at a time or times, later, for instance during the Headmastership of the Rev John Fawcett and Rev C. H. Lowry".[146] In 1840, Billings said, "the room above the gateway is occupied as an office of the Dean and Chapter".[147] Bouch gives the later history of the 1832 school with its 1851 extension, which "largely owing to the influence of [Bishop Goodwin] the ancient Dean and

Chapter School became Carlisle Grammar School. First mooted in 1875, the scheme was finally approved, by Order of Council in 1880 . . . the new school was opened by the bishop . . . in 1883 [on Swifts Lane]. At the same time a Cathedral Choir School was formed, with a minor canon as headmaster, for the education of the choiristers",[148] and this continued in the old school buildings for many years, which are now used as a Church resources centre and Library. Before the 1880-1 restoration of the Fratry, a room had been used as a "singing school", which must have been the predecessor of the later Choir School.

Appendix III

The Bishop's Tower

One building within the Priory, but forming no part of it, was the Bishop's Tower. Wilson wondered how the Bishop had managed to get a territorial footing within the Priory precinct, but thought that this may have been in 1226, when the papal commissioners divided the property of the Church of Carlisle, giving "certain houses" near the infirmary to the Bishop.[149] Bishop Halton "had licence in 1294 to build, on a plot of land 360 feet long by 18 feet broad between the walls of the city and the priory on the west side, a prison for the detention of clerics who might chance to be delivered to him by the justices or other king's ministers, and to build other houses according to his needs, either with a vault or with joists, on the top of the said walls, on condition that a common passage was left for the convenience of traffic under the said houses".[150] It seems unlikely that these buildings were ever constructed, but it is thought that the Bishop's Tower was built in the 14th century close to the proposed prison: "its site may be placed at the lower end of the Dean's garden, close to the west gate of the abbey",[151] but whilst W. T. McIntire located it in roughly the same position, he suggests that part of the tower still stands, "the archway [at the end of Dean Tait's Lane] by which it [Paternoster Row] is entered from the [west] walls was at one time part of what was known as the Bishop's Tower".[152] However, there is no archaeological evidence to back this statement and the archway was only cut through the wall in 1850.[153]

It is mentioned as still standing in 1620 when the Bishop's registrar, George Tullie, identified it as the "Bishop's Tower within the precincts of St Mary's, Carlisle, now in the use of the said Bishop [Snowden]".[154] As it is not included in the Parliamentary Survey in 1650, it does not appear to have survived and was probably demolished in 1645.

The Bishop of Carlisle had a number of residences at various locations, so that the tower in the Priory was rarely used; Carlisle Inn, London; Linstock and Rose Castles, near Carlisle; Bewley Castle, Westmorland; retreats at Horncastle, Lincolnshire and Melbourne, Derbyshire. In comparison the Prior of St Mary's had only one retreat; a tower at Newbiggin Hall, near Carlisle.

Another feature of the Priory which has not been covered elsewhere is the outflow channel through the West Walls of the city. This is shown on Bucks' engraving of the West Walls of Carlisle in 1739, as an archway similar to the Sallyport, a little to the north of the Deanery, in line with Dean Tait's Lane. However, this is probably wrongly shown and was more likely to have been south of the deanery, opposite the Prior's Stables. The Court Leet Rolls, quoted by Nanson and Ferguson,[155] for 22 October 1649 ordered "we desire Mr Mayor that the conduits in and through the city's walls may be speedily cleansed and what persons soever after the said cleansing shall presume to lay any manure or dunghill near the same to forfeit for every offence 6s. 8d.". That the Dean was an offender in 1682,[156] suggests there was a conduit in the vicinity of the Deanery; "we present Doctor Thomas Smith, deane of Carlisle, for his dunghill in the highway under the wall of this city, and we amerce him 6s. 8d.". If the outflow channel did exist then it should be somewhere in the West Walls today, but as a result of the 1745 rebellion there was some rebuilding of the West Walls immediately below the Deanery, recorded in a letter from the Deanery by Captain Gilpin's wife to her husband on the 25 June 1746; "the prospect of my

closet window is much enlarged, the town wall is almost level with the ground, a few of your old men [Company of Invalids] at work amongst ten or twelve others. It is to be rebuilt but I know not in what form perhaps just as it was, the Mr Smelt says he believe[s] there will be some alteration".[157] There was further work on the wall in the 19th century, in particular when the Fawcett Schools were built in 1851. A soak-away channel for the Blackfriar's Convent can be seen in the West Walls, behind the Greenroom Club Theatre, but the archway by which it is reached today is a 19th-century addition.[158] No similar archway exists in the city walls behind the Fawcett Schools.

Appendix IV

Arthur's Guide to Carlisle, 1869

The following footnote appeared in *Arthur's Guide to Carlisle*, (2nd ed., 1869), 32-34, and it is worth quoting this in full as he was well in advance of his time in his reasoning:

"WHO DESTROYED THE NAVE OF THE CATHEDRAL?

Tradition associates the destruction of the nave of the Cathedral with the Civil Wars, and with the name of the great captain in that deadly conflict. We say tradition, for there is no proof of the fact. In one book after another is the story told and the calumny repeated. The only variation is, that while one attributes the demolition to the fury and fanaticism of the Scots, the other ascribes it to Cromwell. Substantially, both theories have the same dubious source—which is in the muddled writings of a certain Dr Todd. He is the arch offender—subsequent writers and lecturers on the subject merely adopting his loose assertions in the blindest manner. Dr Todd says that the Scots who besieged the city in 1644-5, *or those who succeeded them*, pulled down the chapter-house, part of the deanery, the cloisters, the prebendal residences, the western end of the Cathedral; and were only prevented from carrying out their intention of destroying the whole edifice by the happy restoration. Now, this Dr Todd lived in the reign of James the Second—so that he was not an eye-witness of the scenes he describes, neither was he in the position of one from whom an unbiassed verdict could be expected. His testimony, at best, is therefore only second hand; and his peculiar position as a "restoration parson" is alone sufficient to cast grave suspicion on what he says. But not only is his evidence untrustworthy, but it is self-contradictory and positively disproved. He is not certain that the Scots committed the universal devastation; but if they did not, their successors did! Yet it is on the sole testimony of this prejudiced ecclesiastic of "the happy restoration" that the soldiers of the Covenant are branded with the high crime of desecration and spoliation, and the name of Oliver Cromwell is linked in the minds of the ignorant with the demolition of the fine Norman nave. How, so far as the Scots are concerned, we have unimpeachable evidence of their innocence. Mr Isaac Tullie, from whose quaint diary of the famous siege of 1644-5 all subsequent accounts are compiled, must be taken as a witness of first-rate character. He was shut up in the city at the time. He noted all the important, and many of the trivial, events of that memorable period. He had no love for the Scots and no love for the cause in which they were embarked. Therefore, if the Scots had committed the wholesale destruction attributed to them by Dr Todd, Mr Tullie was not the man to leave such acts unrecorded. He not only makes no such record, but, on the contrary, gives the enemy credit for an honourable and strict adherence to the articles of surrender. One of these articles was, "that no church be defaced"; and Mr Tullie says "these noble articles" were, "by David Lesley's strict command and p'sonnal conduct, punctually performed, both to those y^t marched out, and to the cittysons y^t staid at home." So the charge, as regards the Scots, is as unfounded as it is malicious. But then, we have it shifted from the shoulders of the Scots to the shoulders of Cromwell—and the time is also shifted. The intelligent

clerk of the works during the recent restoration of the Cathedral, speaks with authority on this point. He says the greatest work of destruction took place in 1646! (not 1644-5, the period of the siege) in which year the buildings mentioned by Dr Todd were pulled down. He considers the fact proved by the circumstance that when the old guard-house was pulled down a few years since, fragments of moulded work belonging to the Cathedral were found in it. The unsophisticated reader might be puzzled to know how the finding of a few stones in a guard-house *proved* that the nave of the Cathedral was destroyed in 1646. The connection is certainly not very clear, either logically or chronologically. The confusion can only be accounted for on the supposition that the "moulded work" was part of a moulded theory, and was accepted as evidence in support of a foregone conclusion. It never seems to have struck this gentleman that "moulded work" was scarcely the thing for guard-houses, or that those who built the guard-houses were not likely to be at the pains to chop off finery in order to put it to such purposes. Neither does it appear to have entered his head that all these debased ornaments, as well as the common ashlar stones, might have been knocked about for years before the necessities of hard times found use for them. He certainly thinks that some part of the destruction should be placed to the account of 1745; but neither he nor those whose text he has followed, have a word of reprobation for the sacrilegious conduct of the brutal Duke of Cumberland in filling the Cathedral with rebels. He is also silent as to charging any part of the demolition to 1540. And yet he must have known that something of the kind took place about that time. Historians are generally agreed on this point. We have subsequently shown how one eminent writer depicts, in scathing terms, the wholesale destruction of that period. Mr Froude, one of the latest, tells us how Thomas Cromwell, "the hammer of the monks," "uncovered the nakedness of the abbeys and exposed the servants of God to ignominy and spoliation." A local historian speaks of the violence of the Reformation as it affected the monasteries, and justly observed:—"*No doubt* many of the ornamental portions of the edifice were defaced by the zeal of a people . . . seeking to *demolish* every memento of their former bondage. . . . We know in general that niches were deprived of their images, monumental brasses torn from the tombs, stained glass dashed from the windows, and not infrequently the *very buildings themselves razed to the ground.*" But this greatest of all spoliations is quitely ignored, and the demolition coolly ascribed to the Civil Wars which raged a century afterwards! Why, the very form of the destruction was enough to suggest the time. The religious houses were attached on one side to the nave of the Cathedral, and it is just this part which has disappeared. The whole quadrangle formed by the cloisters is gone, with the exception of the south side—so that the church and this building were precisely the parts of the monastery which would be retained for the celebration of the new form of religion. Even granting we had no direct proof to the contrary, on what hypothesis can we suppose that the "infuriated fanatics" who are charged with the demolition would content themselves with the mere destruction of the western end of the cathedral? Was it more offensive than the rest of the edifice? Were the massive Norman pillars more odious to Puritan eyes than the frippery of the choir, the legendary paintings, the carved screens, and the stained glass of the orient window? The idea is preposterous. The soldiery would have pulled down the whole fane, just as easily as a limb of it, when the work of destruction had begun; instead of which the very parts where the objectionable ceremonies were performed stand to this day. Finally, as to Oliver Cromwell having been the destroying angel, we may simply remark that it is like the rest of the perverted story—untrue. Oliver had other knaves to chastise without troubling his head with the *naves* of cathedrals; and we may tumble into limbo, along with the mountains of rubbish which royalist historians and royalist priests have for two centuries heaped on the memory of that illustrious man, the miserable barrowful belonging to the cathedral."

The myth of Cromwell's involvement in the destruction of the nave seems to have originated from one source: W. T. McIntire[159] explained that when William Hutchinson added his own

observations to those of Daniel Defoe in the 8th edition of Defoe's *Tour*, 1778, he edited it in such a way that it was impossible to tell what Defoe actually said about Carlisle, but we are now able to see, through the publication of Defoe's original text,[160] that it was in fact Hutchinson who said "the Cathedral of Carlisle is now very irregular, part of it having undergone the multilating commands of that enemy of every bigotry but its own, Oliver Cromwell". This had led writers like Billings,[161] to mention this and then dismiss it, "tradition imputes the destruction of the west end of the Cathedral to Cromwell; but he does not appear to have been concerned in it". Others also dismissed this because of the mistaken belief that Cromwell never visited Carlisle, as though to suggest he was physically responsible for the destruction of the nave of the Cathedral. Creighton[162] went so far as to say "the solid masonry of the nave of the Cathedral fell before the pickaxe of the Presbyterian soldier". Whellan[163] insisted that the nave was destroyed "by the orders of Cromwell during the Parliamentary wars", but Cromwell did not have to be there to give such an order. As there is no mention of this in state papers, it cannot have any element of truth in it and the evidence presented here shows that he was not directly involved. However, Cromwell did visit Carlisle on more than one occasion and was probably fully aware of what was happening, or about to happen to the Cathedral: "Cromwell . . . after leaving Scotland, re-entered England by way of Carlisle on 14 October 1648. Cromwell was again in Carlisle [on 6] August 1651, this time in pursuit of the Royal Martyr's son".[164] The earlier visit is confirmed by payments made on 20 October and 10 November 1648 for food and drink bought of "Ed [and Ambrose] Atkinson when Lieft. Gen. Cromwell qrted at Naworth [with his troops]".[165]

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Bruce Jones, who in December 1983, replied to my then naïve request for information on the nave, "the process of using up the stones for repairs to the walls or building other structures would have been a slow one", which first set me off on the correct line of enquiry. Nothing further was done until interest was reawakened by the display of finds from Carlisle Archaeological Unit's 1985 Cathedral excavations, early in 1986. It was soon realized that much of the information which I had been gathering on the defences of Carlisle for another project, were relevant to this research, so it did not take long to put everything together. Thanks are also due to Dr Henry Summerson, whose research into those documents relating to Carlisle in the Public Record Office in London and his willingness to make his notes fully available to researchers at the Record Office, Carlisle, has done much to help in the better understanding of the history of Carlisle: to Stephen White and other members of staff at Carlisle Library and staff at the Record Office, Carlisle: to John Robinson for the drawings which he has prepared for this paper. I am grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle Cathedral for permission to consult their archives. I would also like to thank my wife Jeanne for patiently typing my many rewritten pages and to those who read this paper at its different stages offering suggestions and corrections.

Notes and References (dates are given in modern style)

[1] Hutchinson, ii, 597-8.
[2] *Carlisle Cathedral*, (1898), 35 and 60.
[3] *Old Towns and Cities . . . Carlisle*, (1970), 30.
[4] N. Pevsner, *Buildings of England: Cumberland and Westmorland*, (1967), 88.
[5] *Architecture of Carlisle Cathedral*, a lecture delivered before the Church of England Literary Institution,

19 March 1855, Thurnam 1859, 23; but he admitted that "part of this mischief was probably committed in 1745". He also thought that "the stone tracery of the great window in the north transept was destroyed" during the Civil War, but Pevsner (*op. cit.*, 89) said "the N[orth] front has a large window in Early Dec. forms but so handled that it may well be of after 1645". Storer dates this to the 18th century "the great north window having failed about 60 years ago, [*c.* 1756] one of plain tracery was substituted". Bulman, CW2, xlix, 115, says "it probably disappeared at the time of the disastrous restoration of the Cathedral by Bishop Lyttleton in 1764, when the Consistory Court was established in this transept". So that what Purdey said should not always be believed.

[6] *The Ejected of 1662 for Cumberland and Westmorland*, (1911), 138.

[7] J. C. Dickinson, CW2, lxix, 102-14.

[8] C. G. Bulman, CW2, xxxix, 46; "as in a large number of cathedral and monastic churches throughout the land, a body of parishioners had rights of worship in the great church and part of the building was set aside for them as their parish church".

[9] C. M. L. Bouch, *Prelates and Peoples of the Lake Counties*, (1948), 110: "the most important buildings were those he caused to be erected in Carlisle Cathedral, for which an indulgence was granted on 2 October 1410 (*Calendar Papal Letters*, 1404-15, 220). According to Dr Todd he built the tower from the middle to the top, placing in it four large bells, and erected upon it a spire or pyramid of wood covered with lead".

[10] Prior Gondibour was particularly active in the 15th century, see C. R. Davey, CW2, lxxii, 74-5; Prior Slee rebuilt the Priory Gate, see *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 131-51.

[11] J. E. Prescott, *Statutes of the Cathedral Church of Carlisle*, (1879), 93-100.

[12] Public Record Office (P.R.O.), Inquisitions Post Mortem, E117/14, no 18, when it was inquired on 28 November 1556, what had happened to the bells of various monastic houses; "Lancelot Salkeld, clerk, Dean of the Cathedral Church of Carlisle saith that one bell of the bells pertaining to the late cell of Wetherall came to Carlisle, which bell was hanged upon the wall called Springall Tower in Carlisle, to call the workmen to work at the making of the new citadel in Carlisle and mending of the castle there". Although there is no reference to confirm this, it does seem that the Dean and Chapter sacrificed Wetheral Priory, which had been given to them in 1541, for the King's works, rather than see their own priory buildings destroyed. Some of the fabric of the Greyfriars' Convent in Carlisle went into the new works at the Castle, see British Library, Add Ms, 5754, f95v, f96. Both the Blackfriars' and Greyfriars' Convents were Crown property, the Blackfriars' being used for meetings of the Council of the North, see CW1, vi, 143-4 and CW2, lxxxi, 161.

[13] *Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic* (hereafter *L.P.F.D.*), 1543, 213, mentions the Bishop of Carlisle's request for a "warrant . . . for lead taken at the late monastery of Shappe": and there is a similar request in 1545, *L.P.F.D.*, xviii, i, 580. However, the Bishop seems to have had little control when in 1544 "one hundred timber trees were felled in the Bishop's woods, called the Rose Park, for the fortifications then in progress at Carlisle . . [as] there were no other timber trees useful for such work within twenty miles of Carlisle", *Letters and Papers of Henry VIII*, xix, Pt ii, 61-2.

[14] Hutchinson, ii, 606, says "Salkeld was deprived on King Edward's accession to the throne and was succeeded by [Sir Thomas] Smith [in 1548]. When Edward died, and Mary came to the crown, Salkeld was restored, 1553; but he was a second time deprived A.D. 1559 [after the succession of Elizabeth I] and again succeeded by Smith, who held it to his death, 1577". However as Salkeld was in office as Dean in October 1559 (C. J. Kitching, ed., *The Royal Visitation of 1559*, Surtees Society, vol. 187, (1975 for 1972), 33), but was dead by September 1560, when Sir Thomas Smith was asserting his right to the deanery, this suggests that Salkeld had died before he could be deprived, *Calender of State Papers Domestic* (hereafter *C.S.P.D.*), 1547-1580, 158. When Sir Thomas Smith was deprived of the deanery, he said afterwards "in Quene Maries tyme when I had not myche favor as ye knowe, and mater was so right agaynst me, and partlie as the compleyning of Barnaby Kirkbride and hym [Hugh Sewell], we were all callid before the cownscell [in 1555]. And when I was fownd innocent, there aperid such fowle matr agaynst them two for spolying of the churche [Cathedral] and devidyng the goods thereof amonge them selves, and other wise misusyng of the revenues thereof, that the[y] were comytted to the Flet [Prison]", P.R.O., SP 12/14, no. 27, 23 October 1560. This may have resulted in the "examination . . . before the reverend father in God John Bishop of Carlisle . . . and others . . . appointed by the queen's majesty" to investigate "the state of the revenues of the College of Carlisle" and to look into the "abuses and evil doing of the prebendaries there, in letting of leases contrary to the statute of the said college to the great hindrance thereof presently and greater decay in time to come", P.R.O., SP 12/40, no. 100, *c.* 1561. This is more fully discussed by

Wilson, *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 58-65. Sir Thomas was afterwards Secretary of State to Elizabeth I and, therefore, even though he was ordained as a priest in 1546, he had little time for his duties as Dean of Carlisle. His successor as Dean, was Sir John Wooley and after him, in 1595, Sir Christopher Perkins, until his death in 1622: as neither were clergymen and held government and diplomatic positions, they had even less interest in the Cathedral. References to "the college" when describing the Cathedral, do not indicate a scholastic establishment, but refer to a group of clergymen, as the Dean and Chapter usually were, concerned in religious study and the instruction of others.

[15] *C.S.P.D.*, 1639, 478.

[16] *C.S.P.D.*, 1639-40, 149: as Bishop Potter died in 1642 his prediction was correct.

[17] Isaac Tullie, *A narrative of the seige of Carlisle in 1644 and 1645*, (1840), introduction by Samuel Jefferson, xi.

[18] *C.S.P.D.*, 1639-40, 425; there was an armoury in the Castle but the Governor intended to use this for another purpose and hence a new magazine was needed, "the great gallery, where now the arms be, being 84 ft. in length and 20 in breadth, containeth 2680 square feet and will contain 1260 bushels of grain, it being allowed to lie a foot and a half in thickness", *op. cit.*, Wilson (*VCH Cumberland*, ii, 135) explains that "from an early period the enclosure of the priory or monastic precinct at Carlisle has been called 'The Abbey' though [it] had never an abbot . . . . Freeman has pointed out that the same peculiarity existed at Bath and Durham". The first edition Ordnance Survey map indicates this was the site of Eaglesfield Abbey, but this had no element of truth in it and was a 19th-century invention to describe the area of land given to the Priory of St Mary by a member of the Eaglesfield family.

[19] *C.S.P.D.*, 1638-39, 545.

[20] *C.S.P.D.*, 1639-40, 549.

[21] *English Historical Library*, ii, 124: he goes on to say "our very charters sold to make a Tailor's Measures". Both sides in the Civil War appear to have treated enemy charters with equal contempt: Lancelot Machell when elected Mayor of Appleby at the Restoration, sent for the market charter granted by Cromwell and is said to have "cut it up with his own hands and thrown the pieces to a group of tailors to make into tape-measures", Martin Holmes, *Proud Northern Lady*, (1984 reprint), 163.

[22] Tullie, *op. cit.*, 12. It was still in use on the 1 March 1645 when "there was allowed but half a hoop of Corn a week for every one; though in the magazine there were 2100 bushells", *op. cit.*, 22.

[23] Registers of the Dean and Chapter, Carlisle (DCR), ix, 3, 15 December 1668 and CW2, xxiv, 12-16. Bouch *op. cit.*, 260, confirms that it was the Fratry that was used as a magazine, "however in 1641, the danger seeming to pass away, the garrison was disbanded and the arms and munitions of war stored in the Fratry, but not for long". Ferguson in *History of Cumberland*, (1890), 256, suggests that when the garrison was withdrawn the Fratry "Keys appear to have been in the custody of the mayor of Carlisle". Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle (C.R.O.), Ca/2/194, is a petition from the Mayor and Corporation of Carlisle to the King on 2 July 1642, requesting "provision for the city and castle, as most of the considerable stock of munition has been withdrawn to other places", which because of the Civil War were then required for the defence of the city. The Chapter House meanwhile, continued to be used for meetings, the last use probably being on 13 April 1643, see *VCH Cumberland*, ii, 92.

[24] CW2, *op. cit.*, 13, "but the materialls when taken downe will be very serviceable in the new Building [of a library]".

[25] *C.S.P.D.*, 1601-3, 451. See also CW2, lxxviii, 139.

[26] Hugh Todd, *Account of the City and Diocese of Carlisle*, edited by R. S. Ferguson, (1890, C.W. Tract Series), No. 5, 26. Todd quite clearly states here that it was the "Abbey" which was used to build the guard houses and goes on to distinguish between this and "St Maryes Church": every writer has misinterpreted what he said. Nicolson and Burn, ii, 248, added "the materials [also] applied to . . . erecting two batteries in the castle". The guard houses at the English Gate and Irish Gate are clearly identifiable on Robert Carlyle's watercolour views of those gates (Carlisle Museum collection), but no similar structure can be seen on the view of the Scotch Gate: this may be explained by an undated letter from Jane Barwick to "the mayor, aldermen and Capitals . . . I make bould to relate unto you what sufferings I have had in my house in Rickergate [within the walls] being made (in the time of the Scots Garrison residing there) a guardhouse for them and my tennants who paied me my rent were turned out of doors for which Mr Edward Aglionby, then maior, did on the behalfe of the Cittie, not onely promise in open Court, to give satisfaction for the rent I then demanded being 30s per annum but also undertook to be answerable for all damage which I then sustained in the losse of the said house being viewed at that time and reviewed at

their departure, their contuance being one yeare and a halfe or thereabouts. I never got any recompence as yet, neither for rent formerly mentioned, nor for the damage valued to five pounds", C.R.O., Ca/2/164.

[27] CW1, xiii, 177, "A Survey of the City of Carlisle in 1684-5".

[28] *Graphic and historical descriptions of the Cathedrals of Great Britain*, pt. 17, *Carlisle Cathedral*, (1816), i.

[29] *Carlisle Patriot*, 3 March 1855. As these stones were exhibited at the time and were destined for the museum, one wonders where they are today. Purdey, *op. cit.*, 23, records that on the demolition of the guard house in the market place "many fragments of moulded work, etc.", were found which he thought had come from the "Cathedral".

[30] Demolition of Queen Mary's Tower began in November 1834, *Carlisle Patriot*, 22 November 1834, but was promptly stopped by George Head Head whilst he employed an artist to record it before its destruction: the resulting watercolour by Edward Goodwin is in C.R.O. Work was completed in December (*Carlisle Patriot*, 20 December 1834) and on the 20 February 1835 A. Byham wrote to the Inspector General of Fortifications, "having laid before the Master General and Board of Ordnance . . . a report dated the 5th inst. from the Commanding Engineer at Newcastle, on an application from Archdeacon Markham for permission to remove to the Cathedral of Carlisle a font and some of the ornamental tracery set apart in taking down the Queen's Tower of the Castle, I have the honour to acquaint you, the Master General and Board are pleased to consent to this request, upon the understanding that no expense is incurred by the Ordnance, but, at the same time, they consider it proper that Archdeacon Markham should deliver a list of the articles which are required and may be given over to him", P.R.O., WO55/717. That these stones were returned is confirmed by Samuel Jefferson, *History and Antiquities of Carlisle*, (1838), 111, but those illustrated in CW2, xxiv, 16, fig. 16, are perhaps the ones returned in 1914.

[31] CW2, xxiv, 5. During an 1846 restoration of the Cathedral, a number of the medieval clerestory windows from the choir, which were taken out because they had weathered and were to be replaced in replica, were acquired by Thomas Nelson (*Carlisle Journal*, 19 September 1846), who built them into a folly in the grounds of his house at Murrell Hill, Denton Holme, Carlisle. These remained there until demolished in 1967. Two similar windows were taken to Bunkershill on Orton Road, Carlisle and one remains there today. So it can be seen that at different periods parts of the Cathedral found their way into buildings in the vacinity of the city.

[32] Jefferson, *op. cit.*, 282. The defacing of the date in 1788 was a result of vandalism to the market place when "some well wishers of decency in that city pulled down the remaining [market] shambles", *Cumberland Pacquet*, 16 July 1788.

[33] *C.S.P.D.*, 1645-7, 16: "the works about Carlisle" refers to the earthworks erected at various points around the city by the Parliamentary forces during the siege of Carlisle between 1644-5 and if the city were to be attacked again, these would be of use to the enemy. The Commissioners ordered on 27 June 1645, *C.S.P.D.*, 1644-5, 619, that "so soon as it shall be in our power we do hereby demand that an Englishman may be Governor of Carlisle" and with Jeremiah Tolhurst in this position they got their wish.

[34] *Calendar of the Committee for Compounding Domestic*, 1643-60, pt. 2, 1169 (hereafter *C.C.C.D.*).

[35] H.M.C., *House of Lords MSS*, vi, app, 158: the departing garrison recommended an engineer to take down the ordnance from the castle, citadel and walls, and remount them on carriages which were so decayed and deprived of their irons as to be unserviceable for those weighty burdens.

[36] *C.S.P.D.*, 1648-9, 59, 5 May 1648, shows that things did not go according to plan "we are informed there are some ordnance which were lately at Carlisle and were with the arms and ammunition belonging to Cumberland, appointed by the Commons' Order of 17 June [1647] to be secured in St Herbert's Isle . . . but lie by the way between Carlisle and St Herbert's Isle, liable to be seized by the malignants and used against the Parliament".

[37] *C.C.C.D.*, 1643-60, i, 810.

[38] *Calendar of the Committee for the Advance of Money Domestic*, 1642-56, pt. 1, 82. Major Tolhurst was still referring to the Castle and Citadel as "ruinous" on 14 February 1656, *C.S.P.D.*, 1655-6, 178, and further references to the city's ruinous condition in 1661 shows that nothing was really done to improve the defences during the Commonwealth. At the time of sequestration certain castles were slighted and when these were returned to their owners at the Restoration, it was stated "that Thomas Ffitch, late p'tendid governor of Carlisle caused the Castle of Wolstie to be ruinated and the materials thereof he caused to be carried to the Citie of Carlisle", CW2, i, 207. Rev. Gilbanks, *Some Records of a Cistercian Abbey*, (1899), 155-6, added to this, that when Wolsty Castle "was finally dismantled and the materials carried to Carlisle by order of Colonel Thomas Fitch, Cromwellian governor there . . . tradition says that its gates were

rehung on the Irish gatehouse at Carlisle and that when the Irish Gate was taken down [1811], they were used to make a bridge over a drain or small stream near Knells [Houghton]". If this is true then it adds weight to the argument that there would be no need to use materials from the nave of the Cathedral to repair the fortifications of Carlisle.

[39] *C.S.P.D.*, 1651, 476.

[40] Smith, *op. cit.*, 30. *C.S.P.D.*, 1655-6, 118, gives further details of this when Cuthbert Studholme petitioned the Protector on 17 January 1656, "our city is governed by a mayor, 11 aldermen and 24 citizens. All the aldermen, except Rich Barwis, having served against Parliament before 1647, were ejected, and some of the most active citizens; but the rest were retained in hopes that they would change their principle or at least comply outwardly. But since the Act of Oblivion, Peter Norman has animated the malignants and they elected him mayor in 1654 and again for this year, since which our efforts for the public good have been fruitless".

[41] *C.S.P.D.*, 1648-9, 133, 17 June 1648. This first attack by the Scots in March was followed by a successful capture of Carlisle for the Royalists. The events of the capture are given by Rev. Gilbert Burton, *Life of Sir Philip Musgrave*, (1840), 12, "by his [Sir Philip Musgrave's] order sixteen men entered Carlisle and presently made yemselves masters of ye place. Ye chief persons in this bold enterprise were Mr George Dalston, Mr John Eglionby, Mr Oglethorpe, Mr Cape, Mr Will Wilson and others . . . This was done ye 29th of April in ye fatall year '48".

[42] Nightingale, *op. cit.*, i, ii. Rev. James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, (1912), 50-1, states that James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, was translated Bishop of Carlisle in 1642, but never took up his appointment, although his name appears in the Dalston manorial rolls as Bishop until 8 May 1644, when no further records were kept because of the Civil War. So Parliament did not dismiss the Bishop, but his lands were held by Parliamentary trustees when records resumed on 20 October 1647. Rose Castle, the Bishop's seat, was garrisoned by parliamentary troops, but was captured for the King in 1648; recaptured for Parliament after a short period and then slighted to prevent its further use. What remained was not sold until June 1650 to William Heveningham.

[43] *C.C.C.D.*, 1643-60, pt. i., 287. An explanation of the method of sequestrating the Cumberland and Westmorland gentry's land is given in *Northern History*, xiv, 169-92.

[44] Copy Parliamentary Survey of the manor of John de Chapple, Dean and Chapter MSS, EM/3/1, (Parliamentary Survey, 1650) 90-1.

[45] William Nanson and R. S. Ferguson, *Municipal Records of the City of Carlisle*, (1887), 289, quoting Court Leet Rolls.

[46] Todd, *op. cit.*, 26. The medieval city was divided into two parishes, St Cuthberts and St Marys, both of which extended well beyond the city walls.

[47] CW2, xxxix, 47.

[48] *ibid*

[49] CW1, vii, 325: he says the lectures were to be "delivered in the parish Church of St Mary".

[50] C.R.O., Ca/4/3. vol. iii, 1649-94. Further payments of 15s. 0d. are recorded in the C.R.O., Ca/4/139, Audit Book, 1597-1684, for 1649-50, "for removinge ye severall pews fro S Maries to Cuthberts".

[51] C.R.O., Ca/4/3, *op. cit.*

[52] C.R.O., Ca/4/3, *op. cit.* The reason why flags were required is given in the Court Leet Rolls, 22 October 1649, quoted by Nanson and Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 289, "we desire that all streets within this citty (wherein the decays are) may be paved and amended and that Mr Maior at his pleasure and at the charge of the citty would appoint such men as he shall thinke fitt to see the same finished". No indication is given why on 1 December 1649, payment was "bestowed upon 2 men for carrying planks to the Abbeye", but this could have been for scaffolding. Some stone could have been sold and this would account for the receipt on 14 September 1652 "of Mr Stubbs for goods in the Abbey sould by Mr Craister £2.05.00". Sir Daniel Fleming writing in 1671 (*Fleming-Senhouse Papers*, (1962), 57), may have been following official policy in blaming the military for demolishing the nave, but nevertheless hints at the truth; "ye nether part [of ye Cathedrall Church] is much more ancient; most of wch in ye late Rebellion was pul'd down for ye building of guard-houses for ye Souldiers in Garrison *and for ye private use and advantage of some Committee men and others in ye City*".

[53] Todd, *op. cit.* N. Pevsner and P. Metcalf, *The Cathedrals of England*; Midlands, Eastern and Northern England, (1985), 42, explains the "five bays were wholly destroyed and a rough new W[est] wall was built

within the sixth bay", so that part of the buttresses are in fact the stumps of the third-bay columns and the blocked aisle arches.

[54] Introduction to Tullie's *Narrative*, *op. cit.*, xix. Cory, in CW1, i, 34, thought that "in the year 1646, the west end . . . [was] taken down . . . [and] at the conclusion of the war the present west end was built". It is difficult to believe that the west end would have been left open, as he suggests and the building of a new wall would have had to be done with some urgency, otherwise the rest of the Cathedral would have been totally unusable for services and would have been damaged by the weather. Once built the west wall had its alterations: Billings, *Carlisle Cathedral*, (1839), 8, gives the first, "two pointed windows introduced at the west end after the civil wars, were removed and replaced by plain windows of Norman architecture in character with the building", but he gives no date and it seems that these were part of the 1802-11 restoration. Pevsner and Metcalf, *op. cit.*, 42, mention the second restoration, "when this Victorian parish church was begun [St Mary's, 1870] the present W[est] end of the stump of the nave was given a new W[est] window designed by Ewan Christian".

[55] *C.C.C.D.*, 1643-60, pt. 1, 821.

[56] Copy in the collection of our member John Robinson, dated in pencil on the reverse, 1715. Johannes Kip, 1653-1722, dedicated this engraving to Dean Thomas Gibbon, hence it could only date between 1713-16. The original may have been slightly earlier and based on a drawing by Knyff, who drew views of some Cumbrian houses, which Kip engraved between 1707-9. This is the earliest accurate published view of Carlisle Cathedral, but earlier drawings are known to have existed. Sir William Dugdale wrote to Sir Daniel Fleming on 12 July 1682 "having, therefore, at my leasure compiled a short narrative of the foundations and endowments of the Cathedrall at Yorke, as also of the Collegiate Churches in that province, together with the Cathedral of Carlisle and wanting none of the figures of any of those churches excepting that of Carlisle, I take the boldness to intreat you to be instrumentall in procuring for me an artificiall draught of the prospect thereof from the fairest and most beautiful view of it. I presume that my worthy friend Dr Smith – the now Dean – may be assistant to you in finding out some skilfull paynter or other person who can make such a draught thereof, which if you can obtain I intreat you will convey to me in Michaelmasse term next", H.M.C., *MSS S. H. Le Fleming of Rydal Hall*, (1890), 188. That this had been done by 17 November 1682, is given in another letter "I thank you for the drawings of Carlisle Cathedral. I perceive that all the west part of it was destroyed by the Scots in the late rebellious times, which is not a little for the shame – if they had any – of those pretended godly people", H.M.C., *op. cit.*, 190.

[57] Todd, *op. cit.*, 26.

[58] Purdey, *op. cit.*, 23.

[59] R. T. Holtby, *Carlisle Cathedral*, (1982 edition), 10.

[60] D.C.R., ix, 121. The repairs carried out during the Commonwealth are recorded in the Plundered Ministers Papers (P.M.P.) Lambeth MSS, 1003 (quoted by Nightingale, *op. cit.*, i, 166-7), being the records of the meetings of the Trustees for the Maintenance of Ministers; on 7 March 1658, "Mr Craister peticons for repaire of ye Quire of Maryes, Carlisle". On 23 March (P.M.P., 995), having received further information, the trustees reported "Whereas ye Cathedrall Church of Maries in Carlisle is parochiall and ye Rectory and tithes of the sd parish Church are parcell of the possions of the late Deane and Chapter of Carlisle and ye Chancell and Quire of ye sd parish Church hath been from time to time repaired at the care and Charge of ye sd Deane and Chapter And Whereas ye West end of the sd Church was demolished in ye late wars and the body of the sd Church thereby rendered uselesse and unfit to receive ye pishioners of ye sd parish at times of publique worship whereby they are necessitated from time to time to meet in ye sd Chancell or Quire for ye ends aforesd which sd Chancell is also very much out of repaire And it is offered in behalfe of ye sd parish that they will contribute something toward ye repaire thereof for ye Ease of ye Revenue of ye Trustees It being prayed that ye Trustees would therefore likewise forthwith advance a sum of money to that purpose and appoint some yearely allowance towarde ye same It is ordered that the sume of Twenty pounds bee forthwith payed by Mr Edmund Branthwaite Recr for and toward ye sd repaire unto ye Mayr and Aldermen and Comon Councell of the said City who are thereupon to cause the sd Church to be forthwith repaired and after such repairs to deliver unto the sd Mr Branthwaite sufficient bills under Workmen's hands for the proofe of the necessary expense of the said sum upon the pmisses". C.R.O., D/MH/Cathedral leases, 1672-1707, 88, records the state of the Cathedral on 23 November 1701, when the Chapter met and referred to "a letter writ to my Ld Bp of Chester: that we could not contribute to the Repairs of his Cathedral: Our own being ruinous", and *op. cit.*, 106, on 23 November 1703 when the

Chapter recorded that work was still necessary "Geo Thomas to enter into articles to repair the Cathedral and Parish Church to have £10 p.an."

[61] D.C.R., ix, 4. As the removal of the spire appears to be part of the general repairs of the roofs of the Cathedral during the Civil War period, it is important to establish a date when this was done. A spire is shown on the central tower of the Cathedral on the *c.* 1563 map of Carlisle (British Museum (hereafter BM) Cotton MS Aug. I, i, 13) and its existence is confirmed by Dr Hugh Todd, 1658?-1728, who probably never saw it, but as a prebendary of Carlisle Cathedral from 1685, would have had contact with those who could remember it. Bouch, *op. cit.*, 111, quotes the source as Todd's, Ms History of the Diocese of Carlisle, folio 129, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; "Dr Todd states that the spire or pyramid continued an ornament of the church for many years, till by reason of its weight it was thought an oppression to the fabric; and on that account taken down by order of the chapter some 30 or 40 years before". This statement is not found in the printed version, Tract Series, 5, *op. cit.*, and as the only dating evidence for this event it is important to establish a date for the Bodleian Ms.. Bouch thought a date of 1696 was correct, based on a letter from Todd to Archbishop Sharpe, 14 July 1696, (CW1, ii, 317) where Todd refers to his Ms volumes destined for the Cathedral Library; "he said that he had made four or five small volumes of Collections out of the Registers and other originals relating to the Cathedral and the Diocese . . . it was true that at the time only one volume, in Latin, on the state of the Cathedral, was actually in the library, but the rest were ready bound for it in his hands and . . . he would have them placed at his next going down and would have the whole library put in order". If Bouch was right then Todd thought that the spire was removed between 1656 and 1666, but it could not have been done by order of Chapter as they did not meet from 1644 until after the Restoration and no such order is recorded in 1666 or at any other date: a date before 1660 would seem to be more likely. However, the dating of Todd's Ms volumes is not as easy as suggested by Bouch and one of the problems is that all but one of the original volumes in Carlisle have been lost and only survive in later copies. Recently a much more complete collection of Todd's Ms, dated 1710 by the copyist, has come to light (now in the collection of our member David Mawson), which after study may confirm that Todd continued to perfect his works over a number of years. For discussion of the various copies of Todd's Ms, see CW1, ii, 313-23 and CW2, xvii, 75-7.

[62] Billings, *op. cit.*, 43-4; he illustrates the inscribed bell, plate xxx. The chief sponsor of this work was Charles Howard, *c.* 1628-85, created Baron Gilsland by Cromwell in 1657, who had strong associations with the city. Carlisle Castle, being the King's property, was sequestrated by Parliament, "but Col. Charles Howard bought and used it", *C.S.P.D.*, 1660-61, 431. He had at first been a Royalist, but then supported Parliament and at the Restoration he was looked on favourably by the King. The suggestion on 1 October 1660, that he should be given high rank in the city, met with disapproval from those not so willing to forget his Parliamentary background, "the gentry will not be pleased at Lord Howard's being made Governor of Carlisle", *C.S.P.D.*, 1660, 304: instead Sir Philip Musgrave, a strong Royalist, was appointed Governor in December 1660. However, Lord Howard was created an Earl and was allowed to keep the castle: "Upon his Majts restoration the Earle of Carlisle Obtained a Lease of Thirty one yeares from the Queene Mother of the Castle of Carlisle with the Demesne Lands and Soccage Tenements there unto belonging, Her Majtie receiving the Yearly Rent of 50Li: and this Lease hath been renewed by the present Queene (being her Majts Jointure) to compleat the Terme of 31 yeares", CW1, xiii, 176 (Sir Christopher Musgrave's 1685 Survey, *op. cit.*). For details of the other bells see Rev. H. Whitehead, CW1, viii, 135-65.

[63] *Op. cit.*, 85-6.

[64] *Journal or Historical Account of the Life of George Fox*, (3rd Edn., 1765), 100; "I went into the steeple-house; and after the priest had done, I preached the truth to the People . . . the priest got away and the magistrates desired me to go out of the steeple-house. But I still declared the way of the Lord unto them . . . so that the people trembled and shook; and they thought the steeple-house shook; some of them feared it would have fallen down on their heads. The magistrates wives were in a rage and strove mightily to have been at me; but the soldiers and friendly people stood thick about me. At length the rude people of the city rose and came with staves and stones into the steeple-house, crying 'Down with these round-headed rogues' and they threw stones. Whereupon the governor sent a file or two of musqueters into the steeple-house, to appease the tumult and commanded all the other soliders out. So those soliders took me by the hand in a friendly manner and said they would have me along with them. When we came into the street, the city was in an uproar; the governor came down and some of those soldiers were put into prison". This

shows that whilst the garrison had been withdrawn in 1651 there was still a strong military presence in Carlisle, which seems to have been necessary to control the Royalist sympathisers in the city.

[65] DCR, viii, 478.

[66] DCR, ix, 14 September 1666.

[67] *Op. cit.*

[68] DCR, viii, 475, Bishop Rainbow's Visitation, 1666. Besides the Vestry, there were other irregular projections around the Cathedral which took the form of chantry chapels and porches. Of the four chapels known to exist within the Cathedral one survives today (G. H. Cook, *Medieval Chantries and Chantry Chapels*, (1963 ed.), 102): another was mentioned in the will of Sir Robert de Louther in 1430, when he left money "for celebrating services for the soul of William de Strickland, lately bishop of Carlisle and for his own soul . . . in the chapel inside the burial ground of the church of Blessed Mary of Carlisle", CW2, xvi, 158. As a further will in 1448 (CW2, xvi, 160) specifically mentions a Louther burial in "the church of the Blessed Mary of Carlisle" and distinguishes between this and "the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Mary of Carlisle", it suggests that the chapel referred to by Sir Robert was in the nave, projecting from the north-aisle wall into the churchyard. A door near the 4th bay of the north aisle is its probable location, which was, after the 16th-century suppression of such chapels, used as a doorway during burial services. Billings, *op. cit.*, 32-3, locates the site of another chantry chapel outside of the north door of the choir "similar in its general plan to St Catherine's Chapel, at the opposite side of the church".

[69] Parliamentary Survey, 1650, *op. cit.*

[70] Parliamentary Survey, 1650, *op. cit.*

[71] C.R.O., Ca/4/139, Audit Book, 1597-1684 "for the yeare 1649-1650". Such 17th-century philanthrophy seems common: on 23 October 1698, "at the Chapter then holden Mr Gabriel Griffith Master (gunner) for an House Stead near the Castle wch had lay waste for several years, v [12] no rent paid. He was willing to pay the rent 9s and intended to erect a Manufacture for imploying ye poor. So renewed gratis", Cathedral leases, *op. cit.*, 64. B. C. Jones, CW2, lxxxv, 189, points out another scheme which was put forward by a special committee set up to deal with the problem of the poor in Carlisle, when they rented the "House and malt kiln and appartenances [in the Abbey] from Lady Day 1742 for the Term of 7 years" to establish a factory. However, this did not seem to meet with success.

[72] Chamberlain's Accounts, *op. cit.*

[73] Chamberlain's Accounts, *op. cit.*

[74] Parliamentary Survey, 1650, *op. cit.*

[75] P.R.O., WO 55/1696.

[76] *C.C.C.D.*, 1643-60, i, 822. Thomas Fuller, *History of the Worthies of England*, (1662), 228, was perhaps referring to this when he wrote on Cumberland "I understand two small Manufactures are lately set up therein . . . one . . . of Fustians some two years since [which suggests he was writing this in 1654] at Carlisle and I wish that the Undertakers may not be disheartened with their small encouragement".

[77] *C.S.P.D.*, 1660, 177.

[78] CW1, vii, 320. A full architectural survey of the Deanery by J. H. Martindale is in CW2, vii, 185-204, but he and all subsequent historians have failed to notice that the Deanery Tower is clearly 15th century and was perhaps the first construction in the general rebuilding of the Priory at this time. Holtby, *op. cit.*, 16, says "Thomas Comber who became Dean in 1629 . . . took his predecessor, Dean Peterson, to court for not having repaired the Deanery properly". This was rectified by Dean Thomas Smith, who spent £600 on rebuilding parts of the Deanery, between 1671 and 1684. Although each Dean was now required to be resident in Carlisle for a certain period each year, he did not necessarily have to live in the Deanery. As Thomas Tullie had his own house in Abbey Street, whilst Dean from 1716-26, the Deanery was rented out and his successors appear to have followed this fashion. One tenant was Captain John Bernard Gilpin, who was resident from before 1737, "the Dean of Carlisle was an intimate friend; not residing himself in the deanery he lent it to Captain Gilpin and his family to live in", William D. Templeman, *The Life and Works of William Gilpin*, (1939), 22. He remained there until his death in 1776 and his gravestone is amongst those on the site of the demolished nave. By the 19th century the rules of residency had changed and the Dean complaining about the railway nuisance below the West Walls in 1867, said that "by the statute under which he holds his office as Dean of Carlisle is obliged to keep up his residence at the Deanery House . . . during eight months of each year", *Cumberland & Westmorland Advertiser*, 5 March 1867, quoted in *Carlisle: 150 years of Railways*, (1986), 20. *Carlisle Patriot*, 23 June 1821, records "the Dean and Chapter are now making considerable improvements in the Abbey; the Deanery is also undergoing

further repairs". Additions were made by James Stewart in 1853 with alterations in 1882 by C. J. Ferguson. The painted ceiling in the Priors Tower was cleaned in 1976 and after restoration of the external walls the upper floors were opened as a museum in 1982.

[79] Parliamentary Survey 1650, *op. cit.* After the Dissolution some of the Augustinian Canons stayed on as prebendaries of the new Cathedral, retaining their own cells adjoining the Cloisters. In the early 17th century it was necessary to build prebendary houses in the Cathedral grounds for those less willing to accept such spartan conditions and these were also used for military purposes "one ruinous house, called Fletcher's house which the Governor intends to repaire to keepe his coales, turfe and other fewell needful for the garyson . . . one other ruinous house to the west ende of the saide Church, called Tunstall house which the Governor intends to repaire for the use last above expressed", *op. cit.*

[80] CW2, lxxii. 74-84.

[81] Parliamentary Survey, 1650, 49, refers to this as let to "John Consfield All that Mault house, a leaden Coasterne a drieing Kilne and two Garners for Corne being all ruinous and the most part pulled down Abutting upon the stable on the south east and the old baking house upon the north west". C.R.O., Ca/5/3/56, 21 September 1694, records that it was let to Richard Eaglesfield. Its later history is covered by Bruce Jones, CW2, lxxxv, 187-91 and C. R. Davey, CW2, lxxii, 75, who said the "malt kiln on West Walls, was finally demolished in about 1806". Billings, *op. cit.*, 75, recorded in 1839 that "some portions of the ancient malting establishment [are] now a dwelling". See also appendix I.

[82] DCR, vii, 137r, 23 November 1643.

[83] Paliamentary Survey, 1650, *op. cit.*

[84] DCR, ix, 41, 22 May 1677.

[85] Bruce Jones, *op. cit.*, 188.

[86] DCR, ix, 73, 17 May 1684. This door and steps are still there today, so it seems the order was carried out. Space must have been at a premium because part of the upper floor was still used for storage in 1704 when the Chapter "ordered that Mr Wm Nicholson remove his mault out of the upper Fratry: The Mice, that it brings doing Damage to the Library & Treasury", C.R.O., D/MH, Cathedral leases, 1672-1707, 107. The later history of the Fratry is given by various writers; J. W. Brown, *Round Carlisle Cross*, (1951), 224-5, mentions the late 17th-century alterations and the insertion of windows in the north wall "whoever inserted them did so because at that time the Fratry was being sub-divided by floors and walls into a number of rooms; and whilst he opened some new windows he blocked some old ones; without any regard to anything but his own ideas of convenience". Billings *op. cit.*, 76, says, "the whole of this building laid in a dilapidated state from the time of the civil wars to the year 1779 when the Dean and Chapter ordered it to be newly roofed. Further repairs were commenced in 1802 [*Cumberland Pacquet*, 15 January 1799, "the Dean and Chapter have resolved to immediately repair the Cathedral"] when the tracery of the south side windows was ordered to be restored . . . it is said that the repairs of this building . . . exceeded £2,000". *Cumberland Pacquet*, 26 November 1811, continues "the improvements which Rev. Mr Markham, some time ago, commenced in the Abbey of Carlisle Cathedral have been pursued by the Dean and Chapter with great assiduity. The most prominent is the reparation of part of the Fratry, which is converted into a very elegant and extensive saloon. The design was afforded by Mr Smirke upon whose abilities it is unnecessary to make any observation". Only one of Smirke's unused plans of 1811, for a doorway in the south transept, survives in Dean and Chapter MSS, M133. Prescott, *op. cit.*, 68, says "after having undergone much mutilation at different periods the Fratry was restored in [1880 and] 1881, as far as possible, to its condition under Prior Gondibour, at the cost of between £6,000 and £7,000, Mr G. E. Street, RA, being the architect". A further restoration of external stonework was started in 1985.

[87] DCR, ix, 3, 15 December 1668.

[88] DCR, ix, 12, 18 December 1669.

[89] Billings, *op. cit.*, 44.

[90] CW2, xxiv, 10-16.

[91] See appendix II.

[92] For details of other buildings associated with the Priory see appendix III.

[93] DCR, x, 47. Willis, *Cathedrals*, 287, in 1727 mentioned the "vestry lately built" which Prescott (*op. cit.*, 58) says was "pulled down in 1853".

[94] CW2, xxiv, 9.

[95] Whilst I was writing this paper such a scheme was put forward by the Cathedral authorities in *Cumberland News*, 4 April 1986. In the absence of a meeting place in the cramped medieval city where the streets were

unsanitary and usually a quagmire of mud, people, like Francis Dacre in *c.* 1565 "walked together [with others] to the church of Saint Mary in the said town of Carlisle . . . a place where men usually resorted unto and by a certain time [curfew?] there remained walking together [many were walking] . . . in the said church [and Cloisters];" there was a direct doorway from the parish church into the Cloisters and would have given more space to walk around than the church, but on this occasion a brawl ensued, P.R.O., STAC 5/N17/24. On occasions the nave was also used as a place of punishment, as recorded in Bishop Appleby's Register, in 1369, f. 193, see James Wilson, *Rose Castle*, 146.

[96] Prescott, *op. cit.*, 51.

[97] Kip engraving, *op. cit.* This house has already been identified as Tunstall House at the "west ende of the saide Church" in 1650 (Parliamentary Survey), but it was in a ruinous condition and hence the need for rebuilding in 1669. Hutchinson writing in 1794 (i, 156) said of Wetheral Priory "what was left of this edifice by the zealots of Henry VIII's days, was demolished, except the gateway . . . by the dean and chapter of Carlisle, who built a prebendal house etc. in Carlisle with the materials. When this was in agitation, Mr Howard, the late beautifier of Corby, offered a sufficient compensation if they would suffer the building to stand, but his proposition was rejected". Prescott, *Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, (1897), intro., xxxviii-xxxix, dismisses this "the only house to which this could have referred was the house of the second prebendary at the west end of the Cathedral: and there is evidence that this was built in the preceding century, being commenced in 1669. Thus are errors perpetuated". However Prescott obviously did not go into this in sufficient detail. When proposing the new library in 1693 the Dean and Chapter made provision for "Leading stone from the Quarry and from Wetherall if occasion be" and said "if we want stones . . . some to be fetched from Wedderal and to be viewd there to-morrow at ye Court" (CW2, xxiv, 12-16): the separate mention of 'Wetheral' and 'the Quarry' when both were at Wetheral, suggests that stone was still available at Wetheral Priory and the fact that the library was not built means the stone was left there. Pevsner (*op. cit.*, 95) dates No. 2, The Abbey, as early Georgian and this fits with the date that Thomas Howard was beautifying Corby Castle. Bucks' engraving of Wetheral Priory of 1739 shows that most buildings there had been demolished by that date. As has been shown Chapter Minutes do not mention everything that was done at the Cathedral.

[98] The upper part of the 18th-century house, as it is today, is shown on Bucks' engraving of the West Walls of Carlisle, so it had been completed by 1739. The rear of this building was extensively altered and extended by C. J. Ferguson in 1888 and the plans for this work are in C.R.O., Ca/C.E.4/1991.

[99] *Carlisle Journal*, 24 January 1930. The prime mover in this was James Walter Brown who left a bequest of £1,000 to the Cathedral as "one of his dearest wishes was to see the gravestones removed from the Churchyard, and the forbidding railings taken down . . . he did not live to see his hope realized . . . and the work was carried out shortly after his death in 1930. The levelled turf and neat low wall separating it from Castle Street remain as his abiding memorial", F. W. Wadely in the foreword to *Round Carlisle Cross*, *op. cit.* The railings were not unattractive, having been erected in 1838 to designs by R. W. Billings in the aftermath of numerous body-snatching attempts in Carlisle and it was necessary in the 1820s to have a watchman to patrol St Mary's Churchyard at night: his truncheon is in Carlisle Museum collection.

[100] Billings, *op. cit.*, 68 and plate xx; "between the old columns of the west end is a small monumental shaft or column erected by Sir Robert Smirke to the memory of his brother Richard who died at Brampton 15 May 1815 aged 57". The dislodged base of this monument is still beneath the west window. C.R.O., PR/47/32, records 5 subsequent burials within the demolished nave.

[101] *Op. cit.*, 6 and 8.

[102] CW2, xxxix, 49. Complaint was made in the *Carlisle Journal*, 17 April 1802 that because of "the rapid increase of manufactories in this city and its vicinity and the consequent augmentation of population . . . the interests of religion are so much neglected, that the large parish of St Mary still remains unprovided with a church sufficiently capacious to accommodate even half the inhabitants with seats".

[103] *Carlisle Journal*, 6 July 1934. "A Society of Friends of the Cathedral was formed [in 1934]; among its projects are plans for . . . the rebuilding of the nave", Bouch, *op. cit.*, 456. Sir Charles Nicholson, 1867-1949, was consulting architect for various Cathedrals and Diocesan Architect for several others. *The Builder*, 23 February 1907, reproduced his drawing showing the Priory of St Mary as it would have appeared in 1506 (Plate 1).

[104] CW1, xiv, 208-10, records Ferguson's excavation of the apse and CW2, xxiv, 1-16, mentions Martindale's discovery of the drain beneath the Fratry.

[105] CW2, xxxvii, 57-8: he goes on to say "the margin of uncertainty which existed is revealed when we find

that so great an authority as Bond, in his *English Cathedrals*, gives only seven bays to the nave at Carlisle whilst Nicholson, in his otherwise excellent pictorial restoration, shows nine". He also found "the foundations of the west front were known to exist in the garden at the rear of the second canonry house [No 2, The Abbey] and were actually uncovered there during the excavations". However, again there has been misinterpretation; Billings, *op. cit.*, 31, says "the nave, previous to the civil wars, is said to have consisted of nine compartments . . . it is so marked in Lysons' *Cumberland* and in Willis's *Cathedrals*," but on a close examination of Willis's plan, which was drawn before 1727 and hence before the nave was fully demolished, it shows eight bays, so Billings was wrong. Whilst Nicholson showed a nine-bay nave on his 1907 view, he had corrected this to eight bays on his 1934 drawing (Plate 4). Alec Clifton-Taylor, *English Cathedrals*, (1967), 266, perpetuated the 7-bay myth, but Pevsner, writing in the same year, *op. cit.*, 88, got it right.

[106] Ms Museum Diary, 1948-1975, by Robert Hogg, Carlisle Museum, shows that this excavation was from the end of May to the end of August, 1953. Joyce and Brian Blake, *The Story of Carlisle*, (1958), 76, indicate that the excavations of 1953 were more extensive "a few years ago, when Mr F. G. Simpson was excavating in the grounds of the Cathedral, it was possible to see the actual foundations of the full nave". Dorothy Charlesworth (*Archaeological Journal*, cxxxv, 1978, 115) mentioned the "excavations in the cathedral precinct by the late F. G. Simpson, which Dr Grace Simpson will be publishing in due course", but nothing has yet appeared.

[107] This shows some medieval floor tiles still in position and may be the tiles now in the Prior's Tower Museum. Mention of this excavation by Robert Hogg, *op. cit.*, on 5 January 1959, proves that it was at some date before that.

[108] See this volume p. 270-1

[109] *VCH Cumberland*, i. 93.

[110] CW2, xxiv, 13.

[111] DCR, ix, 13, Chapter Minutes, 20 December 1669, "it is ordered by us the Dean and Chapter . . . that the Dean and all, or any one of the prebendaryies of the said Church shall have liberty to take and make use of for the building or repairing of their respective House or other edifices within the Colledge any of the materialls of those Houses or buildings which are before ordered to be pulled down the same being adjudged convenient for their respective occasions by Skilfull Workmen".

[112] J. Ray, *History of the Rebellion*, (1749), 231.

[113] *Fleming-Senhouse Papers*, *op. cit.*, 94.

[114] *Op. cit.*, 95.

[115] Creighton, *op. cit.*, 184.

[116] G. G. Mounsey, *Carlisle in 1745*, (1846), 181.

[117] Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 184.

[118] Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 186.

[119] Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 190.

[120] Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 194.

[121] *Op. cit.*

[122] Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 218.

[123] Mounsey, *op. cit.*, 243-4.

[124] R. C. Jarvis, *The Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745*, (1954), 371.

[125] *Op. cit.*

[126] *Op. cit.* 391.

[127] Bouch, *op. cit.*, 361-2.

[128] Bouch, *op. cit.*, 361.

[129] *Op. cit.*, 7.

[130] Ray Nichol speaking on Radio Cumbria, 13 November 1986.

[131] BM, *op. cit.*

[132] *The Builder*, May 1893.

[133] Carlisle Museum collection.

[134] Dr W. P. Honeyman, *A History of the Carlisle Dispensary*, (1982), 2.

[135] Honeyman, *op. cit.*, 5.

[136] Honeyman, *op. cit.*, 7.

[137] Bouch, *op. cit.*, 58.

[138] Bouch and Jones, *The Lake Counties, 1500-1830*, (1961), 28.
[139] The historical introduction to G. B. Routledge, *Carlisle Grammar School Register, 1264-1924*, (1924), 22.
[140] Prescott, *op. cit.*, 64.
[141] *Op. cit.*, 213-14.
[142] Bouch, *op. cit.*, 241.
[143] CW2, xvi, 16.
[144] *Op. cit.*, ii, 599f.
[145] *Op. cit.*, 23.
[146] Padel, *op. cit.*, 23.
[147] *Op. cit.*, 80.
[148] *Op. cit.*, 443.
[149] Wilson, *Rose Castle*, *op. cit.*, 25. Prescott, CW2, xvi, 3, says "that the property of the Church of Carlisle was not divided finally between the Bishop and the Canons until the year 1249".
[150] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 22.
[151] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 27.
[152] *Guide to Carlisle*, (1924), 109.
[153] CW2, xvi, 16-17: "in 1850 a committee of gentlemen . . . agreed a thoroughfare and a foot passage made to the West Walls from Abbey Street and Paternoster Row through the further portion of the Dean's garden which he consented to relinquish for the purpose".
[154] Wilson, *op. cit.*, 226.
[155] *Op. cit.*, 289.
[156] *Op. cit.*, 296.
[157] Ms History of Scaleby Castle, 1914, 191, C.R.O.
[158] CW2, lxxvi, 32f and Hutchinson, ii, 607.
[159] *Cumberland News*, 31 May 1930.
[160] *Tour through the Whole Island of Great Britain 1724-5*, (1974 ed.)
[161] *Op. cit.*, 157.
[162] *Historic Towns: Carlisle*, (1889), 159.
[163] *Op. cit.*, 100.
[164] *Carlisle Journal*, 28 November 1884.
[165] C. Roy Hudleston, *Naworth Castle and Household Accounts 1648-1660*, (CW Record Series, ix), 24 and 41.