

Priory Church of St Mary & St Michael, Cartmel, Cumbria

Statement of Significance



January 2020

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Prepared for the PCC of St Mary's, Cartmel

by

Marion Barter Associates Ltd

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SUMMARY

This statement of significance was commissioned from Marion Barter Associates Ltd in 2019 by Dominic Roberts of Francis Roberts Architects on behalf of the PCC of St Mary's Church, Cartmel. Its purpose is to inform discussions about re-ordering part the interior and a potential north addition to the building. The church is a Grade I listed building. The Faculty Jurisdiction Rules 2013 define a statement of significance as

“a document which describes the significance of the church or other building in terms of its special architectural and historic interest (including any contribution made by its setting) and any significant features of artistic or archaeological interest that the church or other building has so as to enable the potential impact of the proposals on its significance, and on any such features, to be understood”

Section 1 provides a summary of the history of the priory church, referring to primary and secondary sources and to the fabric of the building. An Augustinian priory was founded at Cartmel by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke in c1189. Primary phase fabric from the first building campaign (c1189-1219) has survived in the choir, the crossing, Piper Choir and transepts, where the architectural features are typical of the transition from Romanesque to Early Gothic/Early English. The nave, upper stage of the tower, north and south aisles, the Town Choir, great east window and other windows are part of later gothic pre-Dissolution phases. There is an unsubstantiated theory that the cloister was moved from the south to the north sometime before the south aisle was built or rebuilt in the early 15th century. The blind north wall of the north aisle and the rough corbels on its outer north face indicate a former building against the north side of the church, but its date of construction and demolition is not recorded in surviving documentary sources. The priory was closed at the Dissolution, in 1537, and local people acquired the church for use as their parish church, which effectively saved the building from becoming a ruin and preserved the choir stalls. The east window retains some medieval glass, although glass dating from the 1480s and depicting a prior of Cartmel is at St Martin's, Bowness-on-Windermere.

In 1617-1622, substantial repairs were carried out with funds from George Preston, the owner of the Holker Hall estate, including re-roofing, new plaster ceilings and the fine choir screen and Renaissance-style canopies over the earlier choir stalls. The 14th century Harington monument was relocated to the wall between the Town Choir and the chancel around this time. The south porch was rebuilt in 1625. The vestry was built over a crypt in 1677, and later held the library donated by Thomas Preston. Unfortunately, there are large gaps in the documentary records, particularly for much of the medieval period (there is no surviving cartulary) and for the 18th century. There are no images of the church exterior or interior until the late 18th or early 19th century, apart from one 17th century drawing of the Harington tomb. Early 19th century images show the interior before the Paley restoration, when there were galleries in the north transept, the nave's rubblestone walls were plastered and the nave was largely without seating apart from towards the crossing where there were box pews and a triple decker pulpit; an interior typical of the Georgian period.

Some repairs were carried out in the 1830s, and in 1850 when a timber ceiling was installed in the crossing by Webster, but the most substantial restoration and repairs were undertaken from the late 1850s, under E.G.Paley. The first phase of this work entailed removing 17th century plaster ceilings to expose the roof structures in the choir, nave and transepts, followed by work in the 1860s to remove the galleries and install new seating and fittings including a font, pulpit, pipe organ (by Jardine, in the Town Choir) and new stained glass windows. The lean-to addition (narthex) between the west buttresses, now used for WC's, kitchen, stores, workshop and boiler room is part of the Paley restoration phase.

The church is described in Section 3. The architecture and structure of the church is briefly described, followed by sections on the fittings and memorials. The current arrangement of the nave relates to the 1867 re-ordering by Paley, modified in 2018 by Dominic Roberts. The stone font is in a position similar to where it stood before the Paley restoration. The Town Choir has been altered many times; as a chantry chapel it contained the fine Harington tomb of c1347, before this was relocated to the north wall in the early 17th century. The former chapel contains the pipe organ built in 1969. In the choir, the principal features are the fine carved screens and stall canopies provided by George Preston, and the 15th century stalls. The sanctuary fittings include the gilded reredos and altar of 1933. The pulpit in the crossing was designed by Paley, along with the square font, now in the south aisle. The church contains numerous wall-mounted memorials, mainly from the 18th and early 19th

century with a few of earlier date. The rubblestone north wall of the north aisle is windowless; it is not possible to assign a date to its construction from the visual evidence and there are no documentary records that explain its present form and appearance. On the internal face is fixed an important painted board recording the life and work of George Preston (died 1640), Cavendish and Lowther hatchments and towards the west end is a large alabaster monument to Lord Frederick Cavendish (died 1882). With the exception of medieval glass in the Piper Choir, the east windows of the choir and the Town Choir, stained glass in the church is mainly late 19th century, with some good glass by Shrigley and Hunt.

Section 4 covers significance. The church as a whole has very high significance for archaeological, architectural, historic, artistic and communal value. The church is a fine example of a late 12th century priory church combining Romanesque and Early Gothic architecture with important elements of later gothic architecture dating from the mid 14th century (Town Choir) and the 15th century (nave and windows). Simon Jenkins ranks it among the top 100 churches in England, one of only two in Cumbria (the other is Sarah Losh's early Victorian church at Wreay). According to Hyde and Pevsner, the church is the best preserved former monastic church in Cumbria. The research into the history of the interior and fittings enables an assessment of significance for the fittings, summarised in a table.

The setting of the church includes the village of Cartmel, which is a conservation area, including the fields to the east, north and south of the church. Due to the church's great scale, the tower and roofs can be seen from a distance outside the village, particularly on the approach from the north-east and south. The church is the most important landmark in the valley. The burial ground is managed by the PCC and there is public access via footpaths from the north and south-west entrances. The burial ground retains a large collection of standing memorial stones and tombs, some of which are separately listed. The burial ground contributes to the high significance of the church, and is important for aesthetic, historic and archaeological values.

There is high archaeological potential to reveal more information about the priory cloister buildings; surprisingly, no formal excavations or non-invasive surveys conducted by an archaeologist have taken place within the burial ground apart from minor watching briefs for service trenches. Due to the lack of medieval records about the priory and the loss of related cloisters and other precinct buildings, there

are some significant knowledge gaps for Cartmel Priory. In particular, the form and phasing of the cloisters in relation to the nave and aisles is not understood. It is recommended that further studies, surveys and trial trenches be undertaken, when resources allow, framed by a series of research questions.

Alterations to the church are exempt from listed building consent, under the Ecclesiastical Exemption Order 2010; instead a Faculty is required before changes can be made (Faculty Jurisdiction Rules 2018). A Faculty application is decided by the Chancellor of the Diocese, usually on the advice of the Diocesan Advisory Committee (DAC). The DAC for the Diocese of Carlisle has already visited the church to offer advice on the proposal for new kitchen and toilet facilities. A statement of significance is one of the key documents needed to support a Faculty application, alongside a statement of need prepared to demonstrate the case for making changes. This report will help to inform discussions about providing the new facilities needed to ensure the long-term vitality of this important church.

It is recommended that a copy of this report is deposited in a public archive, so that the information is accessible. It will be uploaded to the online Archaeological Data Service via Historic England's OASIS website.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Report

This statement of significance was commissioned from Marion Barter Associates Ltd in 2019 by Dominic Roberts of Francis Roberts Architects on behalf of the PCC of St Mary's Church, Cartmel.

The church is a Grade I listed building, located within Cartmel Conservation Area.

The Faculty process requires the significance of a church to be assessed and described when changes are proposed. It is good practice to undertake a significance assessment before proposals are developed for re-ordering or alterations. This report broadly follows the online guidance produced by the Church of England in January 2014.

1.2 Purpose of the Report

The report's purpose is to assess the significance of the church, particularly of the interior and fittings, to inform discussions about a future re-ordering and other changes to the building. The report will be used to contribute to the Faculty process and is for the use of the PCC, their architect and the DAC. The report will cover the following key issues:

- A summary of the history and key phases of the church,
- A statement of significance covering the building and all fittings,
- Summary of the archaeological potential for the site,
- Comment on the contribution made by the setting to the significance of the church.

1.3 Acknowledgments

The author is grateful to David Huggett for his help with information on recent works to the church. He and the volunteers at Cartmel Priory kindly assisted with access to the building and the vestry in December 2019. We are grateful for assistance from Cumbria Archives Centres at Barrow and Kendal and from Historic England Archives, Swindon.

1.4 Authors and Copyright

This report has been written by Marion Barter, BA MA IHBC and Dan Elsworth MA ACIfA. Dan Elsworth carried out archive research and compiled section 3. Marion Barter compiled sections 4 and 5 after a joint site visit in December 2019. All photographs are by the authors unless otherwise credited. Historic photographs from the parish collection are reproduced with the permission of the PCC of St Mary's Cartmel. The plan in Figure 1 is reproduced with permission of the Historic England Archive.

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2 HISTORY & CONTEXT

2.1 Background History

2.1.1 Introduction

Despite its considerable age and historic importance Cartmel Priory Church has seen relatively limited investigation, especially in terms of a professional assessment of the historic fabric or the archaeology of the site. The earliest accounts were made in a spirit of antiquarianism (Stockdale 1872; Rigge 1879), through an interest in architectural history (eg Sir Stephen Glynne in 1833 (Butler 2011, 46-51); Petit 1870; Paley 1872) or as part of more general local history books on Cartmel (Wakefield 1909; Anon 1915); it was not until John Dickinson's more thorough consideration, published in 1945 (an abbreviated version was published earlier; Dickinson 1933), that any detailed discussion of the phasing of the church's development was presented. Since then there have been numerous brief accounts of its history published as guidebooks (eg Wells nd; Dykes and Hardwick nd; Rothwell 2000) and local histories (Taylor 1955). Nevertheless, the most useful and most detailed publications regarding the priory remain those produced by Dickinson, although it is not always clear how he came to some of his conclusions.

2.1.2 Early Christian activity

The origins of a Christian community in Cartmel and the wider Cartmel Peninsula are obscure. What is undoubted is that there was a British population in Cartmel following the demise of the Roman Empire's control over the area, as they are referred to in a grant made by the Northumbrian King Ecgrith to St Cuthbert of land in Cartmel; historically this was translated as having included the British population, i.e. that the natives were given as chattels (Crowe 1984, 63), but more recently this has been reinterpreted as referring to the grant having been made by Ecgrith *and* the Britons that were in Cartmel, suggesting that there was a recognised native aristocracy in the area negotiating with the Northumbrians (Edmonds 2013, 20). Whether that means there was an existing British church estate within the block of land that was presented as part of this grant is difficult to say.

It is also recorded that the Northumbrians took control of several 'Celtic' churches in the late 6th century and that those that did not accept the findings of the Synod of Whitby in 663 withdrew to Strathclyde or Ireland (Crowe 1984, 64). It has also been argued that the region granted to St Cuthbert might have corresponded to Hougoun, which is recorded in the Domesday Survey of 1086 and may have had much earlier origins (Elsworth 2018, 96-97). No *eccles* place-names are recorded in the immediate

vicinity of Cartmel itself, which would potentially indicate the presence of a British church, or at least land held or controlled by them (Elsworth 2011), although there is an 'Eccleston Meadow' in Flookburgh, which might be significant in this regard (Stockdale 1872, 125). Nevertheless place-names indicating the presence of Britons are found in the region, such as Walton, which derives from an Anglo-Saxon word *wealas* applied to native Britons, possibly especially those that thought of themselves as Romans (Woolf 2010, 231-232).

2.1.3 Pre-monastic church in Cartmel

Of potential interest in understanding the origins of the church in Cartmel are other local place-names, which indicate the presence of a church. Kirkhead, near Allithwaite, demonstrates that when Norse settlers arrived in the area in the 10th century there was a church already in existence, or, more implausibly, that they constructed a church when they arrived. The names 'Kirkepol' and 'Kirk Heys' are also recorded nearby (Crowe 1984, 65), but there is no certainty that a church existed in the area around Kirkhead and, like *eccles* place-names, the element *kirk* could just refer to land controlled by a church. However, Stockdale records a '*tradition that there was a chapel near Kirkhead and Abbot Hall – some remains of which, even graves, it is said, existed in the last century*' (Stockdale 1872, 505). Crowe also suggests that the place named as *Cherchebi* (meaning 'church village') in the Domesday survey corresponds with Cartmel, since it was known as 'Cartmel Churchtown' in later records (1984, 61), although this correlation is by no means definite.

Complicating the issue further is the story regarding the foundation of the Augustinian priory; according to a legend, first printed in 1821 (Atkins 1821), the monks came into Cartmel looking for a place for their new priory and found a suitable hill. Having marked out the site for building a voice spoke to them saying '*Not there, but in a valley between two rivers, where the one runs north, and the other south*'. Unable to imagine such a place they began searching across the north of England, but finding nothing matching this description they returned to the original hill. In doing so they crossed a valley where they found a stream running north and another running south, as predicted, and between them they built their priory. They also built a chapel on the original hill dedicated to St Bernard, which retains the name 'Mount Bernard'. Regardless of the speculation about the possibility of early churches being on different sites, the fact that the 12th century priory church was also used as a parish church (see below) makes it entirely plausible that the priory was deliberately located on the site of an earlier church. This would

be more in keeping with other sites, where continuous use of the same site was relatively common, although this is normally only evident through archaeological excavation. The Augustinian priory founded at Carlisle in 1122 incorporated a parish church, on or near the site of the 8th century monastery (Weston 2000, pp9-10). St Michael's Church Workington is another example (Zant and Parsons 2019). Evidence for a church existing at Cartmel before the establishment of the priory comes from references in 1135 to Willelmus, clerk of Cartmel, and in 1155 to Uccleman, parson of Cartmel (Stockdale 1872, 8-9). It is also interesting to note that study of the geology of the site has concluded that the priory is built on an island of glacial debris in a post-glacial lake (Mitchell 1990, 44 and figure 2 on page 48); this would have been an ideal location for an early medieval 'celtic' church/monastery, which were often on isolated spots such as islands or peninsulas (see Thomas 1971, 10-47).

2.1.4 Priory foundation

The priory of St Mary the Virgin in Cartmel was established in 1188 (or at least by 1190) by an order of Augustinian Canons through the patronage of William Marshall, later earl of Pembroke (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 259; Dickinson 1945, 51). The mother priory was Bradenstoke in Wiltshire, which sent a group of canons to Cartmel, although from the start Cartmel was independent (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, Vol.2, 143). It is apparent that the new priory at least invoked the memory of an earlier church, dedicated to St Michael, as the parish church and its chapels were referred to in the original foundation; an altar to St Michael was reserved for the use of parishioners and this dedication continued until after the Dissolution (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 259). The parishioners continued to make use of the church after the establishment of the priory, with the Town Choir, on the south side of the chancel, reputed to have served them (Dickinson 1945, 64-65); however, the west part of the nave would have been a more usual area in a priory church for the local community to use (as at Carlisle) and from the 1340s the south chapel was a chantry chapel.

Important fabric from the primary phase of construction, which continued into the early 13th century (up until the death of William Marshall in 1219), remains, primarily in the chancel, north and south transepts, Piper Choir and crossing (see Fig. 1). This fabric, with mainly pointed arches, is characteristic of the style usually referred to as Early English although it is early Gothic derived from France. The fabric of the church shows that the primary phase sanctuary projected one bay east of the east ends of the original north and south chapels, so that the sanctuary was lit by north and south lancet windows. The nave may not have been built by 1219, as the quality ashlar work stops just within the east end of the nave. The evidence for missing claustral

buildings at the church are blocked doorways in both the north and south transepts (that led to upper floor rooms), a book recess on the west side of the south transept and corbels on the west face of the transepts that carried a cloister roof. There is no documentary or archaeological evidence to date the building of the cloisters or to indicate their form and extent.

2.1.5 Medieval development

The priory church continued to be built or remodelled in at least two phases during the later medieval period, but the lack of documentary records for this period hampers an accurate interpretation; the physical fabric of the building and its archaeology is therefore an important source of evidence for this period. The architecture of the church expresses phases of major investment, where features are readily dateable. In the mid 14th century the chapel south of the chancel, was rebuilt and enlarged (Dickinson 1945; Dickinson 1991, 42), to create the Harington chantry (John Harington died 1347), with new windows of flowing Decorated Gothic tracery. The elaborate tomb and its altar probably occupied the south-west corner of the chapel (roughly where the organ is now).

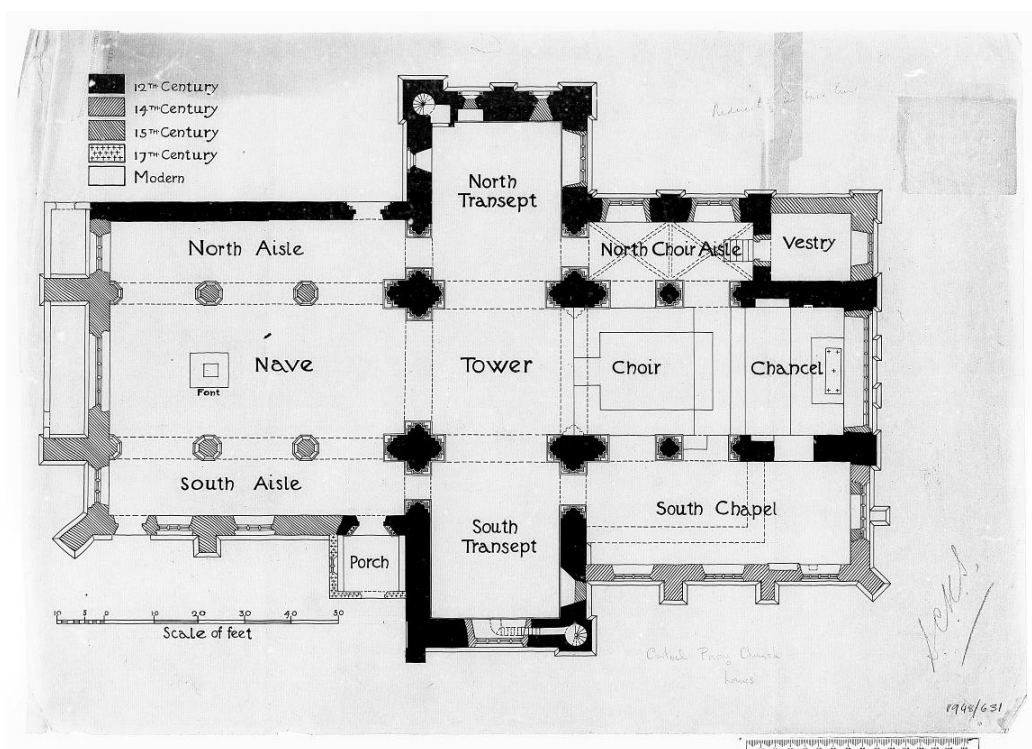


Fig.1: undated phasing plan of the church (Historic England Archive)

More substantial work to the church took place in the 15th century; the building (or rebuilding) of the nave with 3-bay arcades, clerestories and aisles. The chancel was refurbished with a vast new east window in c1420 and smaller Perpendicular Gothic windows were also installed in the transepts and Piper Choir, in place of the earlier lancet windows. The top stage of the tower and the choir clerestory is also of this period.

The rebuilding of the nave with new south windows partly supports the theory that the priory underwent substantial reorganisation in the 14th century, when it is suggested that the cloister was moved from its original south location to the north. The first printed version of this interpretation, identified for this study, is in an article published in *The Builder* in 1899 (Anon 1899; see CAC(B) BDX/828/1/3/88 1899); this was later repeated by Farrer and Brownbill (1914, 259) and then by Curwen (1920, 111), but the most extensive discussion was by Dickinson (1945, 57-66). The evidence for this theory is a combination of the known disruption in the wider region during this period brought about by the Scottish raids, corresponding documentary evidence that by 1391 the church was in a state of decay and architectural evidence within the building. The latter is not conclusive, and includes primary phase features on the south transept for a cloister (upper floor blocked doorway, book recess and corbels for the cloister roof), the presence of the 15th century south aisle windows which indicate that by this date there was no cloister here and the doorway cut through a lancet in the north transept north wall and a row of rough corbels on the blind north side of the nave thought to have supported the roof of a later north cloister (Dickinson 1945). However, the form and mouldings of the arched doorway on the north transept suggests it may be primary phase, suggesting that there may have been 2-storey buildings projecting to north and south in the same phase.

It has also been suggested that the ground on which the original south cloister was built might have been subject to subsidence, which required the cloister to be moved (*op cit*, 63). This has been investigated more recently with Mitchell suggesting that the priory is located on an island of '*sandy glacial debris which is known to be more than 8 feet deep in places*' within a post-glacial lake (1990, 45), but this does not prove that the south cloister had to be taken down. Notwithstanding these arguments for the theory, the evidence for it is not robust and has not been tested by any detailed, modern examination of the fabric, nor any archaeological evaluation of below-ground material. Indeed, earlier accounts of the church's history observed

the same evidence within the building but concluded that the features on the south side of the church related to a chapter house or dormitory '*that was intended to be continued southward, but was never erected*' (Paley 1872, 5) while on the north side of the nave the '*projecting through-stones indicate that a wooden pent-house... extended from some buildings lying westward, to the north doorway*' (*op cit*, 5-6).

2.1.6 The Dissolution and its immediate aftermath

During the Dissolution the value of all monastic houses was assessed and visitations took place, on the order of Henry VIII; in 1535 Cartmel was found to have a value of £91 6s 3d (Dickinson 1991, 33-34). Since it was initially the smallest houses that were most threatened by closure under the First Act of Suppression, Cartmel protested and a more detailed survey was carried out in 1536, revaluing it at £212 12s 10½d (*op cit*, 34). Despite this, the closure of the priory went ahead in 1537, although for a short time the canons at Cartmel were reinstated following the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536-1537, the Northern revolt against the Crown's decision (Farrer and Brownbill Vol.2, 143-148). In 1540, the site of the priory was granted to Thomas Holcroft (*op cit*). At Cartmel, the parishioners purchased the whole church (Dickinson 1991, 33-23), a pattern that also occurred at some other town centre priories such as Malvern; this is likely to have reduced the damage caused, for example by the complete removal of lead from the roof (*op cit*, 36-37). However, various accounts suggest that it was partially unroofed and allowed to fall into disrepair for perhaps as long as 83 years (eg. Cooper 1899, 223); no specific evidence is given for this apart from an account in 1873, which states that the effect of being unroofed '*are still visible in the decayed state of certain portions of the wood-work in the Choir from exposure to the weather*' (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/2/12 1873-1957). The very weathered condition of the choir stalls' timber may support this.

Fortunately for Cartmel a large part of the priory's estates was acquired by the Preston family of Furness in the 16th century, whose descendants, the Cavendish family, still own Holker. The 1646 Preston board in the north aisle records that the church was in 'great decaye' before George Preston carried out repairs, but it has been suggested that the sum was spent was not so large as to indicate that there was extensive damage to remedy (Dickinson 1991, 37-40). The rest of the priory buildings were almost entirely demolished after the Dissolution; the main exception is the gatehouse, to the west of the church, and parts of the precinct wall to the north, although more substantial elements of the latter were clearly still standing into the mid-19th century (plan in Appendix 2, Ffoliot 1854). In addition, more recent investigation has revealed that substantial amounts of medieval fabric survive in

other buildings around the village (Greenlane Archaeology 2013a; 2013b) and, as Stockdale said of the priory, it is likely that *'Half the Town of Cartmel has been built out of stones taken from these ruins'* (CAC(B) DDHJ/4/2/1/6 1860s-1870s).

Accounts of repairs to the church at the end of the 16th century and into the 17th century survive in the Church Book, which was saved by James Stockdale and partially transcribed by him; the relevant extracts from this are reproduced in Table 1 below. These show a fairly continual process of repairs, particularly to the roofs, with a more substantial programme of re-roofing carried out by the Preston family in about 1618 (Dickinson suggests it was between 1617-1622; 1991, 37. Rigge says 1618-1623, and notes that the new roof was at a lower pitch *'as the weather-mouldings on the outside walls show'* (1879, 5)). Preston's work is referred to on the Preston memorial board dated 1646 in the north aisle, which states that he *'adorned the Chancell with curious carved woodworke...'* (the choir screens and canopies); this and the ceiling plasterwork of the same period are not listed in Stockdale's account, summarised below. The relocation of the Harington tomb at this time is also not documented, but it is thought to have been moved into its present position by Preston; the earliest drawing dated 1646, now in the Bodleian Library, appears to show it in the current location (Cameron, plate 16).

Year	Item	Source
1597	<i>'glastening and mendinge of all of the windows... meandinge of all the rowfs... pleasteringe and roughcastinge all about the leade... making a new rowfe over the revestrie'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 37
1598	Bringing 12 tonnes of coal to burn for making lime and then <i>'walling the revestry... taking upp of the leade of the west rooge and to level the same, to bring water out of the same at the roofe end... sclatinge anew agayne of the same roofe'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 38-39
1599	<i>'sclatt the roofe over the [illegible]'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 40
1613	<i>'worke betweene the churche doors (south aisle of the nave, perhaps)... takinge downe and lyeinge it [the rood] anewe in lyme and sande'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 47
1615	<i>'amendinge ye leades and roufe over all that quiere adjoyninge to ye Piper Quiere... mending ye glasse windows... And likewise the p'iche (parish) quiere roufe... and to amend all ye gutters withal... casting</i>	Stockdale 1872, 47-48

	<i>and mendeinge ye leades over ye p'iche quiere'</i>	
1618	<i>'two twentie marke castes shall be collected by the church-wardens... towards the payeinge and satisfyeinge of Mr Preston for the bargaine made with him for the two roufes and the steeple... Mr Preston shall build upp and make annewe the sowthe roufe over the Piche (Parish) Quiere and the other roufe over the Ladie (Lady) Quiere and the pyp'r (piper) quiere'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 49-50
1625	<i>'makeing the porche conveniente in the same place where formerlye it was, viz., the wall to be raysed upp at the west syde, and a new roufe to be made over it, and free-stone doore (doorway) with an arche'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 57
1635	<i>'the free masons shall flagge the church anewe where need is with stones'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 62
1645	<i>'Lawrence Swainson shall maintayne and uphold all the glasse windowes, except those in the chancell'</i>	Stockdale 1872, 81

Table 1: Extracts from the Cartmel Church Book relating to alterations to the church

It is not known exactly when the galleries were added, although the addition of galleries (normally at the west end) was usual in parish churches during the 18th and early 19th centuries. The galleries were removed as part of the Paley and Austin restoration in 1864-73. Rigge states that the galleries were added after the roof repairs of c1620 and describes them as comprising: *'a large one across the north transept, another called the dark gallery across the north aisle of the nave, a smaller one in the east corner of the south transept opposite the clock gallery in its west corner, and an organ with its gallery over the rood-screen'* (1879, 5). Glynne suggests that the *'frightful stucco ceiling'* was added in 1700 (Butler 2011, 48), but this is incorrect as the *'fretted Plaister Worke'* ceilings were part of the early 17th century George Preston work, as recorded on the 1646 Preston board.

2.1.7 The late 17th to early 19th centuries

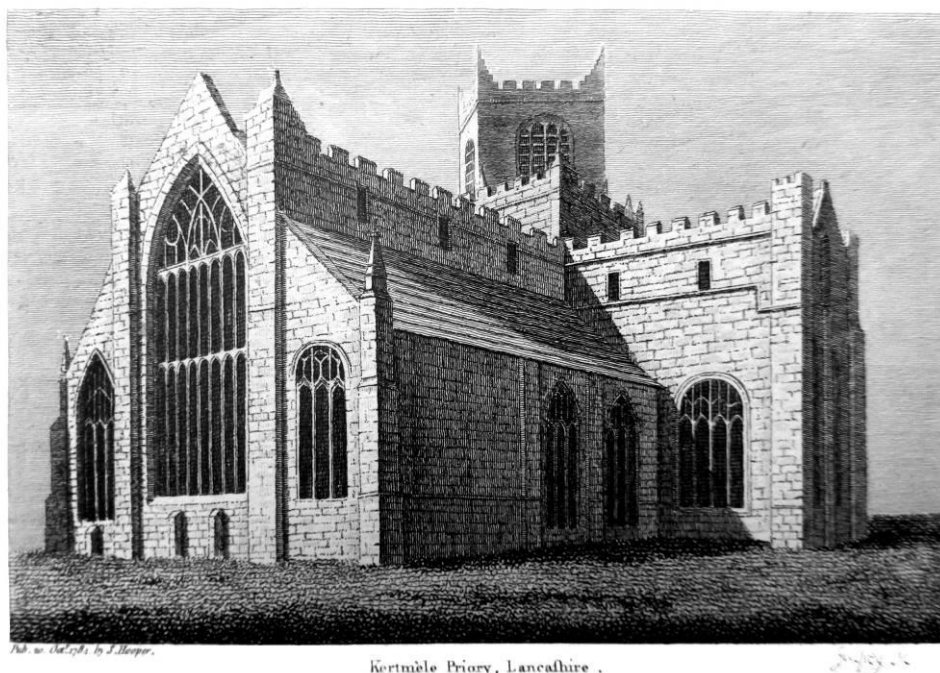


Fig.2: engraving dated 1784, by S Hooper (CAC(K), Ref BA/L/F/120/1 – 1772-1932)

There is relatively little record of alterations for over 200 years after the improvements made by the Preston family. In 1677 the current vestry was constructed (Taylor 1959), in place of the old sacristy, following a bequest by William Robinson of Newby Bridge of £40; this comprised a lofty extension over a basement, matching the height of the Town Choir to the south; this reinstated symmetry to the east end of the church (Dickinson 1991, 88). It also reused some earlier material including a window with its earlier stained glass, and later held a collection of early books given to the church by Thomas Preston in his will (he died in 1697).

Remarkably, there is seemingly no record of any work carried out at the church in the 18th century, although it is perhaps noteworthy that in 1852 the archive relating to Cartmel was described as having been '*rudely and cruelly dealt with; fire & the sword have at various times done much mischief among them & few of great antiquity or value have been preserved*' (CAC(K) WPR/89/1/7/5 1845-1852).

It is not until the 19th century that extant records become more detailed, in part because of the extensive repairs and restoration carried out in the second half of the century (see Section 2.1.9 below); a summary of repairs, with a detailed account of

expenditure from 1864, was published in 1873 by Rev Hubbersty (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/2/12 1873-1957). The need for work to the building by the early 19th century was clearly urgent, given the description by Dr Whitaker in 1818: *'In this fine Church, after the lapse of nearly two centuries, another Preston begins to be wanted... there is an appearance of something between a Cathedral and a ruin. Damp floors, green walls, and rotting beams, shelter just sufficient for owls and bats, and light augmented by broken panes, are connecting links between the high and finished repair of the one, and the total abandonment of the other'* (Whitaker 1818, 5). A number of minor repairs were evidently carried out in the 1820s, with a Robert Webster (part of the architect family of Kendal; see Martin 2004) paid for *'freestone repairs to the west window'* in 1820, and for unspecified work in 1823 (Tyson 1993, 11). A much longer list of required repairs, made by the Bishop of Chester, was also produced in 1821, with relevant items including:

'The lead of the tower to be repaired, & the inside to be rough cast.

The covering of ye Roof & Aisles to be examined & thoroughly repaired where wanting.

The Area of ye church to be made level, & the whole re-flagged, where ye flags are broken, or bad.

The wooden frame for ye clock to be removed out of ye church.

The church yard wall to be examined, & repaired where necessary.

The organ to be removed to ye west end & it is strongly recommended, tho' not ordered by the Bishop, that when ye flagging is taken up, the pulpit & reading desk be brot [sic] near the communion rails & the Pews be carried down either near the font, or along each transept.' (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/3/3 1821-1822).

Other interesting comments include preventing cattle from grazing in the churchyard, and that *'at a vestry meeting it be consider'd whether all the paths, except one, might not be stopped up, as ye church yard is render'd very disgraceful by people loitering about & playing in it & doing mischief to W window &c'* (ibid). A separate note of the same date also adds:

'The Glass in ye windows of ye church, in many of them, wants repairing.

The top of ye Tower in ye church, not to be whitewashed.

The Earth to be removed from ye outside walls of ye church, & a Drain of open slate or stone made adjoining to them, as far as is practicable, so as to carry off all drippings of water into ye common Drain.

No Burials to be made without or within ye church except at ye distance of a yard from ye walls or pillars' (ibid).

It is clear that not all of the Bishop's requested repairs were carried out, at least not immediately, as a follow up letter enquired what had been done a year later (*ibid*). This was met with a statement from the church that confirmed that most of the roofing had been done and the drain dug along the outside of the south wall but elsewhere this was waiting upon plans to reseal the interior, as was the reflagging (*ibid*). Indeed, it was not until 1830 that records show the work started on the proposed reflagging of the floor, although the first relevant record is an estimate made by Roger Elleray and John Newby in 1828, which states that the west nave, north and south transepts, Town Choir, Piper Choir, including recesses in both, were to be included (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/3/5 1828-1832; the architect for this work is not known although Rigge incorrectly writes that E.G.Paley was responsible (born in 1823, he was clearly too young) (Tarpey, 1897, 174).

A specification for the work from 1830 gives remarkable detail, stating that the flags are to be less than two inches thick and to be sourced from Hutton Roof and Banks Bottom '*& true and self faced... well squared in the edge & laid solid on sand and jointed in regular courses with Putty & Paste in every joint and all the joints dressed off even after laid*' (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/3/5 1828-1832). The old flags were to be checked and reused where suitable, gravestones were to be re-laid, and the ground was to be levelled, evidently with imported soil where necessary (a quantity of 685 carts of soil was given in the earlier estimate; *ibid*). The resulting work by Michael Richardson and George Riley cost over £150 but also included repairs to at least one of the pillars (*ibid*). A subsequent receipt from 1831 from David Bayliss was also received for work in the 'lumber room', to the pillars, in the porch, and for flags for the pulpit (*ibid*). Shortly afterwards other repairs were also carried out to the Harrington Monument, with John Newby and David Bailey paid for cleaning and repairing it and for stone, while John Newby was also paid for cleaning arches in the church, and money was spent on the organ gallery stairs (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/6/1 1835-1969). Not everyone was happy with these renovations – James Stockdale, writing to *The Times* some 35 years later, condemned the work done in the 1830s to the Harrington Monument and the original font, which was '*subjected anew to the*

mason's chisel, and fashioned into its present shape, and (oh, the Vandalism!) a modern date – 1833 – cut in large letters upon it' (CAC(B) DDHJ/4/2/1/6 1860s – 1870s).



Fig.3: view of church before external render was removed, c.1840 (Cartmel Priory collection)

The programme of improvements continued between 1837 and 1841, initially with repairs to the guttering on the east side of the south transept, then the 'two roofs on the south side of the Nave or West End', with all of the work carried out by Roger Elleray (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/3/8 1837-1844). The receipts give a very detailed list of the materials used including items such as 'oak planks for the gable ends' and 'Laths of Red deal', while a payment for '1 Day at Coniston choosing out' indicates the source of the slate while it is also clear that this work extended to the include the porch and 'A New Oak Gate for the Main Entrance' and 'Gate repairing at the East Entrance' (*ibid*). The expense of such repairs was clearly an issue, however, and the Rev Thomas Remington stated in 1841 that '*as complaints have been made at the expense of keeping the church in repair, I have for your satisfaction, drawn out a*

statement of the ordinary expenses, which you will oblige me by showing to any one who may be inclined to think we are not saving as we ought to be' (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/3/8 1837-1844). Nevertheless, important repairs to the roof were continued under the supervision of Rev Remington through the *'principle of strict economy in the management of the Church Rates'* so that between 1845 to 1865 the roofs of the north aisle of the nave, the eastern half over the south transept, the Piper Choir and Vestry, the north transept, the south aisle of the chancel (the Town Choir) and the nave were (in that order) all *'re-slatted in a most substantial and durable manner'* (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/2/12 1873-1957).

During this period, in 1850, the old plaster was also removed, the walls having been coated *'with an extraordinary thickness of whitewash from top to bottom and from end to end'* and the, now decaying, plaster ceiling was also removed from the crossing and *'the present one of Timber was put up from a design gratuitously furnished by the late George Webster, Esquire of Eller How, architect'* (*ibid*). In places, beneath the old plaster, the walls were found to be of rubble construction and so new plaster was added to conceal this, it being noted by one contemporary that *'in some parts of the walls the squared stones were found to have been removed, and replaced with rubble-work... this was especially the case in the south transept, where there had been ancient alterations and buildings, traces of which are visible outside the walls. The nave and its aisles were found to be of such rough rubble workmanship as not to admit of being pointed or the surface dressed internally, they were therefore plastered in a manner as little incongruous as possible with the better built parts of the interior'* (Rigge 1879, 7).

The appearance of the church in the mid 19th century is recorded in various prints, an early photograph, paintings and engravings and on a plan of the layout prior to the restoration under E.G.Paley. The earliest known interior view (apart from the 17th century Harington tomb drawing) dates from 1814, which shows the 17th century plaster ceilings, plastered nave walls scored to resemble ashlar and 17th and 18th century fittings.



Fig.4: watercolour of nave from the west, by W.Linden, 1814 (Cartmel Priory collection)

2.1.9 Paley and Austin Restoration

The death of the Rev Remington in 1854 led to a pause in renovation, which was renewed in 1857-8 when the Chancel was re-roofed and *'the interior plaster ceiling, which had become dangerously decayed, was taken down, and the timber Roof thoroughly repaired; the walls, pillars, and arches were cleaned from whitewash; and a very striking feature of the Church which had been blocked up and almost obliterated, namely the Triforium, was opened and completely restored'* (CAC(B) WPR/89/4/2/12 1873-1957). The results of this work are recorded in the early photograph below, which also shows the box pews and organ over the chancel screen before removal.



Fig 5: the nave and crossing in a photograph of c1860, from the west (Cartmel Priory collection)

In the late 1850s, the 17th century plaster ceiling in the Town Choir was also in poor condition; this was removed and replaced with a timber ceiling, designed by E.G. Paley. The Town Choir was also re-roofed and the walls were stripped of whitewash (*ibid*).

By 1863 a considerable donation of money and further fund-raising led to a new round of restoration, also by Paley, which was recorded in detail in the Hubbersty publication of 1873, with significant elements including the restoration of the walls

and roofs of the nave and side aisles, the removal of the *'cumbersome galleries'* and new seating, the restoration of the south porch including the addition of new oak doors, glazing the west window, and the erection of a new pulpit, reading desk and font, the latter *'having been rendered necessary by the unfortunate circumstance that the ancient Font of the Church had been so altered and spoiled many years ago, by some unskilled hand, as totally to have lost its original form'* (CAC(B) WPR/89/4/2/12 1873-1957). In addition, the paving in the centre of the church and south transept was re-laid with concrete used under some of the seating and new flooring laid in the sanctuary with encaustic tiles and limestone. Repairs were made to several windows, a new organ and clock was installed in the Town Choir (organ built by Jardine), and new heating stoves: *'providing for the warming of the Church by means of two of the largest sized Gurney stoves... in conjunction with the hot-water apparatus put up by Mr Remington in 1853'* (*ibid*). All of these alterations cost over £3,500. Around the same time a series of measured drawings were made of the church, including internal elevations and longitudinal sections, part of the John O'Gaunt Sketch Book Vol 2 (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/6/5). A phasing plan was first produced in the 1870s for this study.

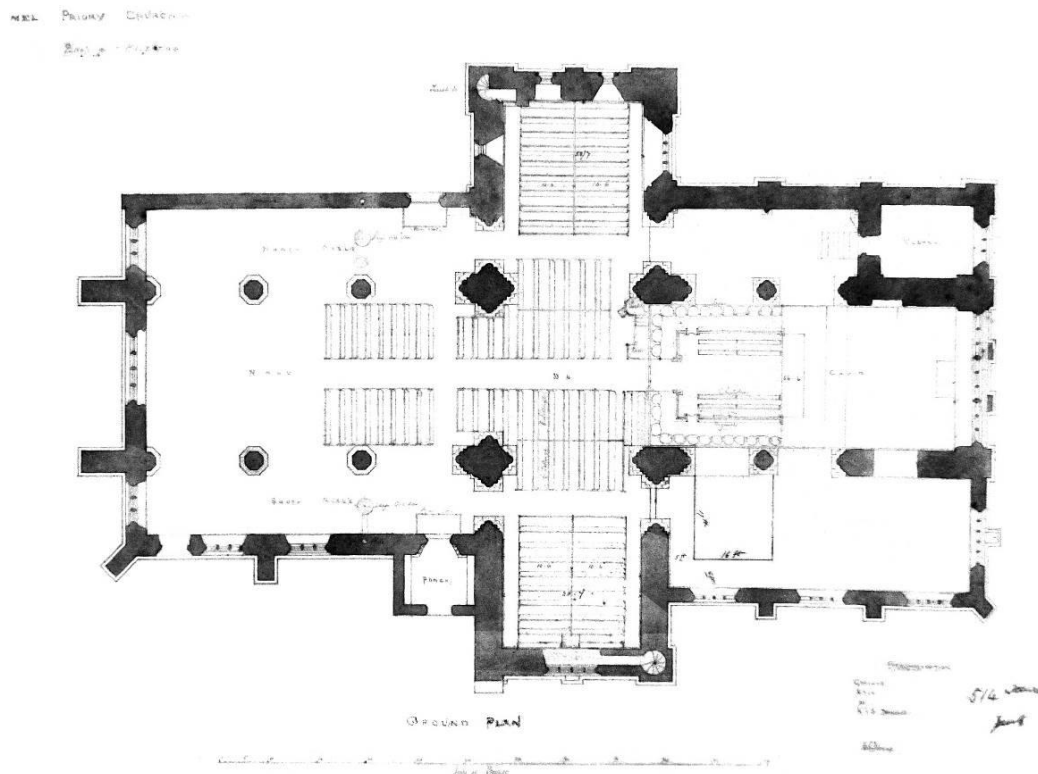


Fig.6: plan of proposed seating, Austin & Paley, 1863 (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/310)

Numerous original documents relating to the Paley restoration exist, including a plan for reseating the church (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/310 1863), which shows a 'large *gile* stove' on the north and south side of the nave, predating those mentioned in 1892, (see below), the faculty to take down the galleries (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/2/3 1864) and an associated plan (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/6/2 1864) and a general plan of the church showing the position of the grave slabs (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/6/3 1867). Much of this work was almost undone when a fire broke out in the nave in early January 1892, as described in a newspaper article at the time: *'The west end of the church is warmed by two large Gurenie's stoves, one located on the northern side, the beautiful memorial to Lord Frederick Cavendish being to the rear; the other on the southern side with the font between. It was from the latter the fire arose. The stove pipe enters the wall and traverses a considerable distance through it in a pretty well upright direction, when it comes under the wall plate and lead, the smoke passing through a small chimney immediately behind the battlements. The passage under the leads is of a dead level, and it was here the fire broke out, catching the spars of pitchpine which overhang the wall plate'* (Newspaper cutting in Vestry Archive 17th January 1892). Fortunately, the fire was noticed quickly, the alarm raised and it was put out with minimal damage sustained.

A lean-to addition was built between the west buttresses as part of the Paley work; the north part west of the north aisle is shown on the 1854 plan in Ffoliot (Appendix 2) and the whole addition this is shown on the OS map surveyed in 1889 and on several late 19th century views. It is referred to as 'new stores at the west end of the nave' in a contemporary newspaper account of the inaugural service (Westmorland Gazette 28 Sep 1867). The low doorway at the west end of the nave was uncovered during the 1850s restoration phase (Hubbersty, 1873, 8).

2.1.10 20th century

There is less recorded information for this period. In 1925 and 1930 Austin and Paley were commissioned to carry out repairs and pointing of internal walls and other minor work, apparently in connection with work being carried out by the stained-glass manufacturers Shrigley and Hunt, who were also based in Lancaster (Brandwood 2012, 250 and 252). A new reredos, high altar and other sanctuary fittings were installed in 1933, the gifts and names of donors recorded on a panel on the rear of the reredos. The reredos was made by the Warham Guild, in 1932 (Jenkins, 2004, 95). In 1934, a faculty was granted for electric lighting (the church had been lit by oil lamps). In the late 1950s further repairs were made to the roof of the chancel (CAC(K) WPR/89/4/3/12 1873-1957). This was in part funded by the

Holker Estate as a result of lands conveyed to them in 1796, which carried with them *'the responsibility of the repair of the chancel'*. This charge was evidently compounded in 1956 after considerable discussion of the amount that was due, at which time it was noted that *'This liability for chancel repair is not an unusual one. Hundreds were compounded when an Act extinguished the tithe in 1936; and relatively few remain. The unusual thing in the case of Cartmel is that the liability had for so long been forgotten on both sides'* (ibid). In 1964 the stonework and lead in the east window was repaired by glazier Dennis King and mason John Rawson, with architect Alan Reed (recorded in a painted panel on the window).

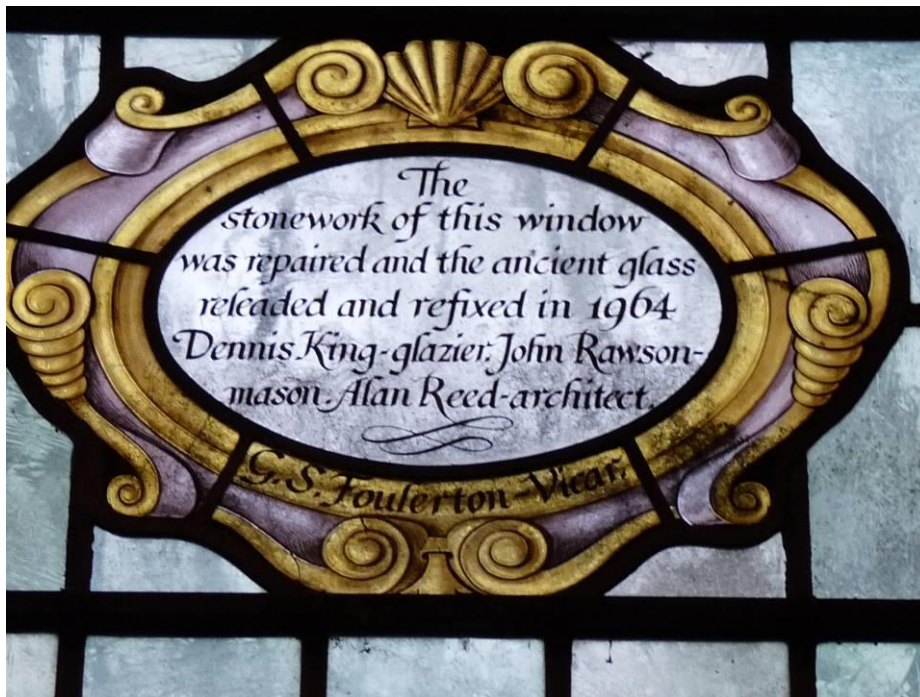


Fig.7: work on east window in 1964 recorded on the glass

Details of subsequent faculties (held in the vestry archive) record works carried out to the fabric between 1971 and 2017 (see

Table 2 below). One of the most substantial and more recent changes, completed in 2018, was the removal of fixed seating within the nave, along with the timber platforms. As part of the same re-ordering (by Dominic Roberts of Francis Roberts Architects) the Paley font was relocated from the west end of the nave to the south aisle and the earlier font was reinstated in the centre of the nave. This opened up a large nave space, much as it was prior to the late 19th century, as depicted in early images of the interior.

Year	faculty works
1971	Repairs to west front
1981	Repairs to the fabric
1985	Restoring the painted ceiling of the Harington tomb
1999	Works to vestry: library removed and mezzanine built (JCA)
2002	Stonework to Pipe Choir window
2002	West wall door, repair to lintel
2003	Main roof gutter work
2003	West end roof, kitchen store
2004	South transept roof and glazing
2006	Tower lead works and north transept stair roof
2009	Bookstalls
2010	Pointing to lower tower
2013	Repointing and nave roof, and beams and north clerestory [repairs]
2017	Remove pews and relocate font

Table 2: Selected faculties relating to the fabric of the church between 1971 and 2017

2.2 Archaeology

While there are plentiful remains of prehistoric date from the end of the last Ice Age onwards in the Cartmel Peninsula and surrounding area, there is not, at present, any compelling evidence for prehistoric settlement within the site of the current village, although its location and plentiful water would have made it eminently suitable. It is possible that settlement in Cartmel began in the Roman period, but there has been a long-running debate about whether the Roman military ever had a permanent presence in the Cartmel and Furness Peninsulas (see Elsworth 2007 for the most recent discussion of this). Nevertheless, a substantial find of about 600 Roman coins dating to the 2nd to 3rd centuries AD was made in the woods near Walton Hall in Cartmel in c1800 (Stockdale 1872, 244-245).

Historically it has been thought that an area of land named ‘Castle Meadows’, on the north-west side of the village was the site of a Roman fort. No definite evidence for this has ever been found, but Stockdale recalls having the suspected *agger*

[cambered embankment of a Roman road] of this *castellum* [small fort] pointed out to him by an acquaintance (Stockdale 1872, 253). He states that that it stood in front of the house called Fairfield and stretched along the side of the River, “*It was then not very traceable, but he said it had been levelled down and much of it taken away*” (*ibid.*). Elsewhere, in Stockdale’s unpublished manuscript notes, he recalls that an ‘*oblong (parallelogram) mound in the meadows at Cartmel called Castle Meadows exactly in the shape of a Roman Camp – [was] destroyed partly by the encroachment of [the] River – the formation of the present road and chiefly [sic] by Mr Fell when he was building his house [Fairfield] and improving his meadow*’ (CRO(B) DDHJ/4/2/1/8 1860s-1872). Whatever is the case, ‘Castle Meadows’ is not a recent name as it is recorded in the 16th century (LRO DDCA/6/126 1576 – as ‘castell meadowe’; it is also mentioned in 1591: Mitchell 1990, 44). It is also perhaps also noteworthy that Stockdale also recorded at least one or possibly two burial urns found in the early part of the 19th century on Aynsome Road, one of which, in his sketches, looks distinctly Roman in date, although it is more likely to be prehistoric (CRO(B) DDHJ/4/2/1/8 1860s-1872). In addition, a section of narrow road was found during an archaeological evaluation in the grounds of Fairfield that contained fragments of a very early pottery that may have been Roman (Greenlane Archaeology 2011).

Given its long history and importance and the lack of information on the likely extent of the priory complex, the area immediately associated with Cartmel Priory Church has seen surprisingly little archaeological investigation. Indeed, within the church itself there have been only two watching briefs, both associated with the installation or modification of services (LUAU 1992; Greenlane Archaeology 2018), which provided relatively little information about the development of the site. Nevertheless, other archaeological work carried out within the village has revealed remains relating to the priory. The earliest of these comprised observations carried out during the installation of a water pipe along the edge of ‘Farmery Field’, to the north-east of the priory church, which revealed human burials thought to be in the priory’s lay cemetery and also possible robbed-out structural remains and other features (Wilson and Clare 1990). This area was more recently subject to archaeological evaluation trenching (Abacus Archaeology 2012b, following on from an initial desk-based assessment: Abacus Archaeology 2012a), which revealed more heavily truncated burials and other structural remains as well as later rubbish pits and other activity.

Elsewhere, work carried out in Priory Gardens, to the west of the church, uncovered a group of structures of medieval date and evidence for iron working (LUAU 1998a;

1998b; Wild and Howard-Davies 1999; 2000). The site was examined again more recently when a watching brief was carried out during the construction of a new garage and garden room, which revealed more evidence for medieval iron working, but also a considerable amount of food waste in the form of broken animal bone, including fish bone, as well as a post-medieval saw pit (Greenlane Archaeology 2015; this was preceded by a desk-based assessment: Greenlane Archaeology 2012).

Recent archaeological building recording in Cartmel includes Priory Close, immediately to the west of the church, which revealed that behind the Georgian frontage a considerable amount of medieval fabric, probably forming part of buildings that belonged to the priory, is present (Greenlane Archaeology 2013b). Further west, an investigation of Park View discovered that it was constructed around a very tall central wall that may have formed part of the priory precinct wall (Greenlane Archaeology 2013a). The former priory gatehouse, the only other substantial piece of medieval fabric surviving apart from the church, has also been subject to an extensive programme of archaeological recording (NAA 2004a; 2004b; 2004c; 2004d). It is undoubtedly the case that there is much more that can be learned about the development of the wider Cartmel Priory complex through further archaeological work.

2.3 Context: Augustinian Priors in England

The Augustinian order was initially established in Britain in the early 12th century, named after St Augustine, bishop of Hippo in 395. The order established priories for canons regular, who lived in one monastic complex sharing a dormitory, refectory and observing rules and canonical hours of prayer. Canons *regular* were so-called to distinguish them from canons secular that served the lay community, as at a cathedral. Also known as the Austin Canons, the Augustinians' founded around 170 houses in England, the first 60 during the reign of Henry I (1100-1135); many were endowed by royal or aristocratic patrons. Cartmel was part of the second wave of monastic foundations in the late 12th century, endowed by high status landowners. These priories have some common features in planning and architecture; the standard cruciform church plan with south cloisters was already established by the late 12th century, a French model also used by Cistercians. The austere Early Gothic style used at Cartmel is typical of Augustinian churches and similar to some Cistercian sites, derived from French ecclesiastical architecture.

Cloisters north of the church are rare in the North of England, and there are more examples in the south, including Bradenstoke in Wiltshire, the Augustinian mother priory for Cartmel, founded in 1139. Site constraints were a factor, and local patterns may also have been influential, as a north cloister is a feature of three other nearby Wiltshire monastic houses including Lacock. If first built with a south cloister, the south side of the nave was usually windowless and without an aisle as the north cloister was built against the outer south side of the nave wall, as at Lanercost in Cumbria. Other northern Augustinian parallels include Carlisle, Bolton Abbey, Hexham, Brinkburn and Norton. At several of these, including Carlisle, the priory was built on the site of or near an earlier church and part of the new church was used as the parish church, usually the west part of the nave, which was separated from the east end of the nave and transepts by a screen. Due to losses caused by the Dissolution, we depend on archaeology and comparative analysis to identify such features. The lay brothers, who slept in a dormitory in the west arm of the cloister, used a door towards the west end of south wall of the nave aligned with this side of the cloister. The canons used the door towards the east end of the south nave wall close to the part of the cloisters they worked in, hence the book recess often seen close to the doorway. At night, the canons entered the church via a first floor doorway on the south side of the south transept to reach the night stairs. Their dormitory was located in the upper floor of the east range of the cloister, and the refectory or fraternity was to the south side (as at Carlisle).

2.4 The Architects Paley and Austin

Geoff Brandwood's monograph on Paley and Austin celebrates the work of the Lancaster firm of architects, and provides a detailed account of the architectural practice and their output (Brandwood, 2011). The firm was established in Lancaster in 1835, by Edmund Sharpe; the firm's name changed on several occasions, as the partners changed. In 1838, Edward Graham Paley joined Sharpe as a pupil and from 1845 was a partner. In 1867 Hubert Austin joined the practice and from 1868 the firm's name combined the names Paley and Austin in different combinations, up until 1944, two years before Harry Paley died.

Although the practice was regional in that it was based in Lancaster and their work was primarily in the North West, Paley and Austin produced some work of a national

standard; some of their churches are now listed Grade I, such as St George's, Stockport (1896). The practice built up a successful business in a wide range of design work, particularly celebrated for their new churches and church restoration scheme, especially for the years between 1870 and 1910. They also designed commercial buildings, hospitals, schools, railway buildings and a few notable country houses, such as Holker Hall.

The work at Cartmel was designed by and supervised by E G Paley who was the sole principal after 1851, before Sharpe left the firm in 1856. Between 1851 and 1867, Paley designed or restored 36 churches. The design of churches reflected the writings of A.W.N.Pugin and the campaigns of the ecclesiological movement (eg. Cambridge Camden Society) that promoted a return to a pre-Reformation church layout for Anglican churches, to revive what was seen as a more authentic liturgy. This entailed removing Georgian box pews, galleries and triple-decker pulpits in favour of chancels with facing stalls for a choir, open bench seating in the nave and side chapels, a pulpit at the chancel steps, a prominent high altar, the font at the west end and an organ loft to one side of the chancel. Exposed timber roofs were favoured, instead of plaster ceilings. All these features were part of the Cartmel restoration.

Other buildings by the firm in the Cartmel area include the primary schools in Allithwaite and Cartmel, and Allithwaite Church.

3 BUILDING DESCRIPTION

The church is orientated east-west, with the sanctuary to the east. The principal entrance is via the porch on the south side of the south aisle (eastern end) and there are additional doorways at the western end of the south side of the south aisle and at the western end of the north aisle. The cruciform plan includes the tower above the crossing, north and south transepts. To the north of the chancel is the 2-bay Piper Choir, a former chapel, with the late 17th century vestry to the east of this. South of the chancel, is the 3-bay Town Choir, a former chantry chapel. The 3-bay nave has north and south aisles, with a clerestory. There are detailed descriptions of the church in Dickinson (1991) and a more recent, succinct summary in Hyde and Pevsner (2010). The following is a summary, with the exterior described anti-clockwise from the porch.

3.1 The Church Exterior



Fig.8: the church from the south

The primary phase (c1189-1219) and 14th century parts of the church (chancel, north and south choirs, transepts and crossing) are built of sandstone quarried from

Quarry Flat, laid in large blocks of dressed stone. In contrast, most of the 15th century nave and aisles are built of rubblestone that incorporates a wide variety of stone, including Red Oolite and Dalton limestone, Bannisdale Slate, cobbles of Lower Palaeozoic, volcanic and sedimentary rocks. The building stones and geology of the church are the subject of a study by Murray Mitchell (1990). The nave walls were rendered until the late 19th century but are now fair-faced. Walls have moulded ashlar plinths and string courses with mouldings characteristic of the Early Gothic period (primary phase) or 14th and 15th centuries (later phases). The steeply-pitched roofs are laid with graduated Westmorland slate. Rainwater goods are cast-iron.



Fig.9: the south aisle, from the south-west

The gabled porch to the south side of the nave was rebuilt in the 17th century, when the outer arched doorway was built. This shelters a fine round-arched inner doorway, one of the earliest elements of the primary phase (c1189-1219). The door is modern (1976). The exterior south wall around and above the porch is poor quality rubblestone, with no plinth; ghost lines in this external wall suggest the line of an earlier porch roof. The south aisle has mid 15th century windows and another south doorway further west of similar date; this part of the wall is built of roughly coursed sandstone on a moulded plinth.



Fig.10: Late 12th century south doorway within later porch

The clerestories to north and south side of the nave have simple 2-light windows, and the nave parapet is battlements, all probably 15th century in date. At the west end, the bell cote to the gable may be a later feature. The south-west and north-west corner buttresses incorporate rubblestone walling that may be part of truncated walls that continued westwards, of unknown purpose and date. Between the buttresses to the end of the nave and to the west end of the north aisle a single-storey lean-to store was built as part of the 1860s Paley phase. This has one doorway facing west, copying the form of the internal shouldered-arched doorway.

On the north side of the north aisle the key feature is a fine moulded doorway with pointed arch, characteristic of early 13th century Early Gothic (ie. later than the round-arched south doorway, although it may be broadly of the primary building phase). The rest of the north wall is blind; the line of rough stone corbels and the drip course above them indicates a former building against this wall. It is perhaps worth noting that the four stones towards the east end of the drip course are neatly chamfered compared with the much cruder stones to most of the wall. The only other feature visible in the masonry is a rough blocked opening of unknown origin above the doorway, over the dripstone course. No other features are visible.



Fig.11: west end with late 19th century addition



Fig.12: north aisle wall, from north-west

A higher sloping line of dripstones on the west face of the north transept indicates an intended steeper aisle roof). The north wall would have been rendered before the late 19th century, although there are no historic images of this elevation.

The north transept retains evidence for several phases of building and alteration; the pilaster buttresses, plinth with keel moulding, ashlar masonry and blocked lancet windows are part of the primary phase (c1189-1219). This is overlain by later alteration, including the insertion of a round-arched first floor doorway on the north face, which apparently served the upper floor of a 2-storey building attached to the north side of the transept, of unknown date. There are inserted 15th century windows above and to the east face of the transept.



Fig.13: north wall of north transept

The north side of the Piper Choir has primary phase masonry with pilaster buttresses and the same plinth detail as the transept, also with inserted 15th century windows.

The vestry has masonry of similar character to the Piper Choir, but it is known to have been built in the late 17th century, with a re-used 14th century window to the east (probably from the east wall of the Piper Choir) and a chimney flue incorporated

into the corner buttress. The clerestories to the choir have 2-light 15th century windows, with a battlemented parapet to the roof.

The glory of the east end is the vast early 15th century window that almost fills the gable end of the sanctuary. This is framed between clasping buttresses from the primary phase.

To the south of the choir, the Town Choir is mid 14th century, a former chapel, with a fine set of windows with flowing Decorated tracery of differing designs, one to the east and three to the south. The masonry, with stepped buttresses and high moulded plinth is also mid 14th century. Both the Piper and Town Choirs have eaves gutters, not parapets to the roofs.



Fig.14: south transept, Town Choir and tower, from the south-east

The south transept, like the north transept, expresses several phases with later alterations as an overlay over the primary phase. The windows are 15th century, the lower inserted slightly to right of centre. To its left is a blocked first floor doorway that served the upper floor of an adjoining building, probably forming the east side of the cloister. On both the east and west sides of the transept there are blocked openings in the masonry; the east feature pre-dates the enlargement of the Piper

Choir. The transept has a clerestory with square-headed lights, and battlemented parapets to the roof.

The west face of the transept has a recess with joggled lintel that can be interpreted as a book recess or cupboard; such features were usual in this position on Augustinian and Cistercian priory churches where they were within the east range of the cloister. The roof of this range was carried on the finely moulded corbels above the porch.

The upper stage of the tower was built in the 15th century, unusually set on the diagonal. Hyde and Pevsner suggest this may have had a defensive purpose, enabling easy access to all sides of the top of the lower stage of the tower. Each face has openings with 15th century Perpendicular tracery.

3.2 Church Interior



Fig.15: view through 17th century choir screen from the east, watercolour by W.G.Herdman, 1857 (Parish collection)

The interior of the church is arranged so that the choir is separated from the crossing and nave by the screens installed by George Preston in c1618. This remarkable carved feature is seen in many historic images of the church interior, including the watercolour by W.G.Herdman, dated 1857, now in the vestry. The individual shutters are hinged, to allow a view from the crossing into the choir. The east face of the screen incorporates the canopies over the 15th century choir stalls which continue to the north and south.

The choir structure is of the primary phase (c1189-1219) with triforium, blocked lancets, clerestory and ashlar walls of Early English Gothic. The damaged sedilia to the south side is also part of this phase, truncated by the relocation of the 14th century Harington monument in the early 17th century. The tracery of the great east window is c1418, probably the gift of Lord John Harington (died 1417) and perhaps supplied from York as the stone is from Tadcaster. The collar rafter roof and choir stalls, which survived the Dissolution, are also early 15th century (latter c1430-40); the roof was repaired and exposed during the Paley restoration in the 1580s. The early 17th century choir stall canopies and screens are a key feature in the choir, a rare and fine example of Renaissance joinery in an English church.

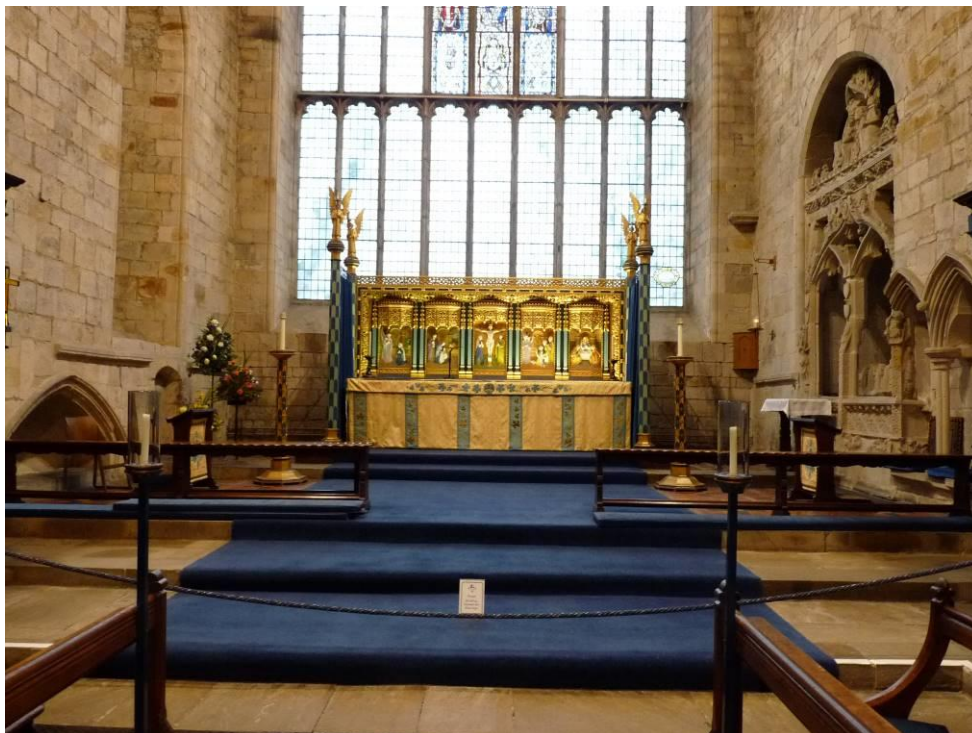


Fig.16: Sanctuary, with 1850s floor and 1933 fittings

The sanctuary was altered during the Paley restoration when the levels were raised and the floor laid, but the current arrangement of fittings dates from 1933 when the altar and reredos were installed, together with the candlesticks and desks; these were probably all made by the Warham Guild (Simon Jenkins names the latter as maker of the reredos). The lighting in the choir and sanctuary is the most effective in the church, installed in 2019.

The Piper Choir to the north of the choir retains masonry vaulting from the primary phase, an important survival as the corresponding vaulted roof to the south chapel was destroyed when the Harington chantry chapel was built. The east end of the Piper Choir now comprises a wall with doorways leading to the vestry and crypt below; before the vestry was built in the 17th century, there was a window in this wall (originally over an altar; the piscina is still in the wall to the south). The windows contain fragments of medieval glass to the upper lights. The collection of wall memorials and ledger stones, mainly from the 18th century, includes several to the Knipe and Robinson family. The vestry was remodelled by John Coward, the Cartmel architect in 2000, when the old library was removed and the timber mezzanine floor and staircase were installed.



Fig.17: Piper Choir from east (LH) vestry and crypt doorways to east end (RH)

In the Town Choir evidence of the primary phase form of the chapel is provided by the springers for the original vaulting, seen on the north wall. The rest of the chapel structure and windows date from the mid 14th century enlargement. The Harington monument has been the subject of several studies (Roper 1880, Rigge 1881,

Dickinson 1985 and a dissertation by Cameron, 2017) and is not described in detail here. Its present truncated condition and position date from the 17th century, when it was moved into an archway cut into the north wall, from the south-west corner of the chapel. The north wall has a rough rendered finish, obscuring altered masonry. The spatial character of the Town Choir was altered by the insertion of the pipe organ, during the Paley works in the 1860s when the current timber ceiling was installed. The current organ dates from the 1960s and it dominates the south-west corner of the chapel. On the east wall of the chapel is a group of large Lowther memorials, which encroach on the outer lights of the 14th century east window. The stained glass fragments date from c1430, the remains of a Jesse window. The chapel is arranged with a simple altar and modern seating. The tomb with effigy of a prior on the floor in front of the Harington tomb is 13th century.



Fig.18: Town Choir from the west with Harington tomb (LH) and organ to south-west corner (RH)



Fig.19: north wall of north transept with blocked openings and later memorials

The crossing and transepts are, like the choir and Piper Choir, of the primary phase with an overlay of later work and fittings. The openings that cut through the earlier lancets appear to re-use some Early Gothic mouldings, although the east window is 15th century. The finely moulded round-arched doorway to the north has Early Gothic mouldings and is cut into a blocked lancet, suggesting it was a later part of the same primary phase, perhaps a change of plan. Both transepts have a rich archaeology that would merit modern measured survey and analysis to further our understanding. The roofs of 15th century collar rafters were exposed during the 1850s Paley work, and the seating is from the 1860s Paley phase. The east window glass in the north transept is dated 1892, a memorial to Edward Cavendish by Shrigley and Hunt. Both transepts contain wall memorials, mainly from the 18th and 19th centuries, with a few from the 17th century.

The tall volume of the crossing is one of the least altered spaces in the church; the pointed arches on four sides are all part of the primary phase. Openings to projected triforium galleries in the nave that were never built are visible on the east walls of the transepts. The timber ceiling of 1850 was designed by George Webster. The fittings include the carved stone pulpit designed by Paley in the 1860s, an eagle

lectern and a fine early 18th century candelabra, the gift of the Marshalls of Aynsome in 1724. The oak desk is dated 1907.



Fig.17: the crossing with ceiling of 1850 (LH) and early 18th century candelabra (RH)



Fig.18: Paley pulpit, 1860s (LH) and oak benches on timber platform (RH)

The character of the nave contrasts with the finely detailed masonry of the eastern part of the church, with rubblestone walls and 3-bay arcades built during the 15th century phase. When finished in lime plaster, the nave would have been a brighter space. The spaciousness of the nave is partly due to the recent removal of Victorian pews to create a large flexible space for events. The roof is the same collar-rafter construction also used in the choir and transepts, and exposed during the 1850s. The floor is laid with stone, partly re-laid in 2018, with ledger stones in aisle areas. The low doorway to the west end has a shouldered-arched head, similar to the doorway to the crypt from the Piper Choir; this doorway type is also known as a Caernarvon

doorway due to its first use in Edward I's castle in the late 13th century. This example is likely to be later, but its precise date is not known.



Fig.19: south transept from the crossing



Fig.20: nave from the south- west



Fig.21: re-set font in nave (LH) and Paley font re-set in south aisle (right)

The font is an octagonal moulded stone vase, recently re-sited in the nave. It was altered in 1833 and previously had a plinth and 17th century timber cover; its original date is not known; it may be late medieval or later. The square stone font on columns, designed by Paley is a typical example of gothic revival design by the firm. It is now in the south aisle, at the west end of the book stall. The book stall has been in this location since the 1980s and was last refitted in 2010. The oak doors into the east doorway on the south wall were installed in 1976.

The two 17th century prayer boards at the west end of the nave are dated to 1681; mounted on the wall, they are reputed to have been on the top of the choir screen. The glass in the west windows dates from the 1880s, given by local families, and is by Burlison and Grylls (west nave) (Hyde and Pevsner, 2010, 271) and Shrigley and Hunt (west aisles). Above the Cromwell door (south wall) are the Royal Arms of Charles II.



Fig.21: Royal Arms over south-west door (LH), prayer boards and west doorway (RH)

The north aisle has no windows and is thus a dark area of the church. The rubblestone walls appears to be of different phases, with a shallowly projecting section approximately 2 metres high towards the west end of the wall, with a corner at its east end finished with rough quoins (see Figs 23 and 24). There is no means of dating this masonry, however.

At the west end of the north aisle is a large memorial to Lord Frederick Cavendish, who was killed in Dublin in 1891. The alabaster plinth was designed by H.J.Austin and the effigy is by Thomas Woolner. The hatchments on the north wall are of the Cavendish and Lowther families, owners of Holker.



Fig.22: Cavendish memorial and hatchments in north aisle



Fig.23: north aisle from the west

Also on the north wall is an important record of George Preston's role in repairing the church in c1618; the painted wooden board was erected in 1646 and lists the work he carried out. To the east of this is a pair of marble memorials to James Atkinson (died 1830) and John Walker (died 1839). The north doorway is largely hidden by a timber screen, probably installed in the early 20th century. Although the outer part of the doorway appears to be of the primary phase, it may have been re-set into this rubblestone wall in the 15th century.

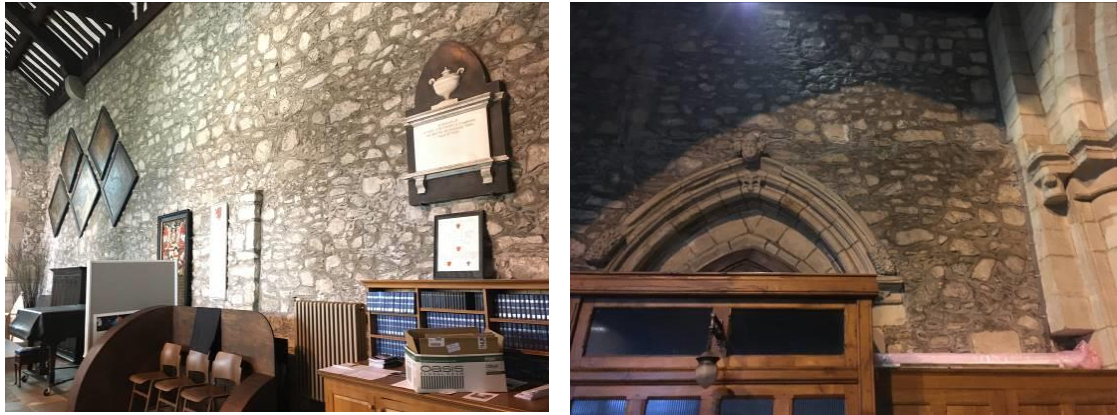


Fig.24: north wall of north aisle (LH) and doorway to east end of wall (RH)

4 SIGNIFICANCE

4.1 Assessing significance

Understanding the significance of a church building is an important part of the faculty process, and is recommended as an early step in exploring options for re-ordering and other changes. The Church of England provides advice on how to assess significance,¹ and there are other sources of advice on assessing the significance of church seating (Cooper and Brown, 2011, pp 394-400). Historic England issued *Conservation Principles* in 2008 to explain the theoretical framework used to understand significance to inform decisions on change to heritage assets. There are generally recognised to be four main heritage values or interests in relation to historic buildings: archaeological, historical, architectural and artistic. For churches, intangible values including religious, spiritual and communal are also clearly important. Within these values, significance can be measured in hierarchical levels, which can be used to refer to individual elements within a church as well as the building as a whole. The Church of England guidance suggests the following levels of significance,

- **High** – important at the highest national or international level, including Grade I and II* listed buildings and some grade II listed buildings.
- **Moderate - High** – important at a regional or sometimes higher level, including some Grade II listed buildings.
- **Moderate** – of local value, but of regional significance for group or other value.
- **Low - moderate** – of local value
- **Low** – adds little or nothing to the value of a site, or detracts from it.

¹ See guidance at <https://www.churchofengland.org/more/church-resources/churchcare/advice-and-guidance-church-buildings/statements-significance-and-needs>

4.2 Significance of the Church

The church as whole has very high significance as a fine example of a little altered priory church, in continuous use for worship by the parish. Its outstanding national importance is reflected in the Grade I listed. The following sections discuss significance according to different cultural values or heritage interests.

Historic Value: The church has high significance for historic value as an unusually intact example of a priory church built for Augustinians in the late 12th to early 13th century, altered in later medieval and post-medieval phases. The 19th century phases are also of interest as an example of Victorian approaches to restoration and liturgy. The church contains a good collection of memorials, historic papers and documents relating to the church and people associated with it; this collection has high significance for social history value.

Architectural value: The church has high significance for architectural value, as a fine little altered example of Transitional and Early English monastic architecture, with important examples of layer gothic architecture from the 14th and 15th centuries. Its significance is also related to the role of Austin and Paley, a distinguished firm of northern architects. It is the most architecturally distinguished of all the monastic churches that survive in use for worship in Cumbria; of the others, the nave at Carlisle was demolished in the 17th century, at Lanercost, the crossing and east end is a ruin. The other former monastic churches in the modern county are ruins, including the largest at Furness as well as smaller houses at Shap, Holme Cultram, Wetheral and St Bees. The external elements of the church have high significance for architectural value, except for the 19th century western addition, which has low to moderate significance. The rubblestone north wall to the north aisle has moderate architectural value compared to other elevations, due to its lack of features and design, with the exception of the north doorway to its eastern end which has high significance.

Artistic value: The church has high significance for the quality of design and craftsmanship, from the medieval period, early 17th century and 19th century. This includes the 14th century Harington monument, one of the finest examples of a medieval funerary monument in the country, 15th century stained glass and choir stalls. The Renaissance choir stall canopies and screens have very high significance as a rare example of high quality church joinery from the first quarter of the 17th

century. The 19th century fittings and stained glass are good examples of Victorian gothic revival work designed by Paley, made by local craftsmen. The church also contains free-standing 20th century sculpture by Cumbrian artist Josefina de Vasconcellos.

External views: The whole church has high significance, but some external aspects are more significant as they feature in the most accessible and popular views. The east and south elevations are the most prominent in views of the church, and the most illustrated in historic images. The north elevation is less prominent, particularly towards the nave which is partly hidden in most views. The west end lacks a spacious setting as the boundary wall and adjoining residential properties are very close, preventing good views of the west end of the nave. The 19th century western addition has low to moderate significance.

Significance of Fittings: The historic fittings relate to different phases, but as an ensemble have high significance. Individual elements and fittings are referred to separately in the table below, with levels ranked in the context of the church as a whole.

<i>Fitting</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Significance</i>
Seating in crossing and transepts	1860s, Paley	Moderate
Pulpit	1860s, Paley	High
Font in south aisle	1860s, Paley	Moderate
Font in nave	Unknown	Moderate
Sanctuary fittings, incl altar and reredos	1933, Warham Guild	High
Preston choir stall canopies and screen	1618-1622	Very high
Medieval choir stalls	C15	Very high
Harrington monument	Mid C14	Very high
Cavendish hatchments	Various dates	high
Prayer boards on west wall	1681	high
Candelabra in crossing	1724	high
Preston memorial board	1646	high
Frederick Cavendish memorial	1885	high

Other memorials	Various dates	high
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Communal value: As a parish church in continuous use for worship and other community events, the church has very high significance. As a place of burial, the church and burial ground are important to the community. The burial ground is a public open space crossed by public footpaths, and provides the landscape and historic setting for the church. It contains a First World War memorial installed in 1920 in the form of a Celtic cross; this also commemorates those that died in the Second World War.

Archaeological value: The Historic Environment Record for Cumbria holds several entries for the priory and the church. The church and burial ground are not a scheduled monument, although there are scheduled areas outside the burial ground. The burial ground is likely to have high archaeological potential relating to the former priory and human remains, but the extent to which the former may have survived is not known, due to likely robbing of stone and disturbance by burials. Within the building, there is scope to examine the fabric to understand more about the extent of the primary phase priory church, the possibility of an earlier church here and about later monastic phases. Archaeological investigation or recording during ‘opening-up’ during repairs or service trenches, and scientific analysis and metric survey in the building could reveal more dateable information. The building has high significance for archaeological value.

4.3 Setting



Fig.25: the burial ground from the north-west, grazed by sheep

The setting of the church contributes positively to its significance, and includes the fields to the east, south and north, Cartmel's historic buildings clustered around the west side of the church and the wider rural landscape of Cartmel. The burial ground, a key part of the setting, has significance for archaeological, historic and aesthetic values, as well as spiritual significance as a place of burial for generations of local people. It contains 13 listed items, mostly memorials (all to the south side) but also a lamp to the north, the 1920 memorial cross (south side) and part of another cross, probably 15th century (south side). None of the 19th century memorials to the north are listed. The enclosing walls and entrances with gates and gate piers are an important part of the historic setting. The biodiversity value of the burial ground is not known; the grass is grazed by sheep (south) or cut by motor mower (north and east). The burial ground is an attractive public green space in the conservation area.



Fig.26: burial ground north of the nave, from the east

5 CONCLUSION

The church as a whole has very high significance for archaeological, architectural, historic, artistic and communal values. The church is a fine example of a late 12th century priory church extended and altered in the later medieval period, with significant 17th century and later fittings. It is considered to be the most intact of Cumbria's monastic churches, which survived as it was also used as a parish church. It is possible to rank the significance of the main elements and fittings, but there are many knowledge gaps in understanding the building that preclude a robust assessment of some elements, particularly of the north aisle.

Due to the total demolition of all cloister buildings and losses from the documentary records of Cartmel Priory, there is no certainty about the evolution of the cloisters and other priory buildings within the present burial ground before the Dissolution. This rapid study has not clarified uncertainties on the phasing of the cloisters, and has highlighted the lack of clarity on some aspects of the medieval phasing of the priory church itself. For example, there is insufficient evidence to be sure whether the 15th nave was the first nave to be built for the church, after a long lull in construction, or whether it may have replaced an earlier nave. It is also not certain where in the church the parish worshipped, either during the first phase (c1189-1219) or later in the medieval period; often, the parish were allocated the west part of the nave in priory churches which also served the parish, but we do not know enough about the early history of the nave here. It is generally held that the Town Choir was used by the parish, but there is a lack of pre-Dissolution evidence for this; however, by 1618 it was called the parish choir.

Whilst features on the south transept suggest there was a cloister to the south, it is not known if this was in fact built, what form it took, and if it did exist, whether or not it was replaced by other cloisters to the north. The south aisle windows suggest that the south cloister had at least partly gone by the mid-15th century. The fabric evidence of the north transept indicates there was a 2-storey structure to the north, but again its form and phasing is not known. The fine blocked doorway inserted in the north transept indicates a high status structure to the north built soon after the primary phase, but the rough corbels and drip course on the blind north aisle wall suggest a lean-to structure of lesser status here, perhaps of later date. There is no dateable feature on the north wall apart from the fine pointed arched doorway

towards the east, part of the primary phase. The purpose and date of the projection on the inner wall face is not known; this means it is not possible to accurately assess its significance. Overall, the architectural value of this north wall has less significance than other elevations on the church, due to the lack of features (apart from the north doorway) and its rubblestone construction. Its archaeological and historic value is considered to be high.

It is probable that more certainty could be brought to the above questions through a more detailed research study coupled with thorough investigation of the fabric of the church and archaeology of the burial ground. The latter could include below-ground analysis using a range of appropriate techniques, such as non-invasive survey and also trial trenches. Measured survey of the church interior and below-floor archaeology may also be valuable. It is recommended that a series of research questions be framed to focus any future studies or analysis. It is also recommended that a study or synthesis of all the various archaeological work carried out in the vicinity be carried out, to collate the results; this would contribute to an interpretation of the evolution of the priory and help identify specific research questions.

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unpubl rep – unpublished report

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Appendix 1: List entry

List Entry Summary

This building is listed under the Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990 as amended for its special architectural or historic interest.

Heritage Category: Listed Building

Grade: I

List Entry Number: 1335798

Date first listed: 25-Mar-1970

Date of most recent amendment: 15-Feb-1989

Statutory Address: PRIORY CHURCH OF ST MARY

County: Cumbria

District: South Lakeland (District Authority)

Parish: Lower Allithwaite

National Grid Reference: SD 37974 78800

LOWER ALLITHWAITE CARTMEL SD 3778 8/42

Priory Church of 25.3.70 St Mary (formerly listed as Cartmel Priory Church)

G.V. I

Former Priory Church. Chancel, Piper choir, transepts, 1190-1220; Town choir c1330; nave and aisles, tower and tracery (except Town choir) 1395-1420; south porch c1613; vestry 1677. Ashlar; nave dressed stone and rubble; slate roofs. 3-bay nave has embattled parapet and recessed gable; 5-light west window with flanking deep buttresses and area wall. 2-light straight-headed clerestory windows. Aisles have 3-light west windows; south aisle has 2 windows of 3 lights and truncated buttresses, part has moulded base; 2 entrances, one with traceried door, the other in gabled porch is round-headed, of 3 orders, c1190. North aisle has traces of north cloister; early C13 entrance of 2 orders. Transepts have flat buttresses, that to north has 2 blocked north lancets, one cut by blocked entrance; upper 5-light window; lancet to west, 4-light window to east. South transept similar; parapet and recessed gable; 4-light south window with 5-light window above; good attached memorials; signs of cloister to west. Crossing tower has embattled parapet and diagonal upper stage with 4-light windows and parapet. 3-bay chancel has moulded base and flat buttresses flanking very large 9-light window; 2-light traceried straight-headed clerestory windows. Piper choir to north of 2 bays, flat buttresses, corbel table and 3-light windows; vestry to east has 3-light segmental-headed window. Town choir to

south has 3-light windows, buttresses and 5-light east window with 2 blocked lights. Interior: 3-bay plain nave arcades. Crossing arches have clustered shafts to piers, choir has 2-bay round-headed arcades and continuous arcading to triforium. C17 collar rafter roofs, but quadripartite vault to Piper choir and- C19 roofs to crossing and Town choir. C15 stalls with good misericords; early c17 canopies and screens. Harrington tomb, originally free standing, now in arch on south side of chancel; cutting sedilia, c1347, 2 recumbent effigies, arcading and figures, painted ceiling. Many other memorials of interest. Medieval grave slabs in Piper choir and chancel, recumbent effigy of canon c1340 in Town choir, slab to Prior William c1292 in chancel. Dame Katherine Lowther (died 1700) and Sir Thomas Lowther (died 1745), wall memorials in Town choir; other wall memorials in south transept are of interest. Many C17 and C18 grave slabs in floor. Lord Frederick Cavendish (died 1881) by T Woolner, marble effigy on alabaster tomb chest. Preston Family, 1646, painted board. C19 pulpit and font, also C17 font with cover dated 1645. Stained glass, early C15, some figures to east window, Town choir and porch. An important survival of a medieval monastic church, the Harrington Tomb and choir screen and canopies are works of major importance. See V.C.H., Vol.8, p254 ff; Pevsner, BoE: North Lancs: pp86-90; J.C. Dickinson, *The Land of Cartmel*, p16 ff.

Listing NGR: SD3797478799

Appendix 2: Historic Maps



Fig.27: Ordnance Survey, 1851 1st edition, Lancashire Sheet 17, 1: 10,560, surveyed 1847-1848

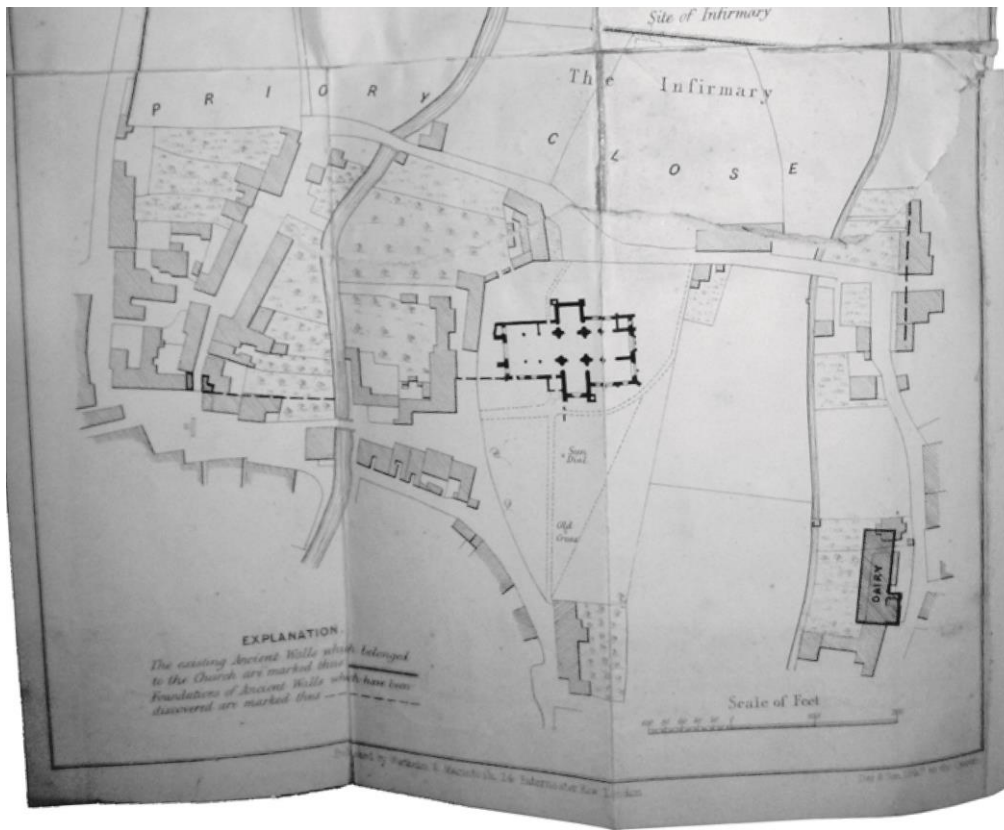


Fig.28: plan of 1854, from Ffolliott, W, 1854 Cartmel Parish and Parish Church, London

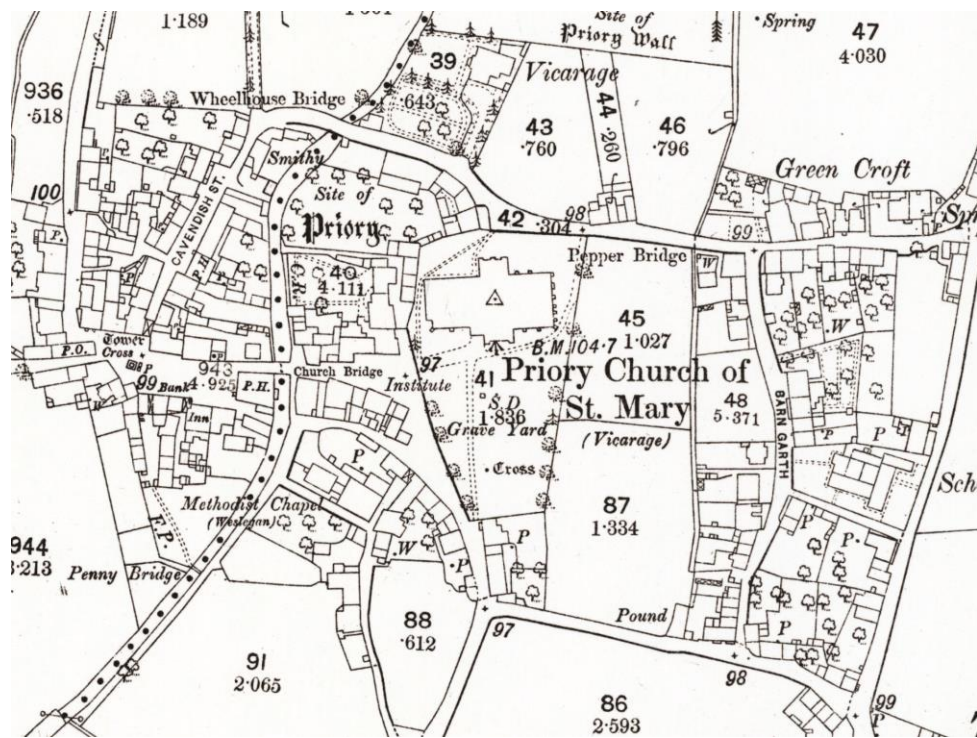


Fig.29: Ordnance Survey, 1890 Lancashire Sheet 17.3, 1: 2,500, surveyed in 1889

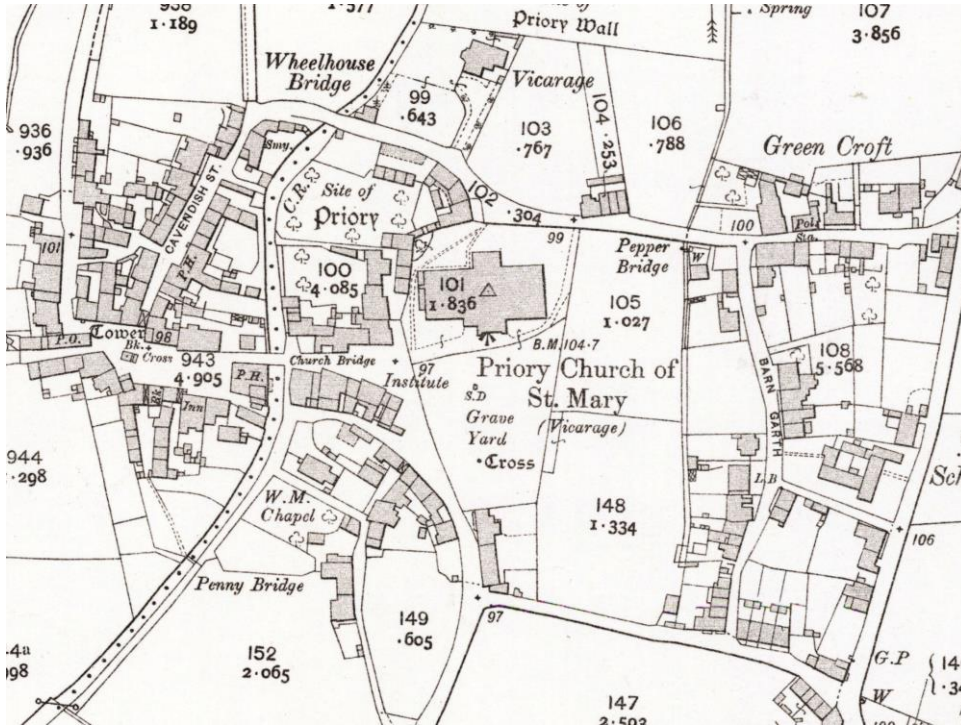


Fig.30: Ordnance Survey, 1913 Lancashire Sheet 17.3, 1: 2,500, revised in 1910

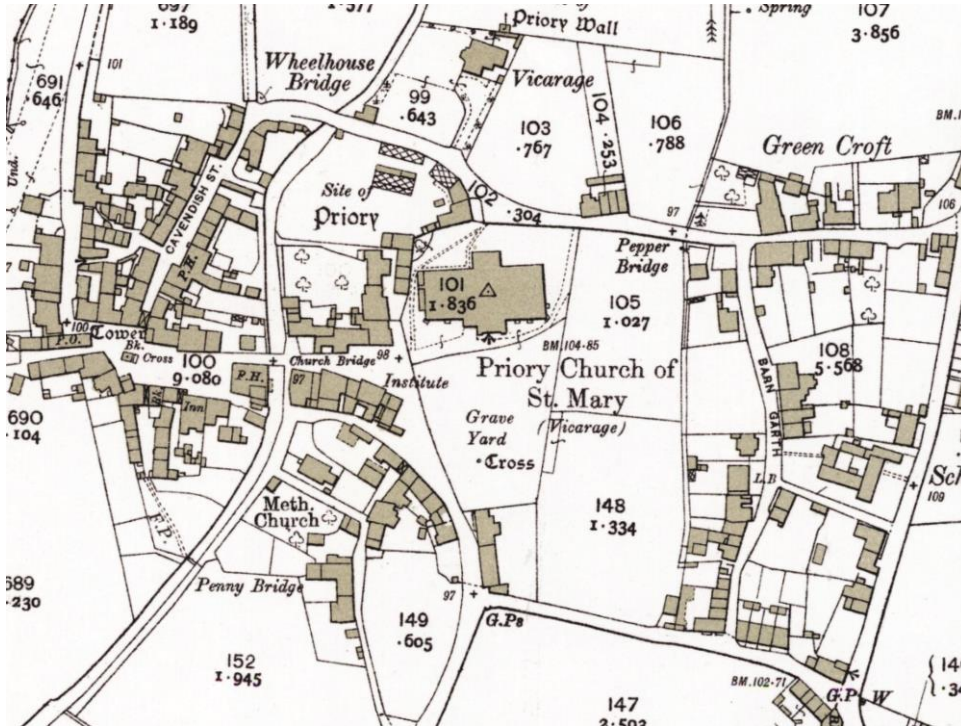


Fig.31: Ordnance Survey, 1933 Lancashire Sheet 17.3, 1: 2,500, revised in 1932

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