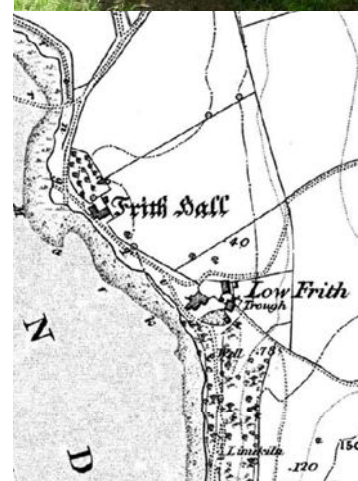


HOLKER HALL ESTATES HIGHER LEVEL STEWARDSHIP SCHEME

Archaeological Building Recording



Client:
John Coward Architects

NGRs:
SD 339 797
SD 340 760
SD 331 812

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August 2011



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Non-Technical Summary

As part of a Higher Level Stewardship Scheme Greenlane Archaeology was commissioned to carry out an archaeological building recording of three structures that were to be restored as part of this: the remains of Frith Hall, and two lime kilns. The building recording comprised an extensive desk-based assessment before any work on site and subsequently descriptions and photographs of all three buildings and the production of plans, elevations, and cross-sections using a total station.

The desk-based assessment revealed that there was relatively little information relating to the two limekilns. They are first depicted on the Ordnance Survey maps of 1851 and probably belong to a phase of improvements carried out on the Holker Estate in the 19th century. A nearby tile kiln was also in operation during this period, producing drainage pipes. Frith Hall by contrast has a considerable amount of documentary information; it evidently has its origins in the medieval period as a grange of Cartmel Priory, possibly a relatively significant one as it had connections to nearby woodland, peat cuttings, and fishing rights. Following the Dissolution it was occupied by the Preston family, prior to the building of a more impressive home at Holker Hall, and during the 18th century it was occupied by tenant farmers. It appears to have fallen out of use by the mid-19th century, perhaps replaced by the construction of High Frith farm, although it continued to be used as a cow house. During the 20th century it fell into ruin and only small sections of the original complex now survive, the principal part of which is a large chimney.

The building recording revealed little in the way of phasing for the two limekilns, further suggesting that they were perhaps not used for a long period before going out of use. The main phase of change was a period of dereliction and collapse probably beginning in the 20th century. The fragmentary remains of Frith Hall were able to reveal only limited information about its early history. The main section clearly formed a substantial chimney with the remains of an arched opening still present. This had previously been assumed to be at the gable end of the building, although this is perhaps not absolutely certain. Other features that survived included a possible alcove or window in one side of the fireplace, now badly damaged, and four rows of socket-holes, perhaps for suspending foodstuffs in the chimney for smoking. Later phases relate to its modification into a cow house, and are represented by the addition of an outshot on the north-west side and sections of masonry added to the lowest tier of the chimney, presumably due to a rearrangement of the roofing.

The investigation of these three buildings has allowed a permanent record of them all to be made prior to consolidation. In the case of the lime kilns they are of limited historical importance but still form an interesting part of the development of the Holker Estate in the 19th century. Frith Hall is of considerably more interest; both in its connections to the Holker Estate but also to Cartmel Priory, but only further archaeological investigation such as geophysical survey and excavation would reveal a great deal more about its origins and development.

Acknowledgements

Greenlane Archaeology would like to thank John Coward Architects for commissioning the project, in particular Mike Darwell. Special thanks are also due to John Kerr (Norman Kerr Books in Cartmel), Dave Tyler (Jack in the Green Lime), Alice Stacey (NMR Enquiry and Research Services), and Ken Dawson for their help.

The desk-based assessment was carried out by Dan Elsworth, and the building recording by Dan Elsworth and Tom Mace. The report was produced by Dan Elsworth and Tom Mace and it was edited by Jo Dawson. Dan Elsworth managed the project.

1. Introduction

1.1 Circumstances of the Project

1.1.1 As part of a Higher Level Stewardship Scheme on the Holker Hall Estate the remains of Frith Hall, a Scheduled Monument (No. 426) of at least 16th century origin (SD 339 797) and two derelict limekilns (SD 340 760 and SD 331 812) are to be restored and a management plan put in place. The first stage of this project is the production of an archaeological building recording report aimed at providing a detailed record of the three buildings and information about their historical development, which will provide the basis for understanding them.

1.1.2 In response to a brief (Natural England 2010) Greenlane Archaeology produced a project design for the work. Following the acceptance of this the building recording was carried out in June 2011.

1.2 Location, Geology, and Topography

1.2.1 Holker is located at the south end of the Cartmel Peninsula within the Parish of Lower Holker, approximately 800m to the north-east of Cark. All three of the sites are within the Holker Hall Estate. The north kiln is located in an area of gently undulating pastureland to the north of Skelwith Hill; the south kiln, which is the larger of the two, is located in a wooded area near to Raven's Barrow Point, and the remains of Frith Hall overlook the Sands near Low Frith (Figure 1). Frith Hall is located near the base of a hilly pasture used for grazing to the north side of a track along the edge of the estuary. The track, which ran near the north kiln, is now very overgrown.

1.2.2 The solid geology comprises Carboniferous limestone (Moseley 1978, plate 1) and is overlain by glacially derived boulder clay within the valleys (Countryside Commission 1998, 72). The north kiln is at approximately 8m above sea level, the south kiln 10m, and Frith Hall 5m (Ordnance Survey 2008).

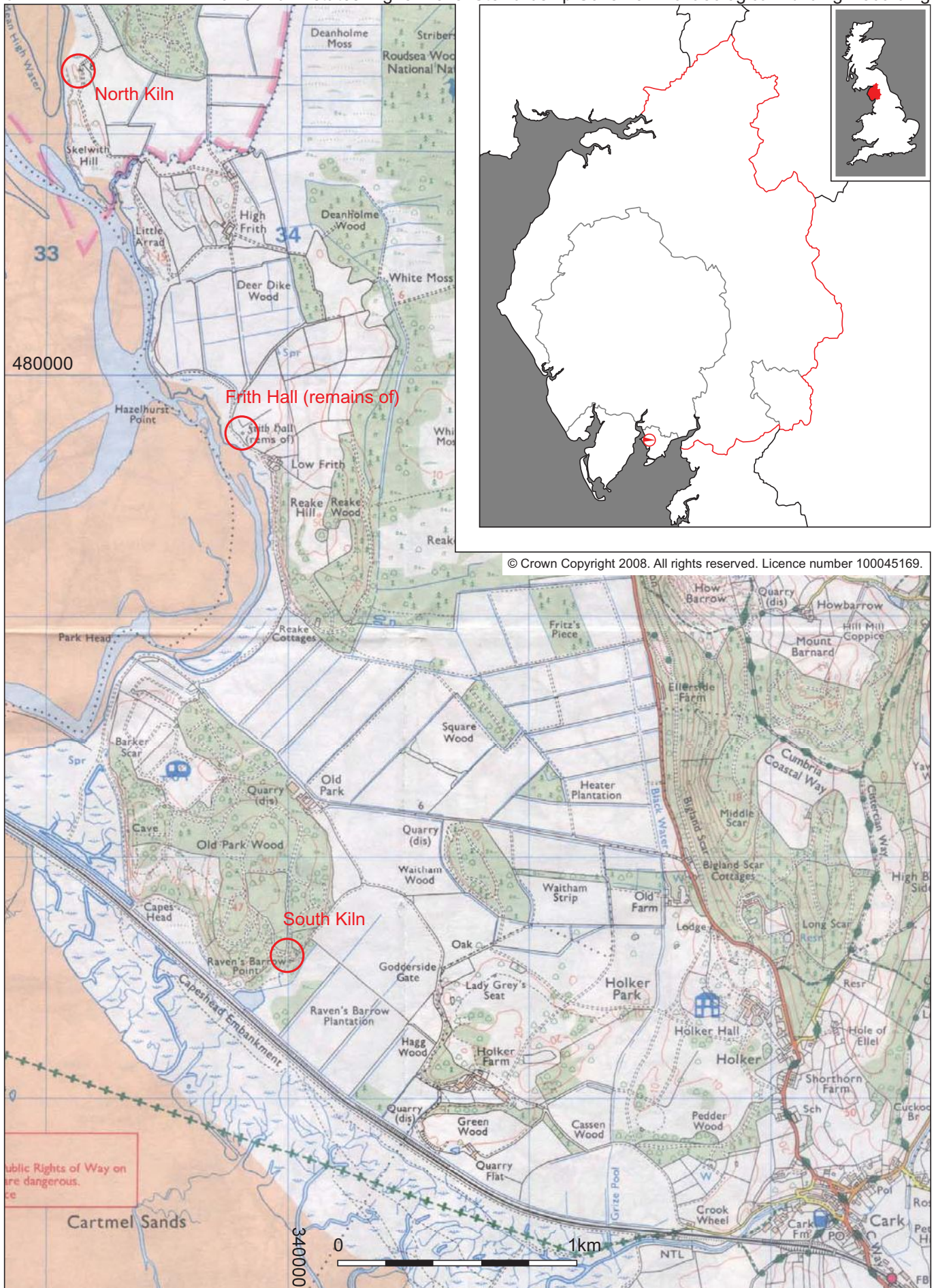


Figure 1: Site location

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2. Methodology

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 The building investigation comprised three separate elements intended to provide a suitable record of the structures, in line with English Heritage standards (English Heritage 2006) and the guidelines of the Institute for Archaeologists (IfA 2008a). In addition a desk-based assessment was carried out in accordance with the project design and IfA guidelines (IfA 2008b) prior to the building recording, and a suitable archive was compiled to provide a permanent paper record of the project and its results in accordance with English Heritage and IfA guidelines (English Heritage 1991; Brown 2007).

2.2 Desk-Based Assessment

2.2.1 Information was gathered from the following locations:

- **Cumbria Record Office, Barrow-in-Furness (CRO(B))**: this was visited in order to examine early maps and plans of the site and relevant primary and secondary sources;
- **Lancashire Record Office**: as the area was formerly in Lancashire some records relating to the area are housed in the Lancashire Record Office. These specifically include documents relating to Holker Hall, which are held in the Cavendish collection (catalogue ref. DDCA). The Lancashire Record Office is, however presently closed until October, so details were obtained from the online archive lists. In addition, copies of plans from the same collection were also obtained;
- **Cumbria Record Office (Kendal)**: further records, both primary and secondary, held in the archives at Kendal, were examined;
- **Cumbria Historic Environment Record (HER), Kendal**: records relating to the buildings were be consulted at the Cumbria HER in Kendal, although these largely comprised copies of archive material held by the National Monuments Record (see below);
- **National Monuments Record**: further records relating to Frith Hall, particularly including those from past visits by Inspectors of Ancient Monuments, were consulted and copies of related archive material acquired;
- **Greenlane Archaeology library**: additional secondary sources were used to provide information for the site background.

2.3 Building Recording

2.3.1 The building recording was carried out to English Heritage Level-3 type standards (English Heritage 2006). This is largely descriptive investigation, but with a relatively detailed level of interpretation of the phasing and use of the buildings based on the available documentary sources. For each structure, the recording comprised several parts:

- **Written record**: descriptive records of all parts of the building were made using Greenlane Archaeology *pro forma* record sheets;
- **Photographs**: photographs in both 35mm colour print and colour digital format were taken of the main features of the building, its general surroundings, and any features of architectural or archaeological interest. A selection of the colour digital photographs is included in this report, and the remaining photographs are in the project archive;
- **Instrument survey**: an instrument survey was carried for each of the three buildings utilising a Leica reflectorless total station coupled to a portable computer running AutoCAD 2006 LT and TheoLT, which captures the survey data in AutoCAD in real-time at a scale of 1:1. The survey produced ground plans of each building showing the local topography, cross-sections through the limekilns, and an outline elevation of all three buildings;
- **Drawings**: the initial survey was hand annotated to produce detailed plans and cross-sections, and, where necessary, elevation drawings showing all features of historical or architectural

interest, specifically those relating to the phasing of the building. The drawings produced comprised:

- i. plans of the buildings at 1:100;
- ii. cross-sections and elevations at a scale of 1:50.

2.4 Archive

2.4.1 A comprehensive archive of the project has been produced in accordance with the project design and current IfA and English Heritage guidelines (Brown 2007; English Heritage 1991). The paper and digital archive and a copy of this report will be deposited in the Cumbria Record Office in Barrow-in-Furness on completion of the project. A copy of this report will be deposited with the Historic Environment Record at the Cumbria County Council offices in Kendal, one with the client, and one will be retained by Greenlane Archaeology. In addition a digital record of the project will be made on the *Online Access to the Index of Archaeological Investigations* (OASIS) scheme.

3. Desk-Based Assessment

3.1 Background History

3.1.1 **The Lime Kilns:** there is little documentary information relating to the two limekilns, as might perhaps be expected, other than what is shown on the early maps of the area (see *Section 3.2* below). However, they probably relate to a period of agricultural improvements carried out on the Holker Estate in the early 19th century, which also included the construction of a kiln for manufacturing drainage tiles at nearby Reake Wood (Keates 1998).

3.1.2 **Frith Hall:** the origins of Frith Hall are uncertain, although various sources indicate that it was a grange probably belonging to Cartmel Priory. In a list of properties belonging to Cartmel drawn up following the dissolution there is a reference to a '*Farm of a mansion called le Frith Hall with demesne lands in and herbage in le Frithwodde* [Frithwood]' (PRO 1964, 40). Further references in the same list are also made to '*pannage of pigs in le Frith*' (*op cit*, 42), and rent for a fishery and turbary (an area where peat was dug) (*op cit*, 43). Indeed, the area generally known as 'le Frith' seems to have formed a significant part of the estates of Cartmel Priory, with Frith Hall listed immediately after the lands of the priory itself. Further sources confirm Frith Hall's origins: the earliest reference to it after this list, from 1545-6, names it 'Frith Hall Grange' (Taylor 1955, 94n) although at the same time it is also apparently described as "*the Freth Halle formerly in the possession of Cartmel Priory*" (PRO E 326/6424 1545-1546). At this date it was being sold by Sir Thomas Holcroft, a local member of parliament who had acquired Frith Hall along with several other parts of Cartmel Priory's estates in the area, to the Crown (Farrer and Brownbill 1914, 257n; Hornyhold-Strickland 1935, 56).

3.1.3 It was subsequently occupied by the Preston family, perhaps in 1556, who were earlier recorded as having been tenants of the priory (Taylor 1955, 94n) and is said to have been their original residence in the area (Stockdale 1872, 76 and 511). Documentary sources certainly demonstrate that Christopher Preston leased Frith Hall from the crown for 30 years in 1557 (LRO DDCA 13/S/271 1557), in 1592/3 it was leased to George Preston, Elizabeth Anderson and Thomas Preston (LRO DDCA 13/S/272 1592/3), although in 1594 Thomas Preston gave up his claim (Sharpe Francis 1950, 27). It was named as part of the manor of Cartmel, which was granted to George Preston, then described as 'of Holker' in 1609 (CRO(B) BMF/7 1648-1865), the Prestons having built their new main residence of Holker Hall by this time (Hyde and Pevsner 2010, 410). The Prestons appear to have taken ownership of Frith Hall, having been tenants of the Crown for some time, in 1610 after it was acquired as part of the Manor of Cartmel by Thomas Emerson and Richard Cowdall (CRO(B) BAHM 1/47 n.d.). They certainly had by 1642 as a conveyance made in that year, which also included Holker Hall, is recorded (Brownbill 1935, 88). Members of the Preston family continued to occupy Frith Hall throughout the 17th century, but it may have been used more as a dower house as it was evidently owned and occupied by Elizabeth, the mother of Katherine Preston '*of Houlker*' to whom she surrendered it in 1696/7 (LRO DDCA 13/B/20 1696/7; Sharpe Francis 1950, 30-31). Numerous entries in the parish registers for Cartmel refer to people dwelling at 'Frith' during the early 17th century (Brierley 1907), some or all of which must have been residents of Frith Hall and so were presumably domestic staff and similar, since it was still owned and occupied by the Prestons throughout this period. One of these people, Allan Parke, was certainly living at Frith Hall (with his family) as he is so described in 1667 and 1668, although he evidently died in the former of these years (Dickinson 1957, 14 and 136).

3.1.4 In the 18th century the use of the building clearly changed, as a number of references indicate that it was occupied by a series of, presumably tenant, farmers (although described by various titles such as yeoman and husbandman). The earliest of these is James Rowlandson of Frith Hall, who is recorded in 1747 as marrying a Quaker, Ann Williamson (Martin 1999, 233). Subsequently there are several references to people listed as either Frith Hall (or one of several derivations of the spelling) or just Frith, which may apply to the same place as it is unclear when the nearby farms of Low and High Frith were constructed, although Low Frith probably existed by at least 1786 and certainly 1807 (see *Section 3.2* below). Later entries in directories, the parish register, and the census complete the list of occupiers up to 1910, which is summarised in Table 1 below.

Date	Name	Title	Address	Source
1767	George Rigg	Gentleman	Frith Hall	LRO ARR 11 1767
1773	George Riggs	Husbandman	Frith	LRO DDCA 6/119 1773
1773	Mary Rigg	Spinster	Frith Hall	LRO ARR 11 1773
1774	George Rigg	Deceased	Frith Hall	LRO DDCA 13/1/126 1774
1783	Thomas Harrison	Yeoman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/212 1783
1787	Thomas Harrison	Yeoman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/214 1787
1787	Thomas Harrison	Yeoman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/215 1787
1793	Thomas Harrison	Husbandman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/216 1793
1793	Thomas Harrison	Yeoman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/217 1793
1799	Thomas Harrison	Farmer	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/218 1799
1799	Thomas Harrison	Yeoman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/219 1799
1800	Thomas Harrison	Farmer	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/220 1800
1800	Thomas Harrison	-	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/223 1800
1800	Thomas Harrison	-	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/224 1800
1800	Thomas Harrison	-	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/225 1800
1801	Thomas Harrison	Yeoman	Frith	LRO DDCA 13/O/226 1801
1805	Joseph Harrison	Farmer	Frith Hall	LRO ARR 11 1805
1829	John Bibby	Farmer	Frith	Parson and White 1829, 708
1829	Joseph Harrison	Farmer	Frith	Parson and White 1829, 708
1841	John Bibby	Farmer	High Frith	HO 107/528 1841
1841	Joseph Harrison	Farmer	Low Frith	HO 107/528 1841
1849	John Bibby	Farmer	High Frith	Mannex 1849, 387
1849	Joseph Harrison	Farmer	Low Frith	Mannex 1849, 387
1851	John Bibby	Farmer	High Frith	HO 107/2274 1851
1851	Charles Abbotson	Farm manager	Low Frith	HO 107/2274 1851
1861	John Bibby	Farmer	High Frith	RG 9/3/165 1861
1861	Thomas Harrison	Farmer	Low Frith	RG 9/3/165 1861
1871	John Bibby	Farmer	High Frith	RG 10/4238 1871
1881	Joseph Townson	Farmer	Low Frith	RG 11/4275 1881
1882	John Beck Clark	Farmer	High Frith	Mannex and Co 1882, 345
1882	Joseph Townson	Farmer	Low Frith	Mannex and Co 1882, 345
1910	Robert Proctor	-	Part of Low Frith	CRO(B) BT/IR 1/3 1910

Table 1: List of occupiers of Frith, 1767-1910

3.1.5 The list of occupiers between 1767 and 1910 reveals a number of things about the way in which the farms within the area generally known as Frith developed. It is apparent that initially a single family are associated with Frith or Frith Hall, first the Riggs, between at least 1767 and 1773, then the Harrisons, who continue to be associated with the site between at least 1783 and 1861, although with a break around 1851. A third family, the Bibbys, are listed, primarily at Low Frith, between 1841 and 1871. The date at which Frith Hall ceased to be occupied is uncertain, especially as many early references list only 'Frith'. However, it is clearly still in use in 1805 but from the first census return of 1841 it is not apparently listed while High Frith is (it is also clearly depicted on the Ordnance Survey map of 1851) so it is probable that this was constructed to replace it. By 1872 it was certainly no longer being used as a dwelling, as James Stockdale describes it as being used as a cowhouse (Stockdale 1872, 76; see *Section 3.3.1* below).

3.2 Map Regression

3.2.1 **Introduction:** early maps of the area are very limited in detail, although Yates's map of 1786 clearly marks Frith Hall and indicates two buildings at its location (Plate 1). It is probable that while one of these represents Frith Hall, the other is the farm now known as Low Frith (see Section 3.2.3 below). Nothing is shown to indicate the presence of either of the lime kilns on the early maps.

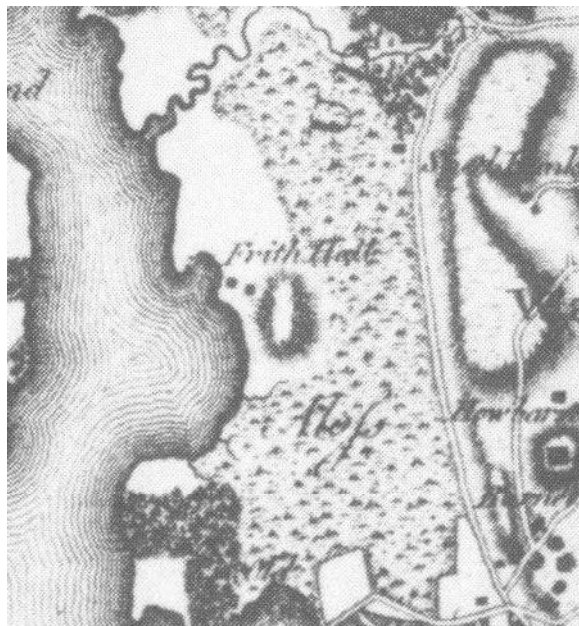


Plate 1: Extract from Yates's map of 1786 showing Frith Hall

3.2.2 **Enclosure plan, 1807A** more detailed map of 'ancient inclosures [sic]' dated to 1807 (CRO(K) WPR/89 233 1807) shows the location of Frith Hall on the edge of 'The Sands' labelled simply 'Frith' (Plate 2), but it is unclear how the buildings shown correspond to what now remains. It does, however, appear to be depicting a broadly similar range of buildings to those shown on the following map (see Section 3.2.3 below) and a group of buildings corresponding to Low Frith are also shown to the south-east. Nothing is apparently shown in the location of either of the limekilns.

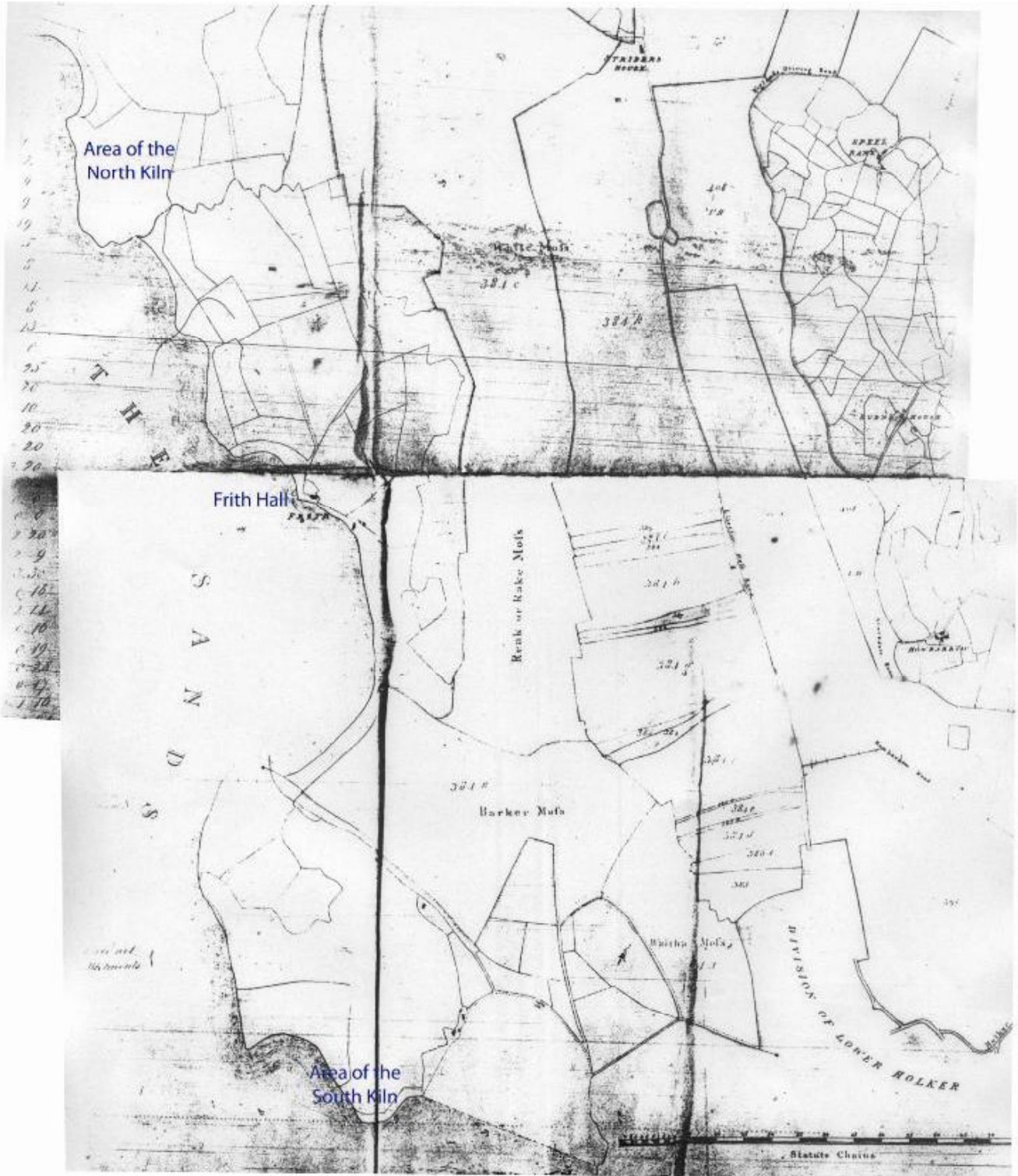


Plate 2: 1807 map of ‘ancient inclosures’ (sic)

3.2.3 **Ordnance Survey, 1851:** this map shows a large approximately L-shaped range of buildings adjacent to the track along the shore and a further square building on the other side of a field boundary wall to the north-east (Plate 3); the small building to the north-east corresponds to the location of the standing remains of the Hall which form the focus of the current survey. It appears that the north-west/south-east wing of Frith Hall is butted by the boundary wall at its north-west end. Low Frith is clearly shown a short distance to the south-east of Frith Hall. The locations of the north and south limekilns are also shown but are marked simply by a circle (see Plate 4 and Plate 5), although the southern kiln has

associated walls and the north has a track nearby. Interestingly, the southern lime kiln is labelled 'Old Park Limekiln' but this is a reference to its location within Old Park, rather than its relative age.



Plate 3: Frith Hall as it appears on the 1851 Ordnance Survey map

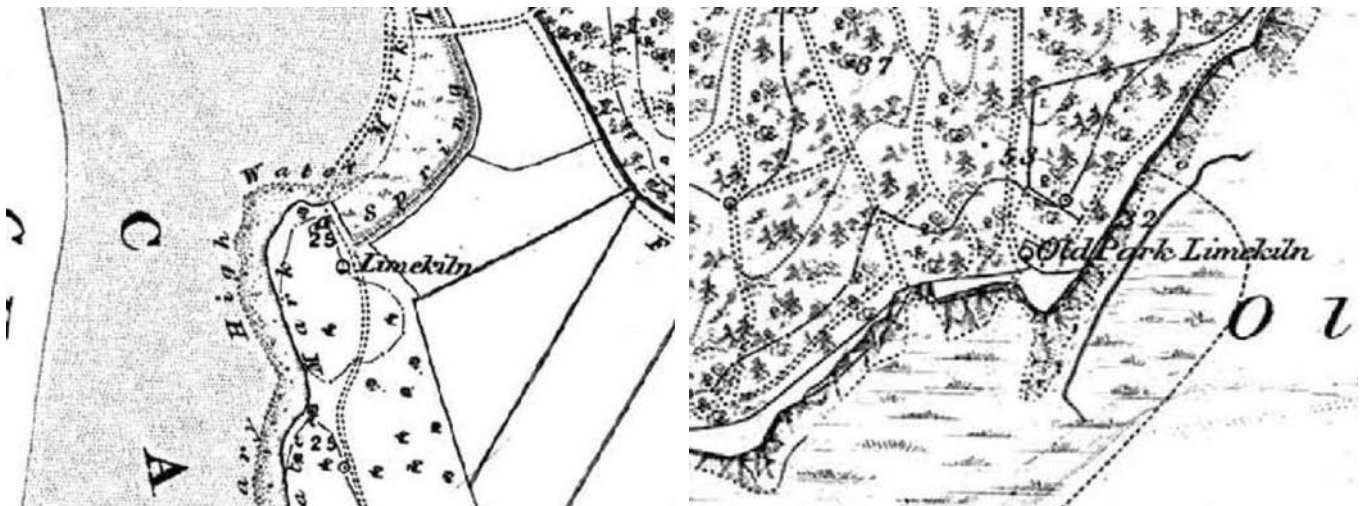


Plate 4 (left): The north kiln as it appears on the 1851 Ordnance Survey map

Plate 5 (right): The south kiln as it appears on the 1851 Ordnance Survey map

3.2.4 **Ordnance Survey, 1891:** the larger L-shaped range of buildings have been removed by this time and the boundary wall that appeared to butt against the north-west/south-east range of the Hall is now shown to extend across the area it previously occupied and reconnects with the boundary wall to the south-east (Plate 6). The remains of Frith Hall are shown as a single small structure, which corresponds to the small structure shown on the 1851 edition of the Ordnance Survey mapping, with part of the boundary wall extending to its north-west. The boundary wall is not shown to extend to the south-east of the smaller structure as it did previously. The shape in plan and the surrounding area of the limekilns are shown in slightly more detail than before; the south kiln is shown to be more angular in plan (Plate 7) and the structural elements, rocky outcrops, and pathways around the north kiln (Plate 8) are also more clearly depicted. By this date the southern lime kiln is labelled 'Old Limekiln', which, given that there is no evidence to suggest it is any older than the north kiln, is perhaps a mistake based on the name previously used for it: Old Park Limekiln.

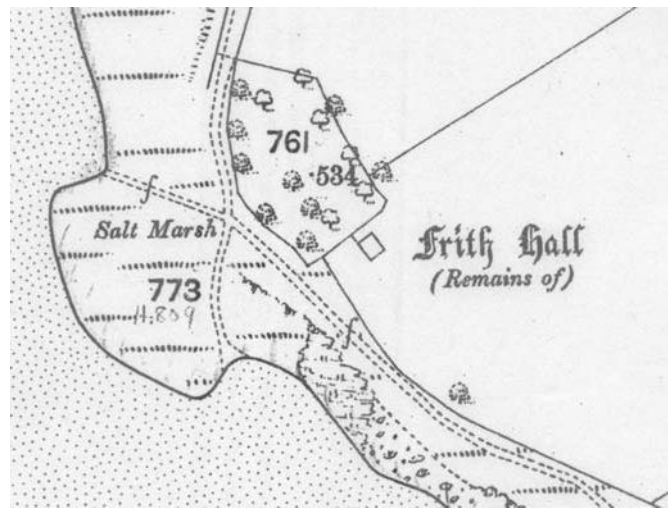


Plate 6: The remains of Frith Hall as it appears on the 1891 Ordnance Survey map

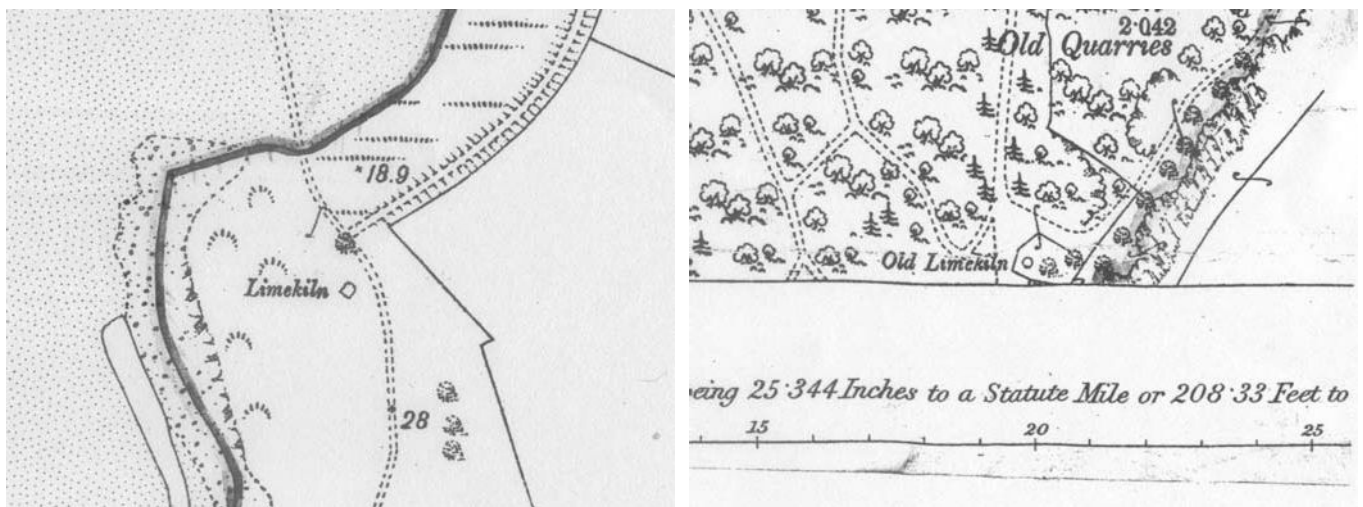


Plate 7 (left): The north kiln as it appears on the 1891 Ordnance Survey map

Plate 8 (right): The south kiln as it appears on the 1891 Ordnance Survey map

3.2.5 **Ordnance Survey, 1913:** by this point the boundary wall no longer connects to the remains of the Hall, which is now shown as a hollow shell with a central division running south-west/north-east across it (Plate 9). The wooded area which was previously enclosed to the north-west of the Hall has also been thinned dramatically. The north kiln is little changed from how it appears on the 1891 edition of the Ordnance Survey (Plate 10) but what appears to have been shown as a more clearly defined edge (possibly a retaining wall) around the north face of the south kiln is now hachured, suggesting it no longer existed, presumably having collapsed or been dismantled (Plate 11).



Plate 9: The remains of Frith Hall as it appears on the 1913 Ordnance Survey map

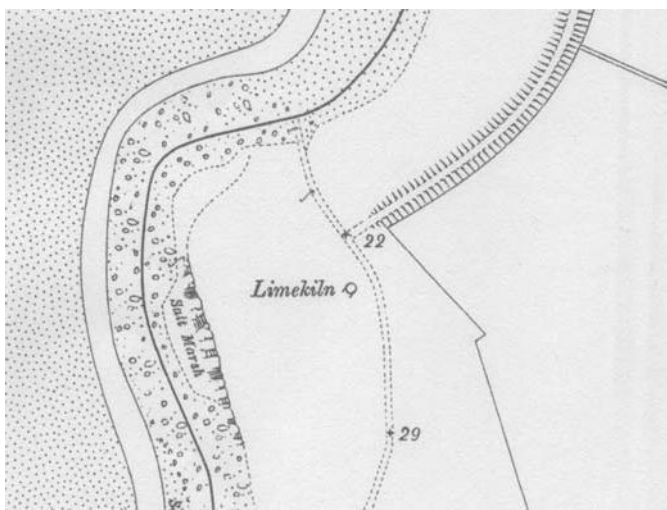


Plate 10 (left): The north kiln as it appears on the 1913 Ordnance Survey map

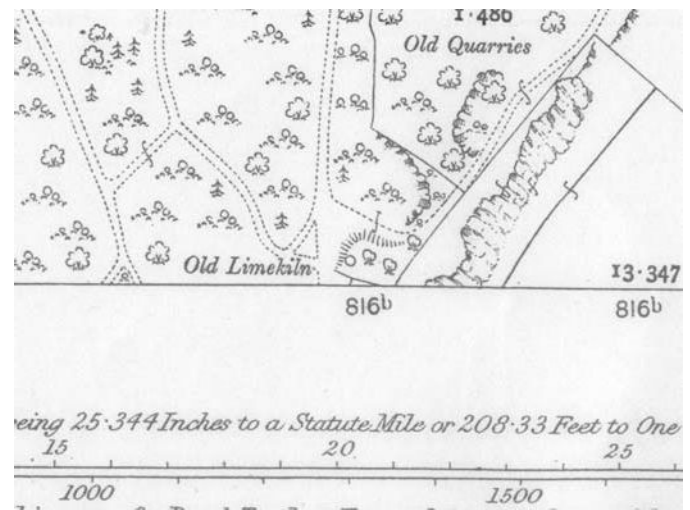


Plate 11 (right): The south kiln as it appears on the 1913 Ordnance Survey map

3.3 Previous Investigation

3.3.1 Frith Hall has seen relatively little previous investigation. The earliest detailed description, which was presumably based on first hand observations, comes from James Stockdale of Cark, author of the *Annales Caemolenses* or *Annals of Cartmel* (1872). He gives two similar but slightly different descriptions:

'Nothing now remains of the old hall (which probably was pulled down in order to build the present farmhouse and outbuildings) except the arms of the Prestons now placed over the modern doorway, and an immense fireplace extending along the whole length of the end wall of an old building, now used as a hull for cattle, large enough to roast an ox or two at once' (Stockdale 1872, 76).

'[it] seems to have been a large place... Nothing now remains of the old Frith Hall but the lower part of a very old and very thick wall, in which the huge kitchen fireplace, ovens &c., once were, now covered in by the low roof of an outbouse (calf hull). Very probably the old hall had been pulled down, long ago, to build the present modern hall and farm outbuildings' (op cit, 511).

3.3.2 It was not until the late 20th century, however, that Frith Hall was actually subject to any detailed examination or recording. In 1957 a field investigation described the building as follows:

'The remains of the hall consist mainly of a huge fireplace. It is constructed of rubble masonry with bonding courses of slate at intervals. The fireplace takes the form of a large pointed vault terminating in a square opening. Viewed from the exterior the upper part of the chimney stack is round and the lower part a square 'stepped' structure. The springing of the fireplace arch is visible in each of the side walls. Mutilated openings in each side of the fireplace were probably originally recesses. The only traces of the building adjoining the fireplace to the S.E. is [sic] a small fragment of wall projecting from the S.W. corner and traces of its continuation under the turf. On the upper part of the S.E. wall of the fireplace is a course of slates representing the lines of a pitched roof. N.W. of the fireplace but not bonded to it are the remains of a small lean-to hut and yard, presumably modern. The remains are in fair condition.' (ref. F1 EG 05-SEP-57).

3.3.3 It is apparent from these comments, and an accompanying measured plan (Plate 12) produced at the time, that while considerably more of the building then survived, it still only comprised the remains of a chimney breast and associated features. It is apparent, however, that the original structure was more readily discernable, with springers for the arches visible on both sides of the fireplace opening, apparent recesses or openings present in the west and east sides, the upper part of the chimney still over hanging, and the line of a wall running to the south-east recognisable in the ground. A later visit, in 1969 (ref. F2 BHP 14-JAN-69), described the condition as unchanged without giving any further information but a photograph was taken at the time, which shows how much more survived at this time (Plate 13).

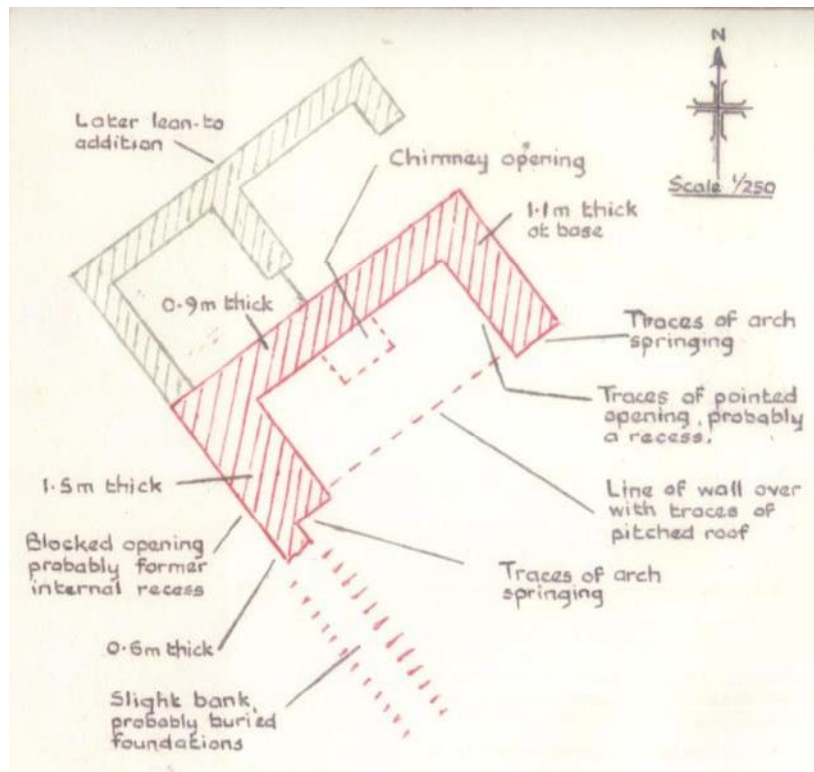


Plate 12: Sketch plan by E Geary dated 5th September 1957



Plate 13: Photograph taken 14th January 1969

3.3.4 The first detailed survey of the remains of Frith Hall was undertaken by the Lancaster University Archaeological Unit (which became Oxford Archaeology North) in 2001. This fully recorded the remains as they stood at the time through a combination of rectified photography and instrument survey, producing a plan and detailed elevation drawings. The interpretation is that the fireplace formed an inglenook type with a fire hood (LUAU 2001, 14) although this would seem to be contradicted by the evidence from 1957 and 1969.

3.3.5 Neither of the two lime kilns has apparently been subject to any previous investigation or recorded, indeed they are not even included on the Cumbria HER.

3.4 Conclusion

3.4.1 While there is little documentary information relating to the two lime kilns prior to the Ordnance Survey mapping of the 19th century (see *Section 3.4.2* below), Frith Hall is well-documented from the late 16th century onwards. It evidently has its origins as a grange belonging to Cartmel Priory, perhaps a very substantial one with connections to local woodland, peat cuttings, and a fishery. It was subsequently occupied by the Preston family, before they built a more substantial and grand home at Holker Hall. During the 18th century Frith Hall was occupied by a series of farmers, presumably as tenants, before finally falling out of use as a dwelling in the early 19th century and being used as an animal house.

3.4.2 No previous investigations of the two lime kilns have been carried out, and by the time Frith Hall was examined little of the structure was still standing. It is clear, however, that there has been some substantial loss of fabric in the last 50 years.

3.4.3 The early mapping shows that from at least 1851 the extant remains of Frith Hall formed a small block separate from a much larger and approximately L-shaped range to the south-west. By 1891 this L-shaped range had disappeared leaving the present structure, which evidently comprised two sections, as shown on the later map of 1913. The locations of both limekilns are marked on the 1851 edition of the Ordnance Survey and are shown in more detail on subsequent editions. The south kiln possibly became more dilapidated between 1891 and 1913 as what appears to have been a wall around its north side is no longer shown as such on the later edition of the Ordnance Survey.

4. Building Recording

4.1 Arrangement and Fabric

4.1.1 **Frith Hall:** the remains of the Hall are mostly constructed from courses of limestone with slate used for string courses and for levelling. A gritty mortar is present on the lower levels of the Hall, which is butted by a dry stone outshut to the north-west (Plate 14; see Figure 2 and Figure 3). The outshut is enclosed on the north-west and south-west sides but very dilapidated and all that remains of the Hall is a north-east/south-west aligned wall with small jutting sections at each end which form a partially enclosed fireplace to the south side. The internal and external features of the Hall are described in separate sections despite the fact that much of the structure has collapsed, with the wall core often exposed, and there are large areas of rubble to the south side of what remains of the Hall, including substantial blocks of masonry (see Plate 20). Structural elements incorporated into the boundary wall to the south-west probably also relate to the Hall.



Plate 14: Survey being carried out at Frith Hall (light levels artificially enhanced to show detail)

4.1.2 **The south kiln:** the south limekiln is largely constructed from courses of limestone cobbles and boulders with dressed blocks used to form quoins and arch stones (Plate 15; Figure 4). Some other stone, mostly slate, is used for string courses and fire brick is used internally. The west elevation is mostly collapsed and built into the slope on the north and east sides. The arched entrance is closed by a timber gate. The boundary wall butts against the south elevation (Plate 16) and curls round to the west to a gate with a large stone gatepost. The flue hole in the top of the kiln is largely backfilled with rubble and overgrown with vegetation and although it remains partially open it is collapsed on the west side. A rounded depression in the ground to the north-west of the flue was considered to possibly represent the

remains of a collapsed second flue, but there is no other evidence that one existed (see *Section 3.2* above).



Plate 15 (left): Survey being carried out at the south kiln

Plate 16 (right): The boundary wall butting the south kiln

4.1.3 **The north kiln:** the north kiln is built almost entirely from courses of local slate. The upper part is circular in plan whereas the lower part is rectangular (Figure 4). There is a round flue hole in the top and a corbelled opening in the north side (Plate 17). The kiln is built into the slope, which slopes down from the south and west, so there is no south elevation as such and the top of the flue edge is finished with larger coping stones (Plate 18).

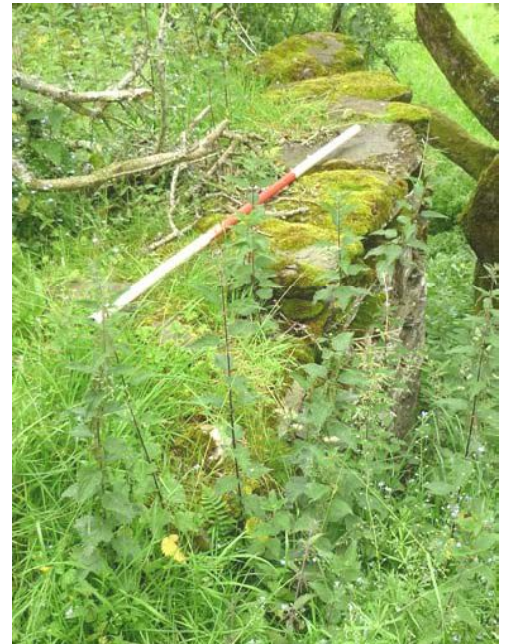


Plate 17 (left): The north elevation of the north kiln

Plate 18 (right): Detail of the coping stones around the edge of the flue of the north kiln

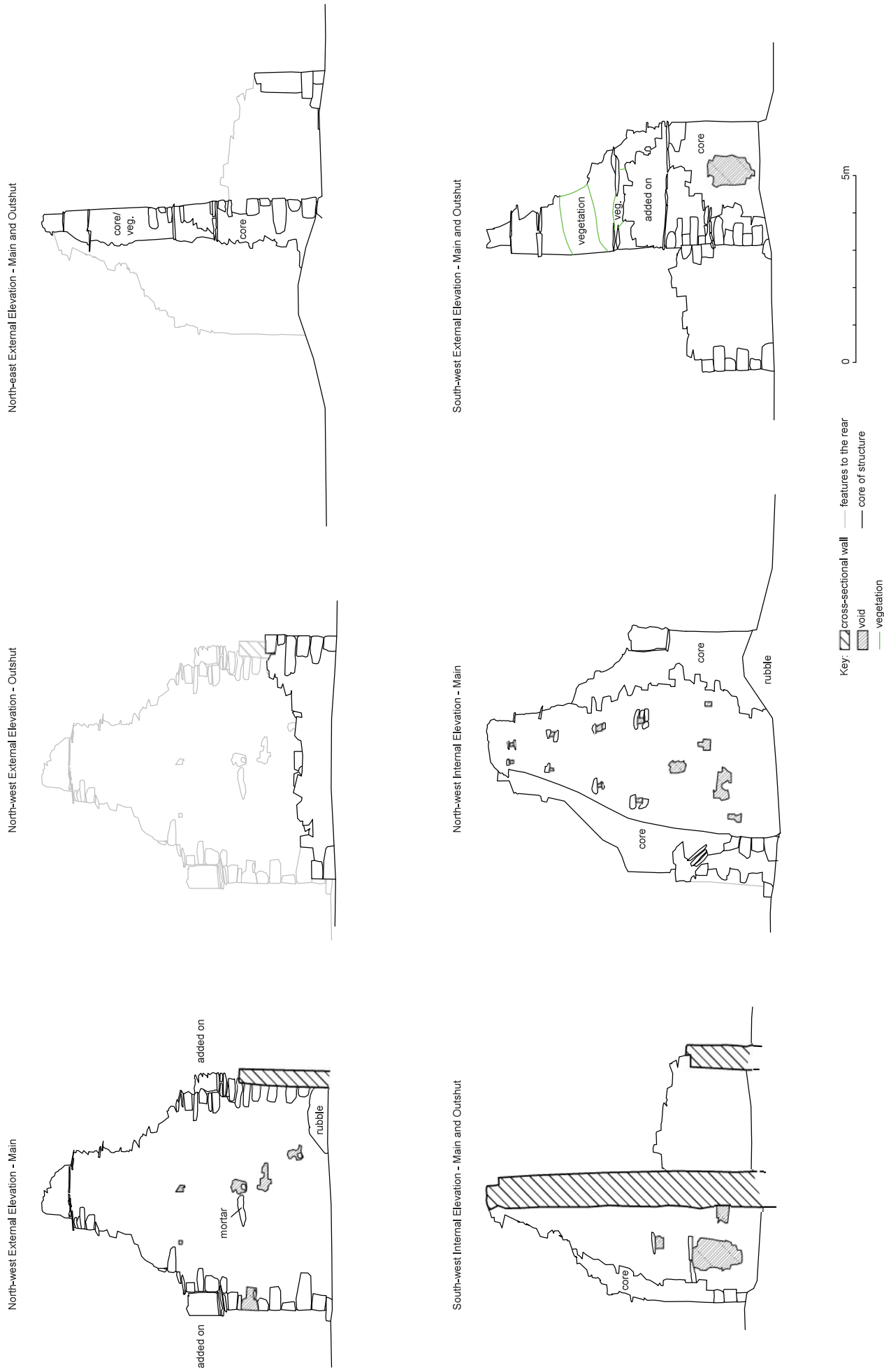


Figure 2: Elevations of Frith Hall

Plan of the Hall and outshut

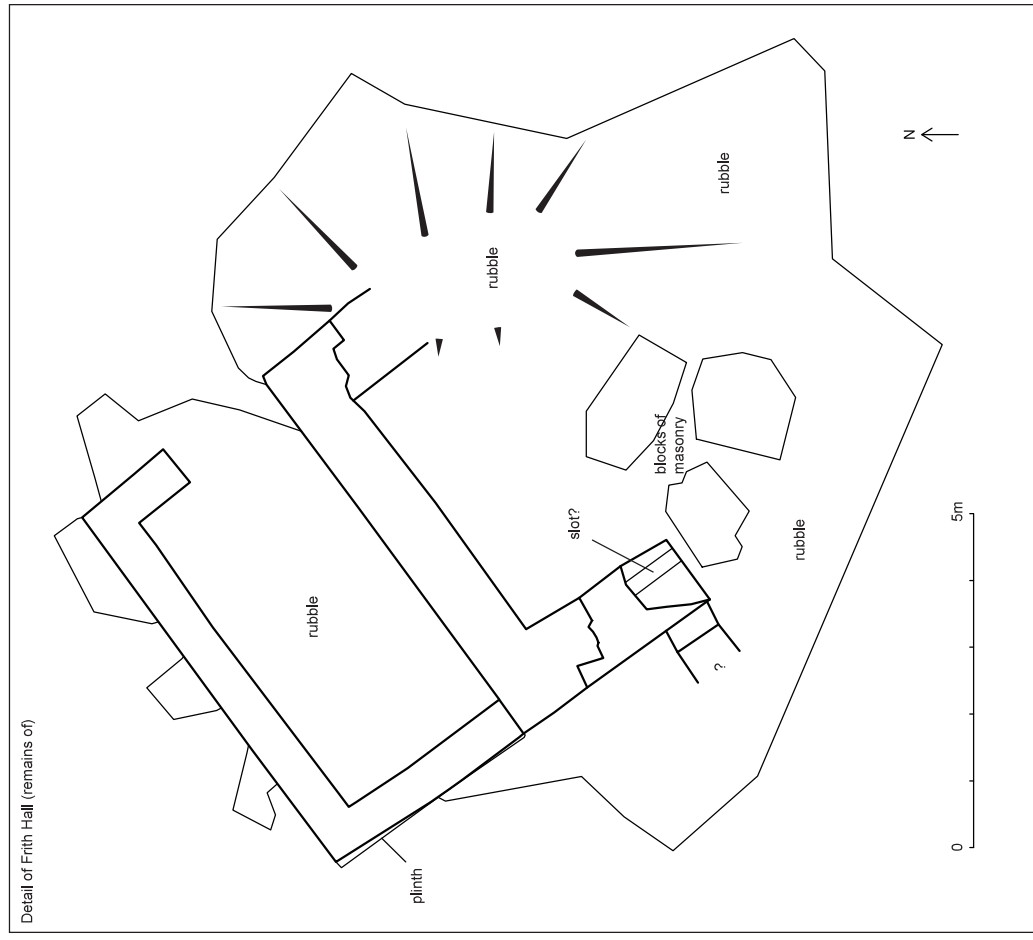
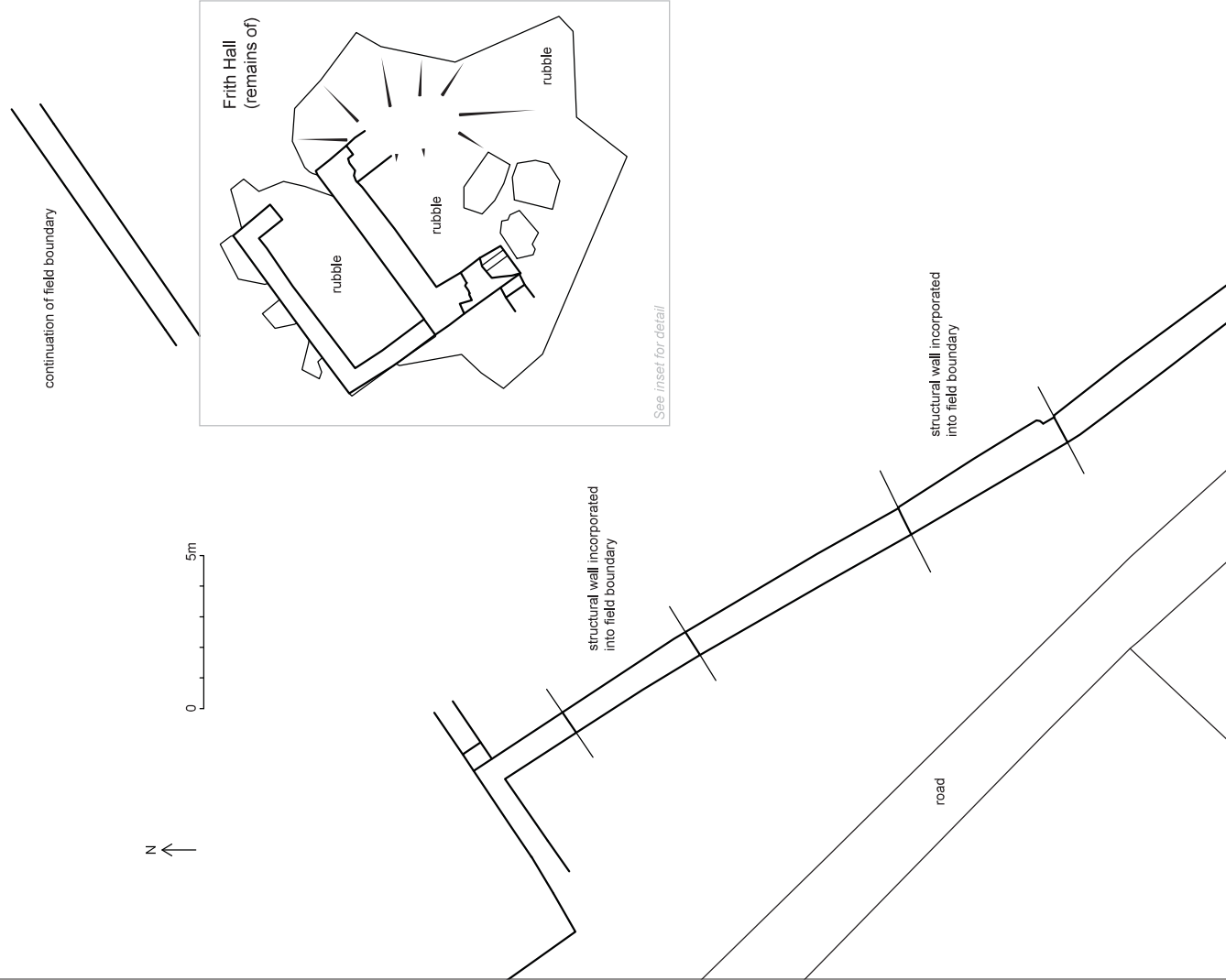


Figure 3: Plan of Frith Hall

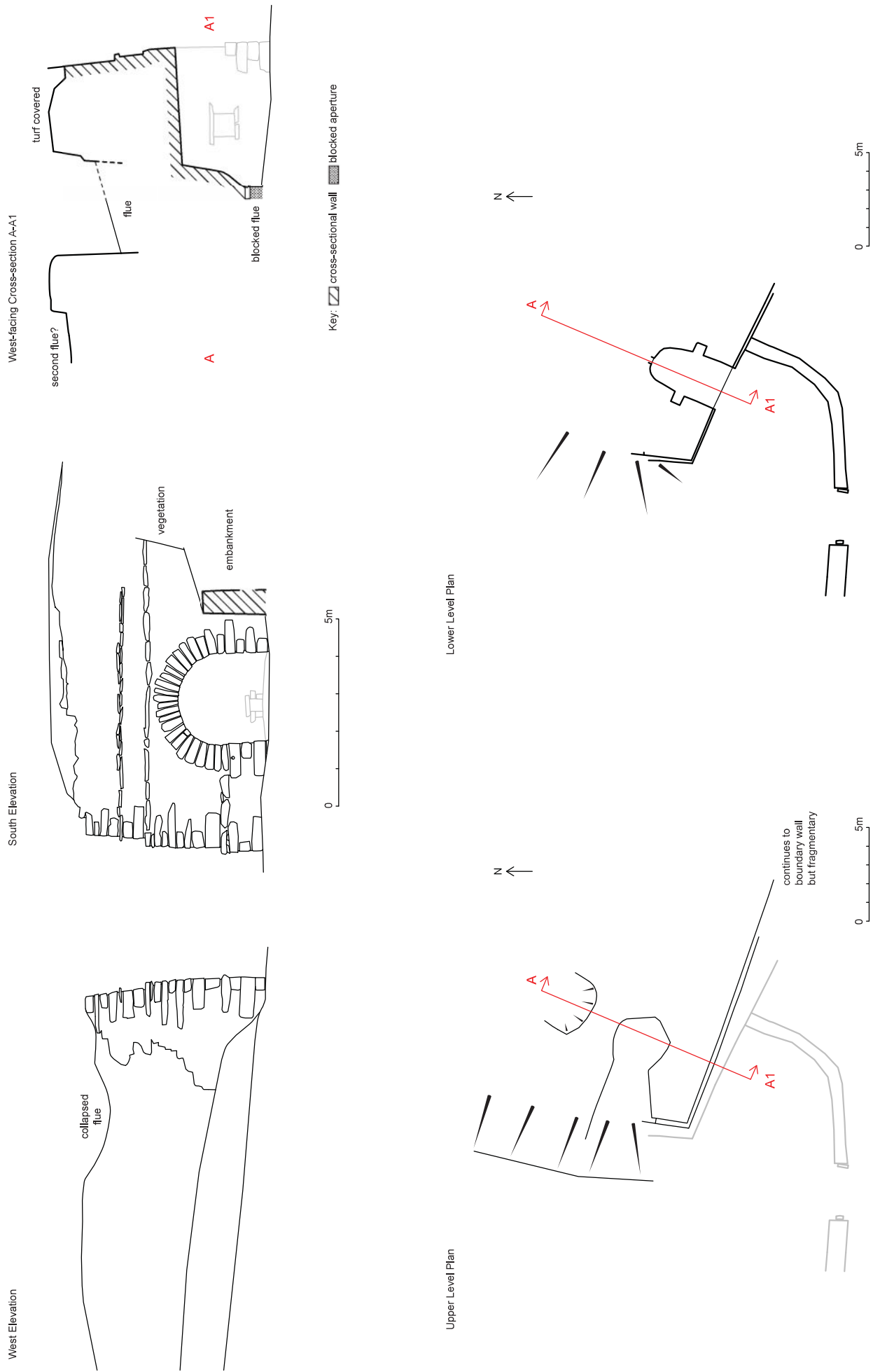


Figure 4: The south kiln

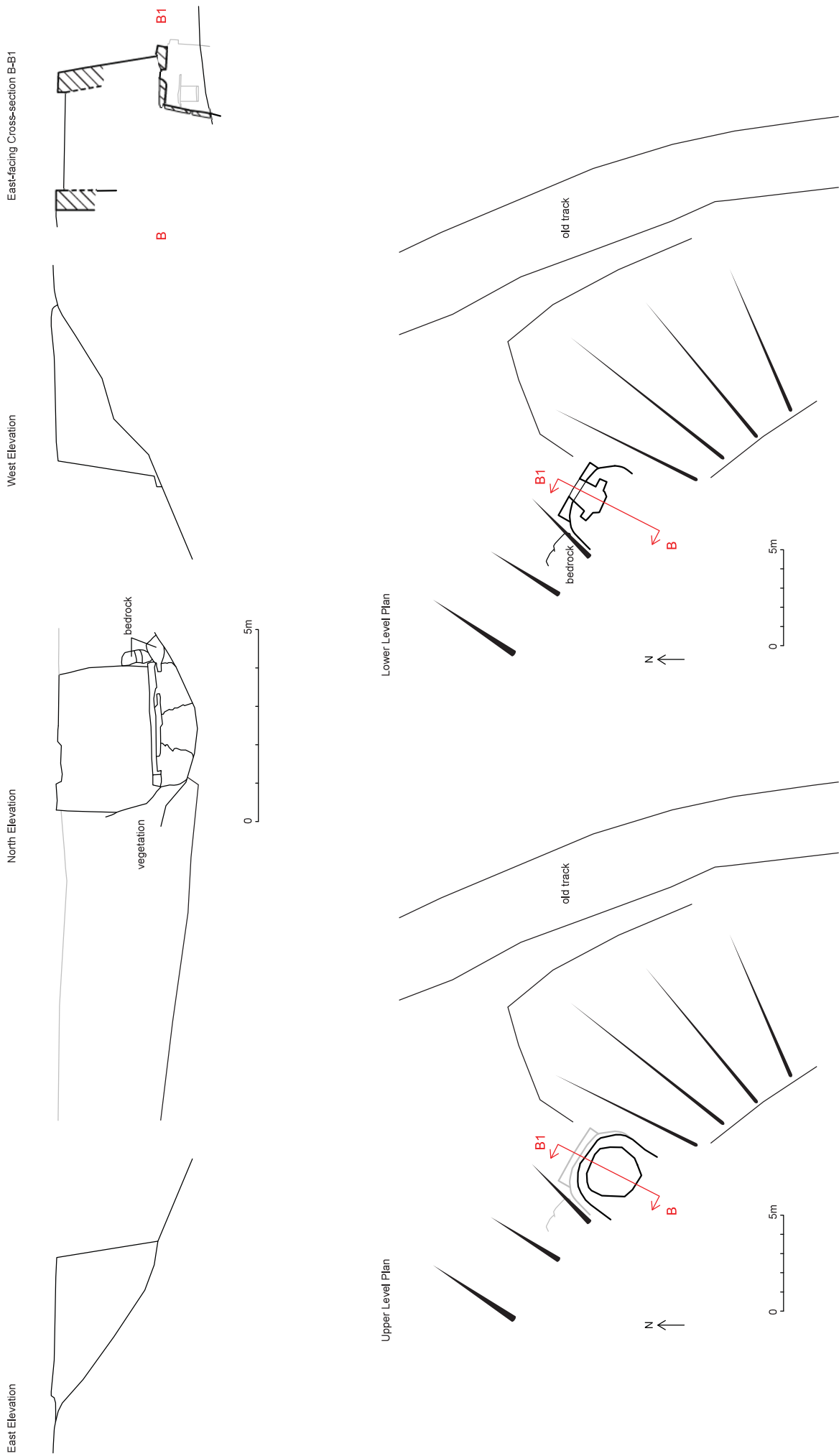


Figure 5: The north kiln

4.2 Frith Hall

4.2.1 **North-west facing external elevation:** the lower part of the main north-west elevation of the Hall is partially obscured by the north-west elevation of the outshut which continues from the south-west side (Plate 19; Figure 2). The outbuilding is built from slate and limestone blocks with squared outer facing and is quoined at the north-east and south-west ends. Main elevation of the Hall is constructed mainly from smaller cobble-sized pieces of limestone, which are less smoothly cut and in more random courses when compared to the facing on the outshut. The Hall is quoined to the north-east and south-west and a gritty mortar has been used throughout. At ground floor level slightly to the south-west of the centre there is what appears to be a small hole or alcove of unknown function at about waist height and to the north-east of this there is a small hole drilled into the wall, probably for the latch of a gate. Slate has also been used in the wall construction of the Hall but not in full courses. There is an almost central through-hole with a sill at approximately the level of the ground-to-first floor. The wall originally stepped in at the ends at slightly above the level of this hole and the wall has been raised at this point and filled to the extent of the underlying / supporting wall and the quoins of the original wall are still visible. At the same height as the top of this added section of the wall there are two putlog holes in the main elevation before the wall slopes in towards the centre, following the angle of the roof, before rising vertically again with the central stack. There is a slate course in the stack near the top.



Plate 19 (left): North-west elevation of Frith Hall and the outshut

Plate 20 (right): The inner and outer walls of Frith Hall viewed from the east

4.2.2 **North-east facing external elevation:** the outer part of the north-east elevation comprises the quoined return of the north-west wall of the outshut and remnants of the north-east wall of the Hall. Most of the rest of the wall of the outshut has collapsed. The quoins at the north-east end of the Hall are visible in the stub wall as are the slate courses of a slate in-filled section which raised the level of the wall (which can be seen to the right of the scale bar in Plate 20) and which presumably mirror those on the south-west facing elevation, although little remains on the north-east side. The north-east wall of the Hall has mostly collapsed beyond the extent of the lowest quoins at this corner. The north-west wall of the Hall leans in towards the main Hall to the south-east and there is a large crack in the wall at ground floor level.

4.2.3 **South-east facing external elevation:** the south-east side of the Hall is no longer extant. The features which can be viewed from the south-east side of what remains of the Hall are essentially considered internal features and are described in Section 4.2.5-4.2.6.

4.2.4 South-west facing external elevation: the north-west end of this elevation forms part of an outshut, which appears to butt against and slightly overbuild the Hall to the south-east (see Figure 2; Plate 21). What remains is divided approximately in half, the north-west end comprising the outshut with the Hall to the south-east. The outshut has regular courses of angular limestone blocks and some inserted slate for levelling purposes (but not in distinct courses) and appears to be dry-stone built with no mortar used externally. There are heavy quoins at the north-west end (up to two courses high) and there are heavy quoins to the south-east where the wall sits above the main wall of the Hall to the south-east. The construction of the Hall is much less regular, with less even courses of limestone, and is only heavily quoined on a small jutting section up to a course of slate where it is butted by the outshut. The limestone facing above the first complete slate course is actually a later facing which is more apparent from the north-west side of the building (see *Section 4.2.1*). A gritty white (lime?) mortar has been applied to the lower level of the Hall (to approximately the first complete slate course), but has scarcely been used above that. It was presumably added to consolidate the wall and possibly as render to the north-west. The limestone block work is divided by courses of slate and is severely dilapidated to the south-east and further up the stack. The wall has fallen away around what may have been a window(?) on the ground floor but there is no obvious sill or lintel associated with it. To the south of this window the wall appears to return slightly to the west.



Plate 21: South-west external elevation of Frith Hall

4.2.5 North-east facing internal elevation: at the south-west end Hall the quoins of the south-west wall are visible at the south-east end and to the north-west of these there is a possible window, although it is mostly collapsed (visible to the left of the scale bar in Plate 22). There is a small putlog or beam hole above and to the north-west of the window and this alcove has a slate sill and lintel. The wall then curves inwards and overhangs the space to the north-east, following the line of the north-west wall. On the north-west side of the hall proper, the internal face of the attached outshut is consolidated with a gritty mortar up to where it butts the main wall of the Hall.



Plate 22 (left): North-east facing internal elevation of the Hall

Plate 23 (right): Detail of the possible window in the north-east facing internal elevation of the Hall

4.2.6 **South-east facing internal elevation:** the south-east facing internal elevation of what remains of the Hall is effectively the interior of the chimney. It is conical, with the south-west side surviving in better condition (Plate 24; Figure 2); the north-east side is ruinous but the scar of the original wall is still evident. The original wall forms a slate topped tier and has additional stonework on top. There are three rows of paired putlog holes and one further one lower down in the main part of the elevation as well as small areas of collapse in the wall face. The wall of the Hall returns to the south-west to the south-west side of the chimney stack and there are three *voussoirs* and a possible angled springer remaining of the arch from the north-east/south-west fireplace which would have extended across the front of the chimney (Plate 25). What remains of the arch is to the south-west side of the chimney stack, near the point where the wall of the Hall again returns to the south-west. Below the arch there is a c. 10 cm square hole visible in the core of the wall above the "window". This hole had squared mortared edges like a drain bar slot but it was truncated by collapse to the north-west and south-east.



Plate 24 (left): The south-east facing internal elevation of the Hall

Plate 25 (right): Detail of the arch springers

4.2.7 Associated structural elements: there are two pieces of wall, which probably relate to Frith Hall incorporated into the field boundary to the south-west (Figure 3). The north-west section includes two quoined ends of a section of wall with mortared construction, although the central section has collapsed (Plate 26). The ends of the structure are butted by the boundary wall, and the upper part has been rebuilt in dry stone. It is not obvious which direction the building that this wall represents originally extended, but this is presumably the end of a building orientated north-east/south-west. The south-east structural wall is loosely coursed in rough limestone, mostly with large blocks at the base with a possible string course mid-way up (Plate 27). The south side is rebated and covered by thick lime mortar, and the field boundary butts against it at either end. Again there is no indication of the direction that this building extended but it too appears to be the end of the building that was orientated north-east/south-west.



Plate 26 (left): The north-west structural wall incorporated into the field boundary



Plate 27 (right): The south-east structural wall incorporated into the field boundary

4.3 South Kiln

4.3.1 **South facing external elevation:** the south elevation is tiered, with three stepped levels finished with slate and forming a plinth at the base (see Plate 15). There are large quoins on the west side that disappear into the slope and it is butted by the boundary wall to the east (see Plate 16). There is a central arch of well-dressed stone, which continues into the hearth, and there is an iron ring embedded in the wall on the west side, probably for the gate (Plate 28). The top of the kiln has partially collapsed and forms a rough line (see Figure 4). The flue hole on the top was not obviously brick lined; there were possible traces of vitrified material that was possibly damaged brick, although it was not easily accessible (Plate 29). There is a modern bench adjacent to it.



Plate 28 (left): South external elevation of the south kiln

Plate 29 (right): The flue hole of the south kiln

4.3.2 **West facing external elevation:** the west elevation of the south kiln is mostly ruinous, with an area of collapse to the north where it runs into the slope and is overgrown. What survives is as per that to the south, which is described above in *Section 4.3.1*, with steps or tiers including a plinth, topped with slate and large quoins (see Plate 30; Figure 4). The rubble core of the wall is partially visible and perhaps did not extend fully to the north, the kiln instead perhaps having been built into an existing slope.



Plate 30: The west external elevation of the south kiln

4.3.2 **Internal detail:** the well-dressed stone of the arched entrance continues into the hearth. Internally, the back of the kiln curves round and there is a blocked brick-lined flue near to the centre at the rear and an alcove on either side in the side walls.



Plate 31 (left): Brick-lined flue at the back of the south kiln



Plate 32 (centre): Alcove in the inside of the south kiln



Plate 33 (right): Alcove in the inside of the south kiln

4.4 North Kiln

4.4.1 **North facing external elevation:** the north elevation of the kiln is essentially continuous round the top as the upper part is round in plan (Plate 34; Figure 5). The upper part is constructed from courses of slate and is plain apart from a large crack on the east side. The lower part has a square section facing north, which is parallel and flush with the slope, and has a corbelled opening with a heavy slate lintel and a slightly projecting upper part (Plate 35).



Plate 34 (left): Detail of the upper section of the north kiln

Plate 35 (right): Detail of the corbelled entrance to the north kiln

4.4.2 **East and west facing external elevations:** the east and west elevations are essentially plain and rounded against the slope (Plate 36 and Plate 37).



Plate 36 (left): East external elevation of the north kiln

Plate 37 (right): West external elevation of the north kiln

4.4.3 **Internal detail:** the north limekiln has a small internal area with small alcoves with stone lintels and sills or shelves in the east and west elevations. The back wall is finished or possibly in-filled with two large flat stone slabs and with no obvious flue opening. There are large slabs forming the ceiling and it has an earth floor, which was scattered with animal bones. The kiln must be backfilled as there is no useable space inside it and no flue.



Plate 38 (left): East internal elevation of the north kiln



Plate 39 (right): South and west internal elevation of the north kiln

5. Discussion

5.1 Phasing

5.1.1 **Introduction:** the two limekilns, as relatively recent structures, show little in the way of phasing. Frith Hall, by contrast, is considerably older and has seen several phases of alteration.

5.1.2 **Lime kilns Phase 1 (early 19th century):** the little available evidence that exists suggests that both of the limekilns were constructed in the early part of the 19th century. They certainly existed by the time the first Ordnance Survey maps were produced, in 1847-1848, and do not appear to be on the enclosure map of 1807, so it is likely they were constructed between these dates. What survives most likely represents the original form although it is remarkable how different the style of construction between the two is in many ways. Both are forms of draw kiln; that is a kiln with an arched opening built into the kiln structure with a draw hole at the end beneath the pot, which was filled with a mixture of limestone and fuel, typically coal, and developed from about 1750 (Williams 2004, 15-18). The north kiln is more basic in form, with a simple round pot on a squared base, built into the slope in order to be loaded from the top from the west side. The draw hole is not now visible but would have been at the end of the arched (in this case corbelled) opening from the east. The south kiln is a larger and more elaborate in style, with the fire-brick lined draw hole visible and firebrick probably used to line the pot, but essentially the same, loaded from the top of the slope to the north.

5.1.3 **Lime kilns Phase 2 (20th century):** little in the way of deliberate alteration seems to have been carried out to either kiln. It is likely that they were only used for a relatively short time during the 19th century, perhaps part of a specific campaign of improvements to the estate being carried out in the mid 19th century (Keates 1998, 29). By the beginning of the 20th century they, or at least the south kiln, appear to have fallen out of use and Phase 2 relates to a general period of disuse and dereliction. The outer wall around the west and north sides of the southern kiln seems to have collapsed or been removed by 1913, and the pots and access to the draw-hole became choked with vegetation and debris.

5.1.4 **Frith Hall Phase 1 (Medieval):** the exact arrangement of Frith Hall in its initial form cannot now be ascertained with any certainty without further archaeological work being carried out. The earliest available mapping and the remains present in the boundary wall to the south-west demonstrate that it was evidently a much larger complex of buildings, many of which survived until the early 19th century, but the vast majority of the complex was, at least by 1851, spatially separate from the extant remains. The surviving fragment clearly comprises a large fireplace and associated chimney. This in a style typical if not characteristic of the region, with a tiered chimney of rectangular plan topped with a round 'pot' projecting from the main wall (Denyer 1991). The remains of an arch, which would have formed the front of the fireplace, indicates that this was not an inglenook type with a smoke hood, as previously suggested (LUAU 2001, 14) but a solid masonry construction (see Brunskill 2002, 64-67 for descriptions of inglenook fireplaces). There were evidently openings in both side walls of the fireplace, most likely storage alcoves akin to later spice cupboards, rather than windows, although a small fire-window is a typical feature of smaller scale houses in the area (Denyer 1991). One of these openings is now represented by the broken hole in the west elevation; the apparent 'slot' in the stonework associated with this might represent the position of a timber lintel, now rotted away.

5.1.5 Previous investigations have been inclined to assume that fireplace is situated at the end gable of the building, something that is certainly suggested by the plan and photograph of 1957 and 1969. However, it is possible that it represents the remains of a chimney projecting from the side of a long wall, which is an equally common arrangement (Brunskill 2002). The slight step evident to the west of the opening in the west elevation seems to indicate a wall line continuing in this direction, which would support the view that the chimney was on the side wall not the end gable. The paired rows of holes (four were observed, meaning eight holes, two more than the six previously recorded (LUAU 2001)) within what would have been the inside face of the chimney (the south-east internal elevation) are of uncertain function. They perhaps represent structures set within the chimney itself for hanging foodstuffs to be smoked; given the documentary connections to a fishery smoking fish is a distinct possibility. The significance of the buildings separation from the rest of the complex, as shown in the Ordnance Survey map of 1851 (Plate 3), is uncertain. Since nothing else now remains it is not known if the other buildings

were contemporary, and if it were it cannot be ascertained whether the complex originally formed a single range of buildings. It is possible that the one remaining section of Frith Hall was always a separate structure, perhaps because it acted as some form of service building, especially if it was connected with an activity such as smoking fish. Without further archaeological work on the site this is impossible to determine.

5.1.6 Frith Hall Phase 2 (Late 18th – early 19th century): there is little information within the building relating to the intervening period, and the next evident period of alteration belongs to the point at which it appears to have gone out of use as a dwelling and became what was described by Stockdale as a cattle or calf hull (a cow house or loose box). During this period it is likely that much of the original fabric was demolished and taken away for use in other buildings, most probably High Frith but perhaps also Low Frith and even Holker Hall. An outshut was added against the north-west side, probably forming a monopitch structure, with evidence for holes having been driven into the original wall to support roof beams. At perhaps the same time short sections of wall were built onto the lowest tiers of the projecting chimney, most likely to support a new roof added to enable the remains of the hall itself to also be used to house cattle.

5.1.7 Frith Hall Phase 3 (late 20th century): the remains of Frith Hall probably served their new function for some time, at least until the Ordnance Survey map of 1913 was surveyed, before even this ended and it became completely disused. During this time any surviving roof structure must have collapsed or been removed and the building became more ruinous. It is clear that much of this had happened quite quickly, before the plan of 1957 was created, but that in the period between 1969 and 2001 a considerable amount of further collapse occurred; it is conceivable that some of this was deliberate demolition. By comparison, in the 10 years since the survey of 2001 and the present work the structure has remained relatively stable. This is perhaps a result of it being scheduled; the date that this happened is uncertain but it presumably cannot have been before the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979.

5.2 Conclusion

5.2.1 Although there is limited documentary material relating to the two lime kilns and minimal evidence demonstrating phases of use and development, perhaps suggesting that they were utilised for only a short period of time, they nonetheless represent good examples of the type. The likelihood is that they relate to a period of improvements being carried out to the Holker Estate during the 19th century.

5.2.2 Frith Hall by contrast is a considerably more significant site, with its origins in the medieval period as a grange, perhaps a particularly substantial one, belonging to Cartmel Priory. The documentary sources show that it continued to be used as a dwelling until at least the early 19th century before becoming a cow house. The building recording was, inevitably, only able to look at what remained following this, and it is apparent that a large amount of the original complex had been demolished, leaving only small fragments remaining, two of which were incorporated into the nearby boundary wall, although the physical relationship between the surviving parts is not clear. The recording did allow some phasing to be reconstructed and an interpretation of the original arrangement to be determined, although most of the evident alteration relates to its later use and demolition. Further investigation would be needed, including perhaps geophysical survey and excavation, to more fully explain the development and origins of the site. In addition, an examination of the neighbouring High and Low Frith Farms might also reveal remains salvaged from Frith Hall; indeed, what are presumed to have been reused mullion windows were observed within the farm buildings at High Frith.

6. Bibliography

6.1 Primary and Cartographic Sources

* original document not examined due to Lancashire Record Office being closed

CRO(B) BAHM/1/47, n.d. *Brief Typescript Notes on Frith Hall, Part of Manor of Cartmel (Made by JL Hobbs?)*

CRO(B) BMF/7, 1648-1865 *Cartmel Miscellany: Microfilm of a Volume of Miscellanea (Formerly Belonging to the Late Rev. Dr JC Dickinson of Cartmel) With Some Document Copies*

CRO(B) BT/IR 1/3, 1910 *Duties on Land Values. Record of Valuations Made by the Commissioners of Inland Revenue, in Accordance with the Provisions of Part 1. of the Finance (1909/10) Act, 1910. County of Lancaster Division of Lonsdale North a Valuation Book for the Parish of Place of Allithwaite, Lower and Upper Holker, Broughton East, Cartmel Fell, Grange, Staveley, Holker Lower and Upper, and Haverthwaite*

CRO(K) WPR/89 Z3, 1807 *Plan of Ancient Inclosures in the Division of Upper Holker and Part of the Allotments Within the Parish of Cartmel, (also microfilm copy in CRO(B))*

HO 107/528, 1841 *Census*

HO 107/2274, 1851 *Census*

*LRO ARR 11, 1767-1805 *Marriage Bonds*

*LRO DDAR 151, 1732/3 *Bargin and Sale for £819: Messuages, Houses, Lands and Tenements at Thwaitehead*

*LRO DDCA 6/125, 1572 *Lease for 31 Years at £4.6s.8d Rent: Queen Elizabeth to Christopher Preston, esq – Ainsham Water Mill, Fishery Within the Sea Coast and of the Water of Leven Near Frithall Late in the Possession of Cartmel Priory and Furness Abbey and Lying in Broughton East and Upper Holker*

*LRO DDCA 6/119, 1773 *Assignment of Goods and Chattels in Payment of Debts: George Rigge of Frith in Parish of Cartmel, husbandman, to William Richardson of Cartmel-Church-Town, Gentleman*

*LRO DDCA 13/B/50, 1696/7 *Surrender: Elizabeth Preston of Frith Hall, Widow, to Katherine, her Daughter, of Houlker – Frith Hall*

*LRO DDCA 13/I/136, 1774 *Lease and Release for £150: James Stockdale of Nether Cark, gent, to Lord George Cavendish – Marsh Meadow, Lately Purchased from George Rigg of Frith, dec'd*

*LRO DDCA 13/N/191, 1722/3 *Jone Stones of Flookburgh, Mariner, to William Barrow of Nether Cark, Miller: for £19, Wreak Nigh Frith*

*LRO DDCA 13/O/212, 1783 *Lease and Release: for £73: Thomas Harrison of Frith Yeoman, to James Taylor of Bigland Scarr Alias Bigland Nook, Yeoman - Undivided 6th of Messuage called Bigland Tenement Alias Bigland Scarr (Closes Specified)*

*LRO DDCA 13/O/214, 1787 *Lease and Release: for £73: Elizabeth Kirkes of Lower Cark, Widow, to Thomas Harrison of Frith, Yeoman - Undivided 6th of Bigland Scarr*

*LRO DDCA 13/O/215, 1787 *Lease and Release: for Annuity of £19: (i) William Newby of Bigland Scar, Yeoman, and Frances his Wife, (ii) John Fletcher Richardson of Church Town, gent., and (iii) Thomas Harrison of Frith, yeoman - five 6ths of Bigland Scar*

*LRO DDCA 13/O/216, 1793 *Conveyance: for £48: William Rigg of Church Town, Yeoman, and Ann his Wife, to Thomas Harrison of Frith, Husbandman - Dale in Ellerside (2 ac.), Described*

*LRO DDCA 13/O/217, 1793 *Lease and Release: for £37.8.1.: Lord George Cavendish, John Baker of Holker, Yeoman, and Robert Webster of Quarry Flatt, Stonemason, to Thomas Harrison of Frith, Yeoman - 5 dales in Waitham Moss, Described*

*LRO DDCA 13/O/218, 1799 Conveyance: for £7.7.0.: Thomas Thompson of Cartmell Town, Waller or Roughmason, to Thomas Harrison of Frith Farmer - dale in Ellerside Moss (2r.36p)

*LRO DDCA 13/O/219, 1799 Lease and Release: for £118: Lieut. Gen. Albemarle Bertie of Devonshire Place, London, and William Richardson of Cartmel Town, gent (executors of John Fletcher Richardson of Cartmel Town, gent, father of William Richardson). to Thomas Harrison of Frith, Yeoman - dale in Ellerside Moss, Peathouse there, and seat 31 in W Gallery of Cartmel Church

*LRO DDCA 13/O/220, 1800 Conveyance: for £30: Isabel Johnson of Flookborough, Widow, to Thomas Harrison of Frith, Farmer - dale in Ellerside Moss (1½ ac.)

*LRO DDCA 13/O/223, 1800 Conveyance for £15: (i) Richard Maychell of Flookburgh, Mariner, (ii) Ellenir his Mother, Widow of James Maychell Mariner, and (iii) Thomas Harrison of Frith - dale in Ellerside Moss (1 ac.)

*LRO DDCA 13/O/224, 1800 Conveyance: for £40: Nicholas Harrison of Cark miller to Thomas Harrison of Frith, his Father - dale near Bigland Nook (2 ac.)

*LRO DDCA 13/O/225, 1800 Conveyance: for £31: Thomas Harrison of Oldparke, yeo. to Thomas Harrison of Frith, his father - dale in Ellerside Moss (7r.)

*LRO DDCA 13/O/226, 1801 Lease and Release: for £1438.2.6.: (i) Thomas Harrison of Frith, Yeoman, and Agnes his Wife, (ii) Frances Newby Biglandscar, Widow, and (iii) Lord Frederick Cavendish - Bigland Scar and Specified Closes

*LRO DDCA 13/S/271, 1557 Lease for 30 years at £20 Rent: for £100: Philip and Mary to Christopher Preston -- the Freth Hall and the Freth in Upper Holker (by Letters Patent)

*LRO DDCA 13/S/272, 1592/3 Lease for 3 Lives at £20 Rent: for £20: Queen Elizabeth to George Preston, Elizabeth Ashton and Thomas son of Christopher Preston the Fryth Hall (Great Seal: by Letters Patent)

Ordnance Survey, 1851a Lancashire Sheet **12**, 1: 10,560, surveyed 1847-1848

Ordnance Survey, 1851b Lancashire Sheet **17**, 1: 10,560, surveyed 1847-1848

Ordnance Survey, 1891a Lancashire Sheet **12.9**, 1: 2,500, surveyed 1888

Ordnance Survey, 1891b Lancashire Sheet **12.13**, 1: 2,500, surveyed 1888

Ordnance Survey, 1891c Lancashire Sheet **17.1**, 1: 2,500, surveyed 1888

Ordnance Survey, 1913a Lancashire Sheet **12.9**, 1: 2,500, revised 1910-1911

Ordnance Survey, 1913b Lancashire Sheet **12.13**, 1: 2,500, revised 1910

Ordnance Survey, 1913c Lancashire Sheet **17.1**, 1: 2,500, revised 1910

Ordnance Survey, 2008 *The English Lakes: South-Eastern Area: Windermere, Kendal & Silverdale*, 1: 25,000, **OL7**

PRO E 326/6424, 1545-1546 Parties: Thomas Holcroft, esquire of the King's body & Nicholas Thorneborow, one of the Sewers of the King's Chamber in the County of Lancaster, and Margaret Thorneborow, Widow, of Hampsfell [in Cartmel]; Place or Subject: A house Called "the Freth Halle" [Frith in Cartmel] formerly in the Possession of Cartmel Priory

RG 9/3165, 1861 Census

RG 10/4238, 1871 Census

RG 11/4278, 1881 Census

6.2 Secondary Sources

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