English Heritage

CARLISLE CASTLE

A survey and documentary history

M R McCarthy, H R T Summerson, and R G Annis

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with contributions by D R Perriam and B Young

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Frontispiece The inner gatehouse (the Captain's Tower) and the half-moon battery in 1986 (photo Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Section 1 Description and discussion of the castle buildings

1 The setting

The location of the castle

Carlisle is an historic town located towards the northern edge of the Cumberland Plain. This large area of heavily glaciated, undulating terrain is hemmed in by the Irish Sea to the west, the Pennines to the east, the Lake District massif to the south, and the Solway Firth with its two major rivers, the Esk and the Eden to the north. The Scottish border, established finally in the thirteenth century, lies nine miles to the north of Carlisle (Fig 1), whilst the Roman frontier, marked by Hadrian's Wall, traverses the village-suburb of Stanwix, which lies on the opposite bank of the Eden immediately north of the city centre. Carlisle lies about eight miles upstream from the Solway Firth and about five miles above the tidal limit. The historic core is located on the south bank of the Eden at its confluence with the river Caldew (Fig 2). A short distance to the east the river Petteril also joins the Eden.

Nearly 2000 years of human settlement in the city, together with geomorphological change in the river valleys, has obscured the ancient topography. In medieval and post-medieval times, for instance, the complexity of the river channels necessitated the presence of two bridges between the bottom of Rickergate and the northern bank below Stanwix village (Hogg 1952).

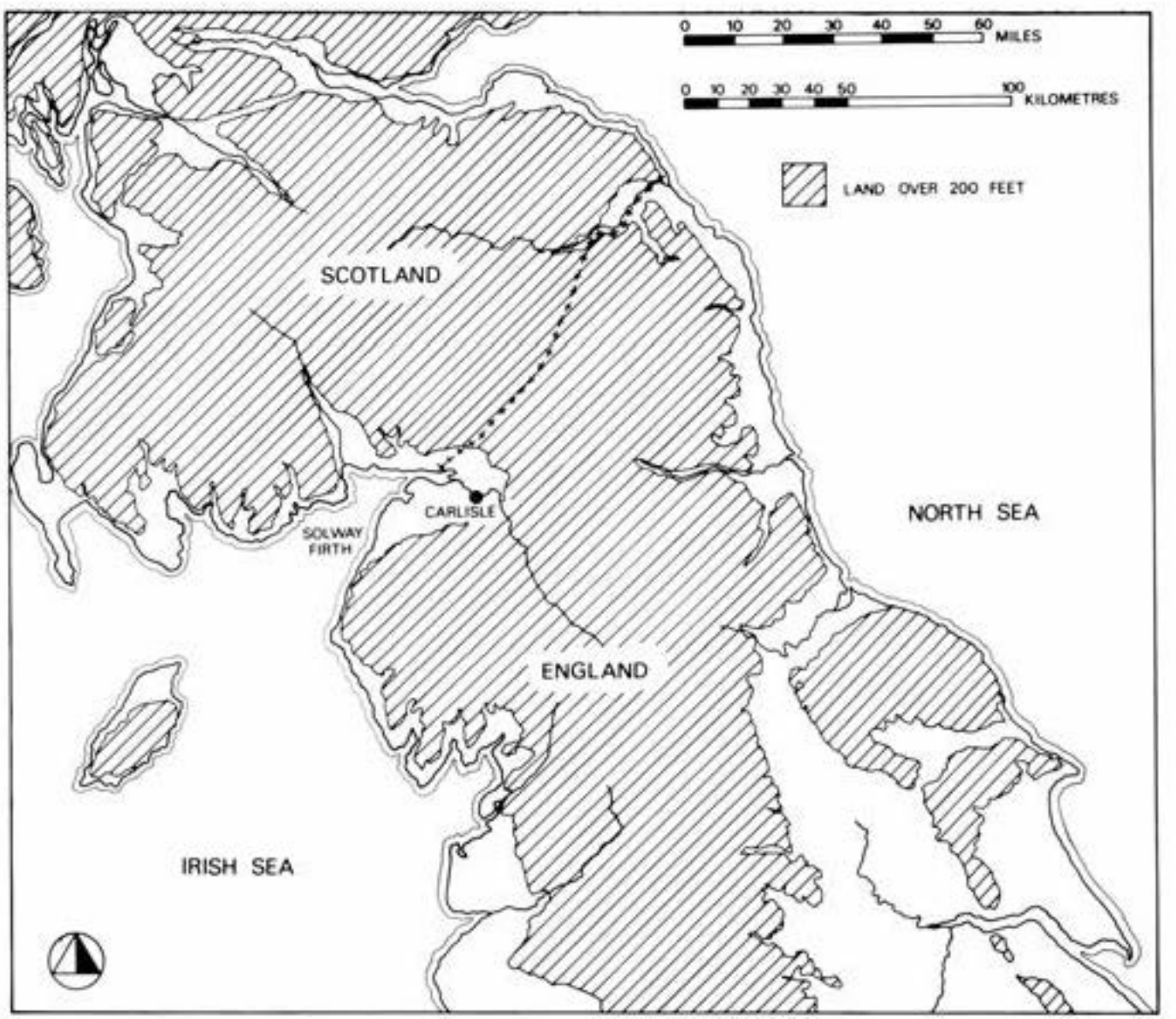

Fig 1 Location map of Carlisle

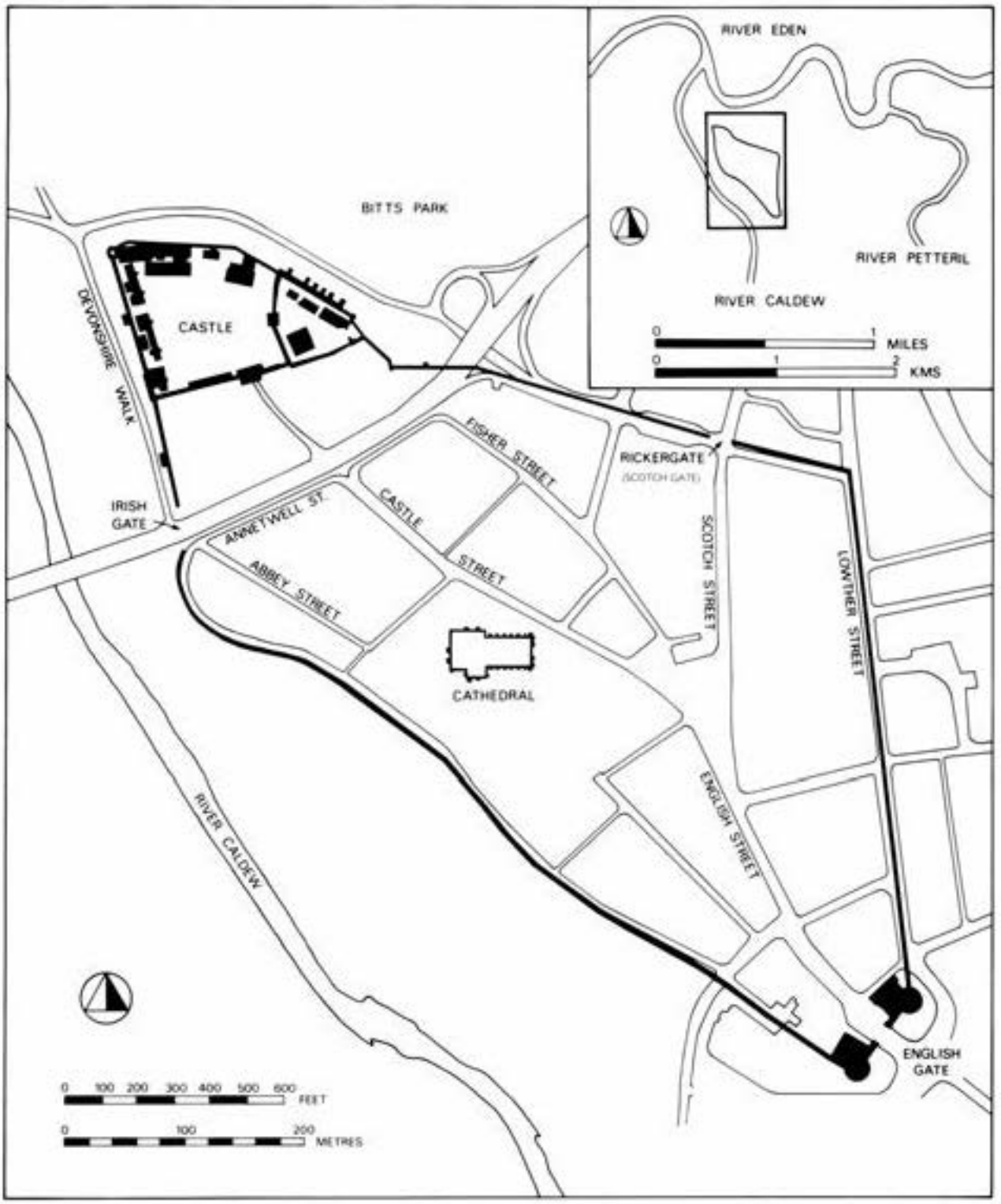

Fig 2 The city of Carlisle and the location of the castle

There is no reason to believe that the river system, flanked by wide low lying belts of recent alluvium, was any less complex in Roman times. There are suggestions that a Roman stone bridge occupied a site similar to that of the more recent north bridge (Caruana and Coulston, 1987). The main Roman roads to south-west Cumbria and to the east must also have bridged the rivers Caldew and Petteril, although no evidence for these has yet come to light.

The geology of Carlisle

by B Young

The city stands on glacial drift deposits (Fig 3a) which overlies shales and limestones of the Lower Liassic period (Fig 3b). The boulder clay covered ground of the city and its immediate environs forms a rise above the

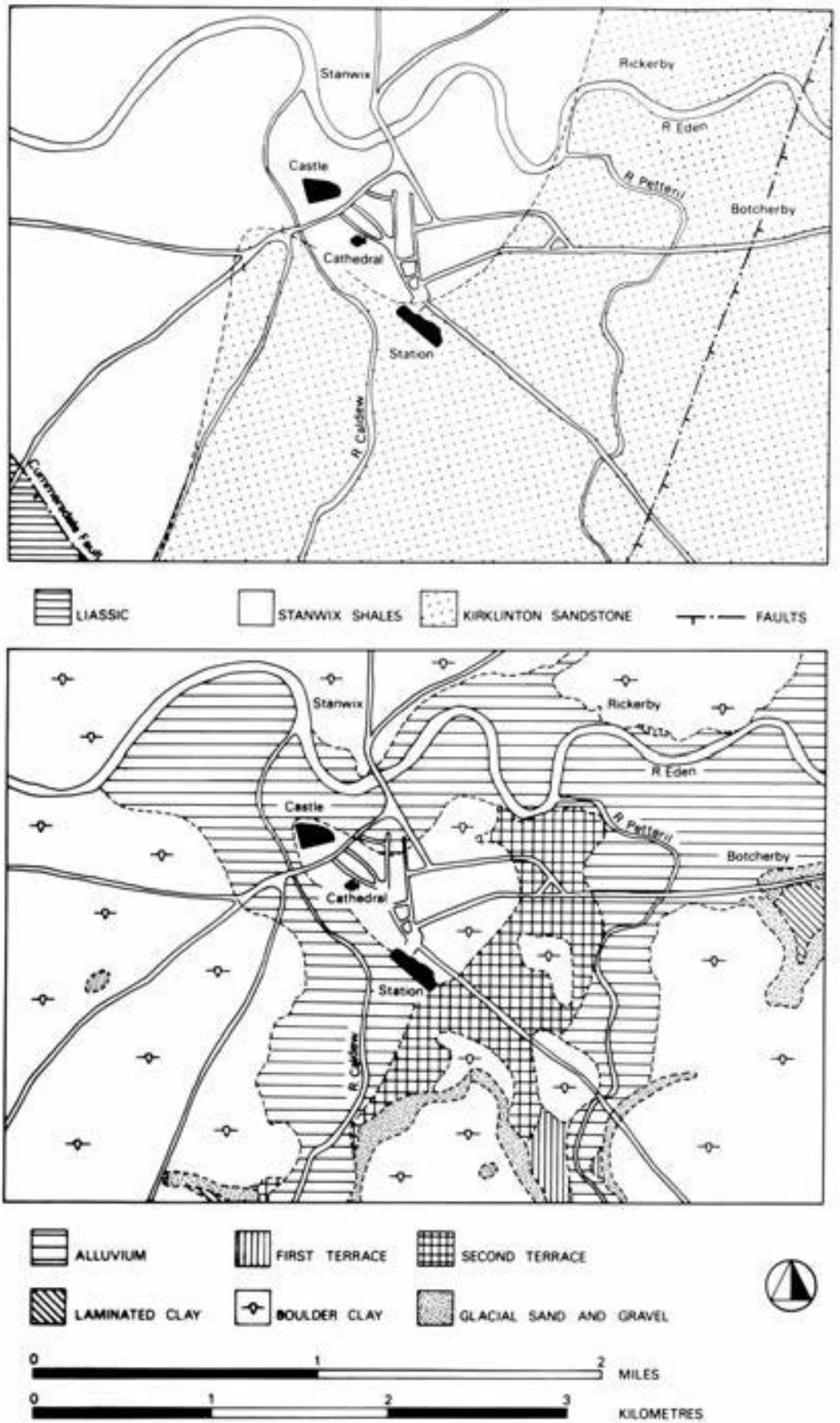

Fig 3 The solid geology (below) and the drift geology (above) in Carlisle

surrounding alluvial flats and terrace deposits of the rivers Caldew, Eden and Petteril. Boulder clay covers much of the surrounding district though there are small outcrops of glacial sand and gravel, and laminated clays to the south and east of the city.

Within the Carlisle district Dixon *et al* (1926), Trotter (1929), and Trotter and Hollingsworth (1932) recognised an Upper and a Lower Boulder Clay separated by glacial sands and gravels. Both boulder clays are typically dark red because of much included Permo-Triassic debris. Erratics of Scottish igneous rocks are abundant in both Upper and Lower Boulder Clays accompanied by Permo-Triassic sandstones partly of local derivation. For much of the immediate vicinity of the city it has not been feasible to distinguish these two boulder clays. Only in the east has the attempt been made, and much of the clay in this area belongs to the Upper division. Numerous site investigations have shown that the typical boulder clay in the city is dark red and silty or sandy, with numerous erratic cobbles or small boulders. A borehole at Town Dyke Orchard showed glacially disturbed Stanwix shales immediately beneath the boulder clay.

Outcrops of interbedded sands and gravels have been mapped to the south and east of the city, whilst several trial boreholes from the city have sands and gravels which include numerous igneous erratics amongst which is Criffel granite.

Two separate outcrops of finely colour banded or laminated silts and clays have been identified in the neighbourhood of the city. The laminations comprise the fine sediments carried by glacial meltwater and deposited on the floors of glacial lakes. The banding or lamination is likely to be the result of seasonal variation in the sediment type.

The topography and early history of Carlisle

The ancient and modern city centre occupies a roughly triangular promontory of land with the flood plain and river Eden on its north-eastern side, and the Caldew valley to the south west (Fig 2). The down-cutting action of the Eden has resulted in the formation of a steep bank along what is now East and West Tower Street, whilst the castle occupies a commanding position on a steep bluff at the northernmost tip of the city.

The south-western side of the city centre is defined by a steep scarp now marked by West Walls, a number of car parks, and the railway. Immediately west of the railway lies the river Caldew. Within the city centre the land today slopes gently from west to east. The ancient landform patterns are not yet fully understood, although there is some evidence from recent excavations and bore-hole readings to suggest that there may within the city area have originally been two knolls, one now occupied by the Cathedral precinct, the other by the castle.

For most of its history Carlisle has been a true frontier city. Both the city and the area occupied by the castle seem to have exercised a crucial military and administrative role. The castle site, on its steep bluff overlooking the confluence of the Eden and Caldew, is a naturally well-defended promontory which can be enclosed by the simple expedient of cutting a ditch across its neck – in effect the Norman solution. Excavations have also established that an important Roman fort lay on this site. Its southern defences lay immediately south of the castle, and crossed Castle Street and Abbey Street (Fig 4). The defences of the Flavian fort have been noted immediately west of the western City Walls, but the other sides of the defensive circuit have not been firmly established.

The fort was established in the early AD 70s, and continued in use until the 330s. In the second century the defences were moved further south and this may imply an enlargement of the fort area. Whereas the early defences were of timber and turf, the later work, especially that of the third century, was almost certainly in stone. Fragments of the stone wall have been recorded in Abbey Street and Castle Street (Fig 4).

To the south of the fort there grew up the town of *Luguvalium*, and this occupied most of what became the medieval city of Carlisle. Excavations have established beyond doubt the presence of settlement in this area from the Flavian period. The broad outlines of the street plan are known as are areas of housing and some burials (Fig 5). The importance of the settlement was enhanced by the eventual establishment of the Roman frontier based first on the Stanegate, and later on Hadrian's Wall. The name *Luguvalium* is first attested on writing tablets excavated in Castle Street and dated to the AD 80s. In about 105, another writing tablet from *Vindolanda* attests the presence of a *centurio regionaris* based at Carlisle (Bowman and Thomas 1983, 110). By then the settlement must have acquired an administrative as well as a military role. It is possible that the *praetorium* excavated in The Lanes area (McCarthy *et al*, 1982) was the headquarters of this official. At some point, as yet uncertain, Carlisle almost certainly acquired the status of *civitas Carvetiorum*, thus confirming its importance (Charlesworth 1978, 123).

The fate of Carlisle at the end of the Roman occupation is less clearly defined. Scattered traces of late fourth- and fifth-century occupation have been located, but present indications are that the settlement gradually fragmented and decayed during the fourth century. The fort continued in use up to the 330s, after which a number of crudely built stone structures, of unknown purpose, but dating from the latter part of the fourth century, were built on the site of the former stone barracks. The evidence for this period can hardly be said to bear out the speculation that the province of Valentia was administered from Carlisle (McCarthy 1982).

Signs of settlement belonging to subsequent centuries have been traced along the western side of the city from Blackfriars Street north towards the castle. An Anglian monastery is attested on documentary grounds (Colgrave 1940), and archaeological evidence suggests the presence of an important church below the Cathedral in the tenth century. Other churches are also suspected to have existed between the seventh and eleventh century (Fig 6), although the evidence is admittedly slight. Much therefore remains to be learnt about the pre-Norman settlement of Carlisle, but there are historical reasons for believing that the site may

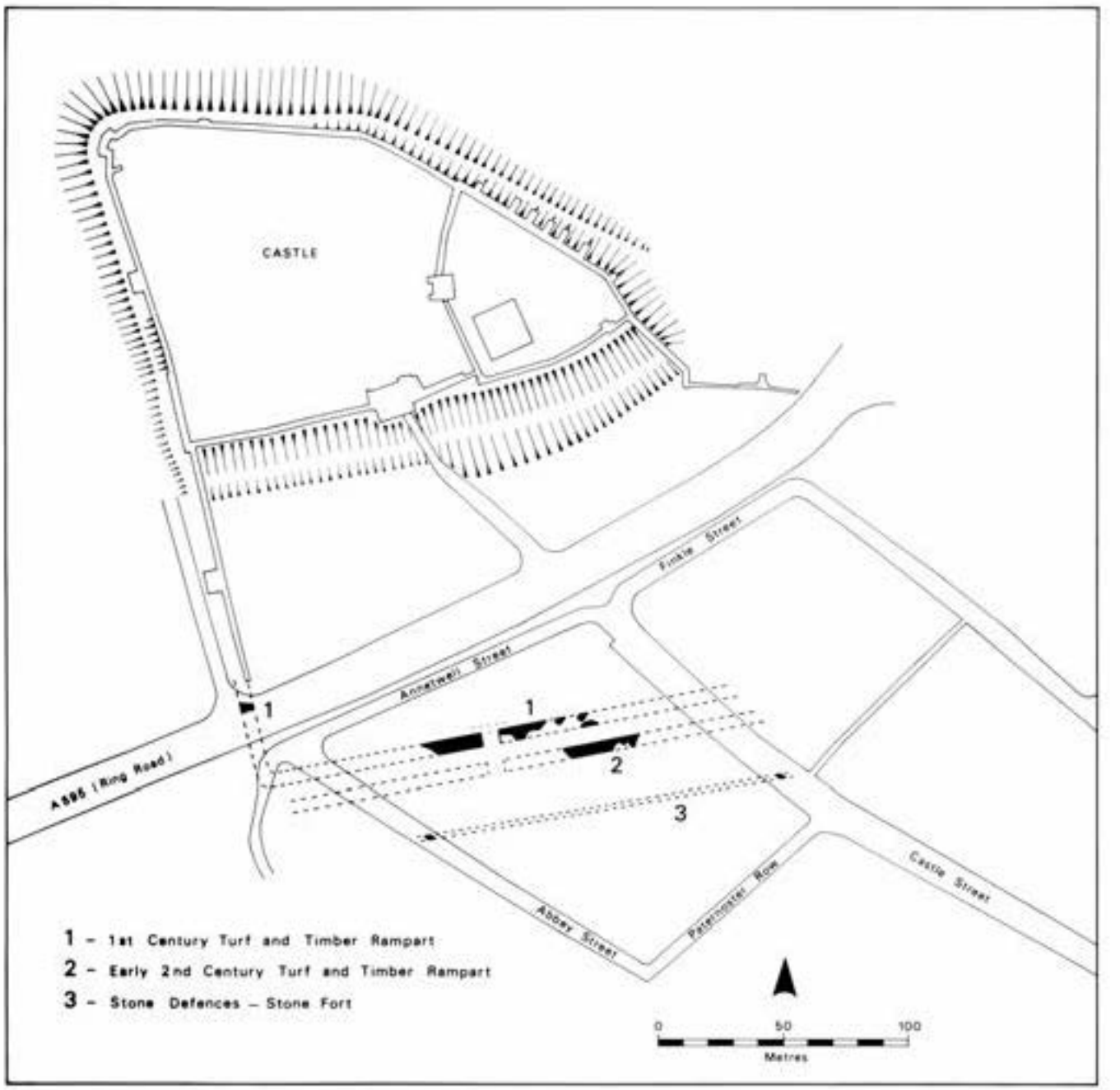

Fig 4 The Roman fort defences, located south of the castle

have formed the focus of several major estates (Summerson forthcoming). Archaeological evidence for this is largely based on coin-finds, notably a *sceatta*, *stycas*, and pennies of Aethelstan, Edgar and Aethelred II, although excavations have identified some structural features and metalworking moulds. Two of the Roman roads, in particular, appear to have continued in use long after the Roman withdrawal: one of these approached the south gate of the fort and the other was one of the major internal fort roads. Their continued use may imply that the area later occupied by the castle continued to be used into the Anglian or Anglo-Scandinavian periods.

The precise relationship between the earliest Norman castle and the Roman fort is not yet known. The castle may have been located within the northern part of the fort, as was the case for example at Brough on Stainmore (Birley 1958), or else it was immediately outside as at Brougham, near Penrith. The reasons behind the relationship between Roman fort and Norman stronghold can only be conjectured, but their proximity may not be entirely a matter of coincidence. There are other Roman forts and centres of Norman baronies which are located relatively close together. The motte and bailey of Liddel Strength, the caput of Liddel barony, is close to the major outpost fort of Netherby. Irthington motte, centre of the barony of Gilsland, is not too far distant from the Hadrian's Wall fort at Castlesteads, and at Cockermouth the castle lies close to the fort of Papcastle.

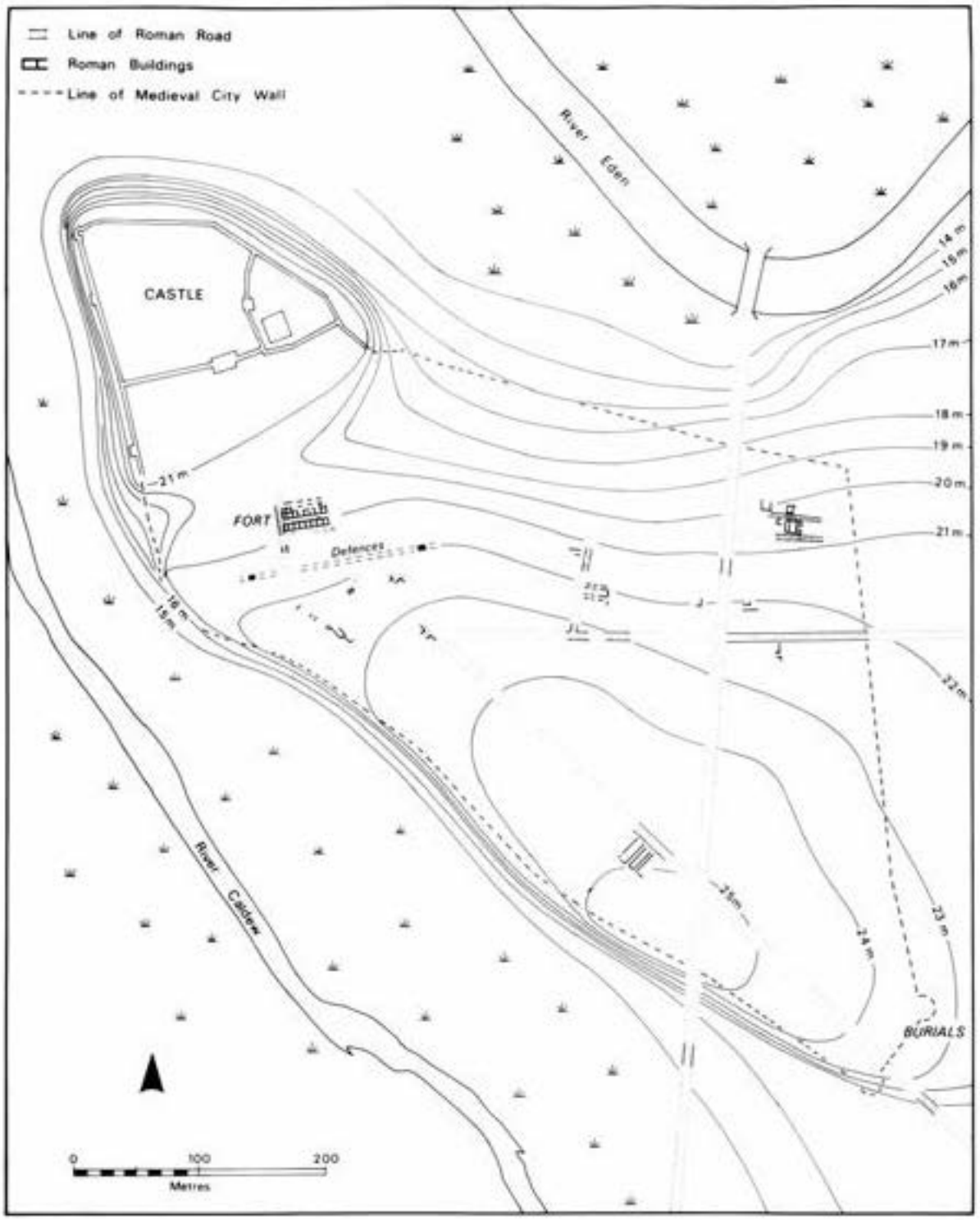

Fig 5 Map of Roman Carlisle in the second and third centuries AD

The relationship between the Norman baronies and earlier pre-Norman estates is a complex issue, but current opinion (Winchester 1987, 13–19; Barrow 1975) suggests that in many cases the Normans took over existing estates. How these formed to begin with is even more difficult to determine, but it is possible that their origins as centres of power and authority lay deep in antiquity. This may also have been the case at Carlisle, although here the site of the castle and fort may have been at least partially determined by the obvious topographic advantages the location confers. Whether or not there were any other factors governing this choice depends upon archaeological investigation in the future. It is worth bearing in mind, however, that both fort and castle were of much more than local significance.

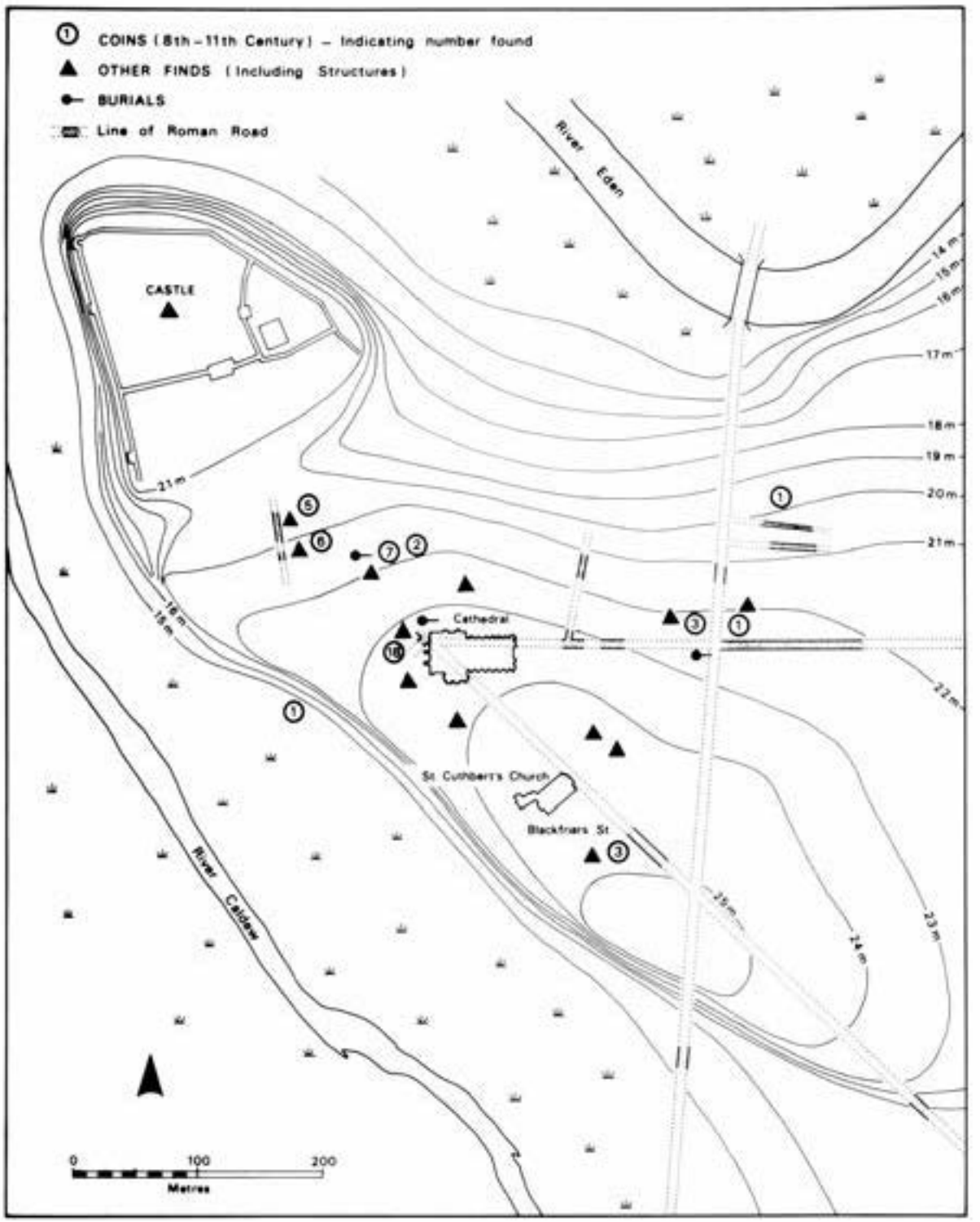

Fig 6 Map of Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian settlement in Carlisle

The castle was erected in 1092 by William Rufus (p 118 below) who imported a number of settlers from the south. The status and size of Carlisle immediately prior to the conquest is not certain, but archaeological evidence from the Cathedral demonstrates the existence of a community certainly in the tenth if not also the eleventh century.

The first major period of medieval building in Carlisle followed the visit by Henry I in 1122. As a consequence of that occasion, a programme of rebuilding in stone commenced at the castle; in addition the city walls were begun and the Augustinian Priory was founded. Ten years later the Bishopric was created with its seat in the nave of the Priory. From this time on the medieval city rapidly grew in importance and became the English crown's principal western bastion against the Scots. The town was largely confined to the walled area but important suburbs developed, especially to the south along what is now Botchergate, and to the west along Caldewgate and Shaddongate.

2 Introduction to the castle
The analysis and the source material

Carlisle is unusual among English castles in that it has a history of continuous use from its beginnings until the present day. Often neglected, more than once in danger of dereliction, it has survived above all through its adaptability, a quality attested by the variety of its buildings, which belong to and illustrate its use during all the periods of its history. At first, and for long, a border fortress, a role attested by the keep and curtain walls, it was also a centre of local government, a function which helped to determine the shape of the outer gatehouse, while the buildings in the outer ward bear witness to its more recent position as a strongpoint for the control of political radicalism and as a regimental depot.

In 1983 Carlisle Archaeological Unit was commissioned by the Department of the Environment to undertake an analysis of the standing structure of Carlisle Castle. The brief included the preparation of survey drawings of the remains, with an analysis of the masonry to identify and, wherever practicable, to date the phases of its construction. In order to achieve this, the Unit was also asked to undertake an inspection of all the records, pictures, photographs and any other detail which would have a bearing on this study, for all periods of activity in the castle from its foundation in the eleventh century to the present day. The prime purpose of this work was to establish a full record of the structure for use in planning future maintenance and repairs, but it also afforded an opportunity to set down a full written account and drawn record of this historically complex structure.

The work divided naturally into these two areas, and is here presented in two sections, since they represent the results from different disciplines each of which has its own methodology. This approach can be justified by a consideration of the nature of the source material. The castle is a very large and complex structure, whose extant buildings contain, albeit in a somewhat impressionistic form, a record of some of the main phases of activity in the castle from the early twelfth century through to the present day. It is built of stone and brick which display many signs of modification and alteration. There are few architectural details in the form of windows, doors and mouldings which lend themselves to accurate dating, and it is also clear from the surviving remains that in several cases only fragmentary portions of earlier, largely demolished, buildings now survive embedded within the existing masonry. Although some of these remains are incapable of interpretation as they stand, they have been given labels derived from written or cartographic sources for the sake of descriptive convenience.

One of the problems faced in attempting an analysis of the structure has been in deciding when each element was constructed. The lack of architectural detail forces a reliance for dating purposes on questions of stone size, shape, geological characteristics, and stratigraphic relationships with adjacent areas of masonry. Inevitably judgements about the chronology will be very subjective especially when one takes account of the possibility of the reuse of building materials.

There are several ways in which the description of a complex castle could be structured. It could, for example, follow a chronological framework in which the earliest elements were described first with successive sections dealing with later additions and changes. Although this approach may be justified for guidebooks, the writers take the view that the analytical nature of the present work is best served by a different approach.

The description of the castle is in three parts: the defences (Chapter 3); the buildings of the inner ward (Chapter 4); and the buildings of the outer ward (Chapter 5). Each main component of the castle is first described and then discussed. The descriptions deal with appearance of the walls and describe most of the buildings room by room and wall by wall. The exceptions to this are the buildings of the outer ward (Chapter 5) which date largely from the nineteenth century and are described in a more summary fashion. The discussions represent an analysis of the fabric and include tables listing the principal documentary sources. This analysis is presented in periods or broad date-bands, defined on the basis of architectural features and the character of the masonry as follows:

Period 1: late eleventh to early twelfth century. This has been defined entirely on historical grounds, and refers to remains of the earliest castle, thought to be of earth and timber, erected by William II.

Period 2: twelfth century. The plan forms of the keep and the inner gatehouse, together with the use of pilaster buttresses, and occasional other details, such as window type, decoration and other features normally associated with the architectural traditions of the twelfth century can be attributed to this period. The masonry of this date is characterised by considerable usage of grey Kirklinton sandstone as well as the red St Bees sandstone. The use of the two sandstones is also a feature of Carlisle Cathedral, which was under construction at the same time as the earliest stone castle. There is no evidence from either the Castle or the Cathedral that one colour was preferred over the other for any specific purpose at this date. The sizes of the stones used were naturally varied according to the nature of the building, but there is a distinctive neatness and regularity to the coursing which was not always present later on.

Period 3 thirteenth to fifteenth century. This includes a range of doorways, fireplaces and other features for which a medieval date seems most appropriate. In this, as in subsequent periods, there is a definite preference for the red St Bees sandstone as opposed to the mixture of grey and red which is typical of Period 2. The reasons for the preference are not clear although the possibility that local sources of grey Kirklinton sandstones had been worked out, together with the

superior quality of the St Bees beds, must be considered as likely factors. Stone sizes also varied according to the function they were intended to perform. However, in many areas, such as in the southernmost sector of the west curtain wall in the outer bailey, there seems to be a tendency to use stones which are longer in relation to their depth than is the case the with the squarer Period 2 masonry. There are also examples of masonry where the coursing is less regular and stone sizes much more variable than is the case in Period 2. These are also believed to be medieval in date; instances include part of the east face of the inner bridge abutment over the outer ditch and a large sector of the north curtain wall.

Period 4 sixteenth to early nineteenth century. Identifiable elements belonging to this period are doorways, fireplaces, windows and other architectural features. The preferred stone was St Bees sandstone but its characteristics of size and shape cannot normally be distinguished from earlier periods. There are instances of irregularly coursed stonework of very varied size, as in the breastwork and the batter on the inner ward west curtain wall, believed to be sixteenth century in date. Brick was used at this time, as in De Ireby's Tower and the Tile Tower, in both of which it was employed for architectural detail as well as for walling and roofing purposes. It has not proved possible to distinguish sixteenth century bricks from those used in the eighteenth or nineteenth century.

Period 5 mid-nineteenth and twentieth century. Features of this date can be identified from the form of doors and windows as well as the plans of individual buildings. Although St Bees sandstone was preferred, there are instances where the coarser grained Penrith sandstone was used as areas of paving, the collar of the well in the outer ward, and in the buttresses on the north-east curtain wall. Many of the stones used at this time were sawn, as opposed to being chiselled as the earlier work demonstrates. Much stonework attributed to the early nineteenth century, as in the reconstructed Queen Mary's Tower or the Armoury, was face-bedded resulting in seriously eroded surfaces. Face-bedded masonry, whilst occurring at other periods, seems to be especially characteristic of a period of reconstruction in the early to mid nineteenth century.

It will be noted that these periods are only very broadly defined, and it is not altogether possible to relate the different building styles to known historical episodes within the castle's occupation. Period 1 begins with William II's foundation in 1092 and continued until the first stone castle was erected. This marks the beginning of Period 2 and can be attributed to the work initiated by Henry I and continued by David I. The point at which Period 2 ends and Period 3 begins is much more difficult to define. In historical terms it seems likely that whereas much building work took place in the twelfth century, a time of considerable trouble in the north, in the peaceful times of the thirteenth century to the reign of Edward I, very little was added. A spate of activity clearly followed in the fourteenth century, but thereafter little is recorded until the survey of 1529.

The documentary sources are relatively full especially for those periods when the crown took an active interest in the castle. They help to show that the castle is something more than an aggregate of stone, brick and mortar – the result of periodic building campaigns undertaken at meaningless intervals for unintelligible ends. It is frequently possible to show why repairs were carried out or new buildings erected at a particular time, by whom and for whose benefit, and therefore to analyse the needs and circumstances of the men who lived in the castle, as well as the national or regional strategies and politics which also helped to determine the castle's future. Matters of finance, working methods, the availability of materials and manpower, all can be seen to have had their place in the development of the fabric visible in the late twentieth century.

The written sources are many and varied. They frequently refer to expenditure on repairs or rebuilding, and it is unfortunate that the vast majority of references fail to identify those parts of the castle complex sufficiently precisely for the alterations to be located. Indeed entire buildings at times elude precise references. It is rarely possible, therefore, to correlate documentary references with extant parts of the structure. Even in the case of apparently obvious terms, such as *magna turris*, which might be thought to represent the keep, we have to be aware that the contemporary chronicler may have had another great tower in mind – and names of buildings can change. A good example of the way in which a building may acquire different names is Queen Mary's Tower. This name originated with the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots in the tower at the south-east angle of the inner ward in 1568. Before that the documentary sources (p 99) seem to call it 'new tower' and 'Warden's tower'; the assumption is that they are descriptions of one and the same building. The names attached to buildings or parts of structures by contemporaries evidently depended partly on tradition, as may be the case with Queen Mary's Tower, or on associated events or, as seems very often to be the case, on factors which were obvious at the time. There was no need, for instance, for contemporaries to spell out precisely which doors and windows in which tower required replacing, because it was plain for all to see. Hence the number of references which today are tantalisingly vague.

Pictorial sources such as maps, engravings and paintings are another valuable source of information. They represent a visually exciting pool of information, yet they also are not without their problems and must be considered in their own terms. As all documentary and pictorial sources are capable of being copied, great care has to be exercised before accepting that the view in question is an accurate statement for its date. A good example is the views by Robert Carlyle whose work in the last years of the eighteenth century was frequently copied in the nineteenth century. Another problem

with pictorial sources is that views can be romanticized in keeping with contemporary ideas on what is aesthetically pleasing. Thus trees and ivy can be inserted and ruins exaggerated for artistic effect. It is difficult to be certain whether this happened at Carlisle, although it cannot be ruled out, especially in the case of some nineteenth century views.

The layout of the castle

The castle is cut off from the rest of Carlisle city centre by a ring road (A595) constructed in 1972 (Figs 7 and 8). Before then its southern side was defined by Annetwell Street and Finkle Street. As seen today from the ring road, the view of the castle is unencumbered

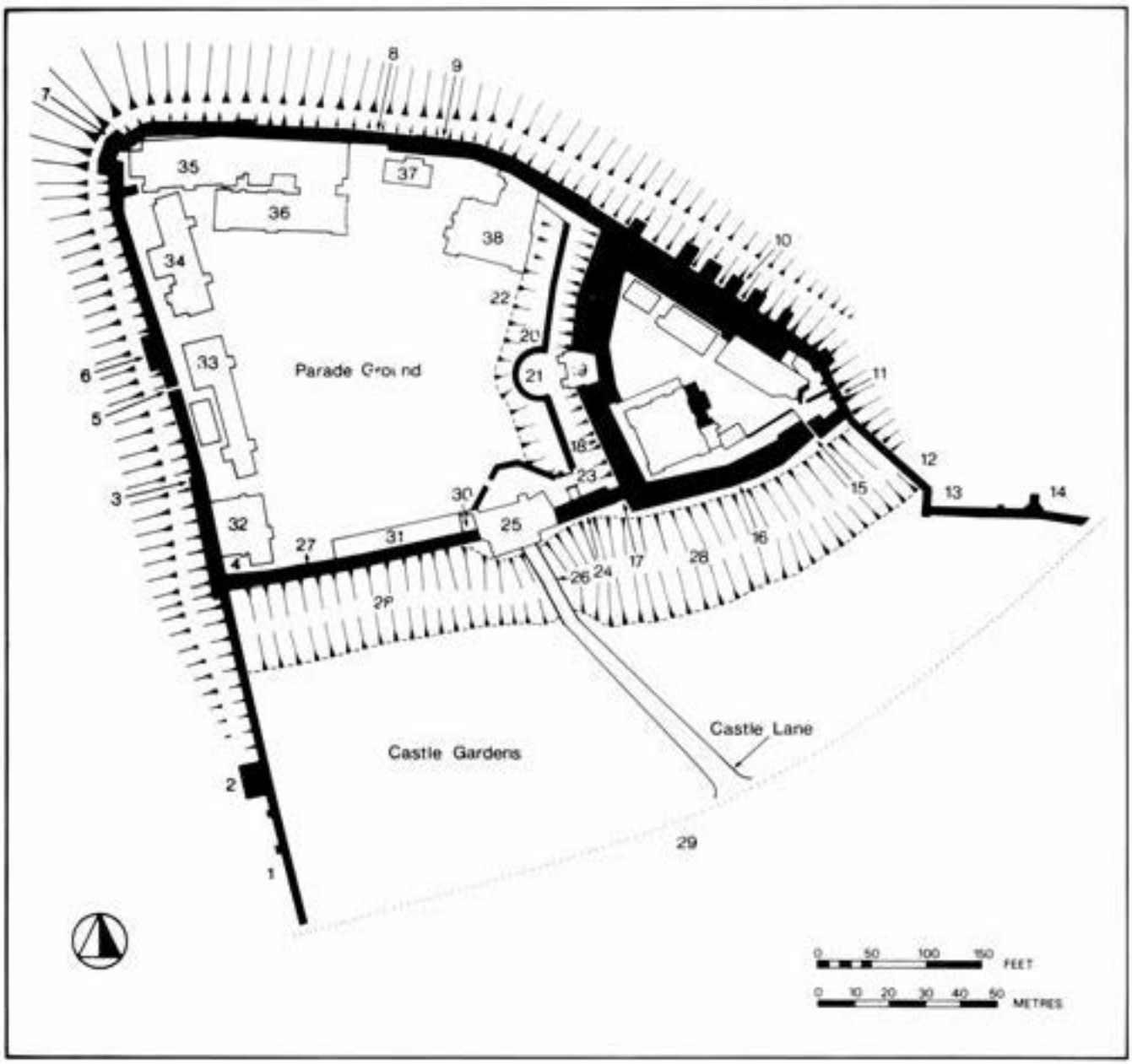

Fig 7 The castle, locating features in the defences and the outer ward
1 west walls; 2 Tile Tower; 3 west curtain wall; 4 south-west battery; 5 postern gate (open); 6 tower; 7 north-west battery; 8 north curtain wall; 9 postern gate (blocked); 10 north-east curtain wall; 11 Queen Mary's Tower; 12 north walls; 13 postern gate (blocked); 14 turret; 15 Dacre postern gate (open); 16 south curtain wall (inner ward); 17 re-entrant; 18 west curtain wall (inner ward); 19 inner gatehouse (Captain's Tower); 20 inner ditch; 21 half-moon battery; 22 breastwork; 23 inner bridge; 24 garderobe; 25 outer gatehouse (De Ireby's Tower); 26 outer bridge; 27 south curtain wall; 28 outer ditch; 29 city ditch; 30 exercise yard; 31 garrison cells; 32 Officers' Mess; 33 Ypres (barracks); 34 Gallipoli (canteen); 35 Gymnasium; 36 Arroyo (new armoury/barracks); 37 Arnhem (Master Gunner's house/hospital); 38 Alma

Fig 8 Carlisle castle (photo: Cambridge University Committee for Aerial Photography)

and an approach road, flanked by the Castle Green, leads to the bridge over the wide outer ditch and then towards De Ireby's Tower. To the east and west of the approach road are lengths of the walls which formerly linked the castle with the city.

De Ireby's Tower (see back cover) is the main point of access into the castle, although there are postern gates on the west curtain wall and near the south-east angle of the inner ward. De Ireby's Tower, which is also the outer gatehouse, opens into the outer ward, roughly quadrilateral in plan. This is entirely enclosed on three sides by the curtain wall, and on the fourth, the east, by the wall which separates it from the inner ward, and which links with the curtain walls at both ends. The outer ward consists of a large parade ground covered in tarmac, with ranges of buildings on its northern, southern, and western sides. These buildings are all post-medieval or early modern in date, and are used by English Heritage, the King's Own Border Regiment, Cumbria County Council and other voluntary organisations. The eastern side of the Parade Ground is defined by a deep inner ditch revetted on its eastern side by a stone wall and the half-moon battery.

This ditch and battery form an outer defence for the inner ward, access to which is obtained over a bridge close to the south curtain wall. The inner ward is defended by a thick wall pierced by a square inner gatehouse known as the Captain's Tower. The inner ward is roughly triangular in shape and contains the keep in the south-west corner. In addition, three buildings lie close to the north-eastern side and the remains of Queen Mary's Tower and the Elizabethan range can be seen in the south-east corner and on the southern side respectively.

Outside the castle to the north, east, and west there are no visible traces of outworks, although the Hungarian land-surveyor Stefan von Haschenperg is known to have built additional defences to the east in the reign of Henry VIII. A footpath known as Devonshire Walk encircles the castle immediately adjacent to the curtain wall. Most of the land around the castle is today occupied by Bitts Park except on the western side where a car park lies next to the railway line.

The earliest castle

There is no archaeological evidence for the form, or indeed the precise location, of the earliest castle. William II established a stronghold here in 1092 but no sources refer to it again until the visit by Henry I in 1122. The assumption amongst modern scholars, also followed here, is that the earliest features of the present castle belong to the twelfth century. William II, unlike his father and younger brother, is not known to have been a prolific builder of castles, and the problem therefore remains as to where the castle of William Rufus stood and what form it took.

The simplest assumption is that William's castle was located on the same spot as the later stone castle and that it was made of earth and timber. Such a castle would have the advantage of good natural defences as well as being relatively quick and easy to erect in hostile territory, but whether it took the form of a motte and bailey or some other form can only be decided archaeologically. In this context two factors merit further consideration.

First, the outer ditch east of the outer gatehouse (De Ireby's Tower) describes a shallow arc following the line of the curtain wall. To the west of the gatehouse the ditch is straight and not as wide. This variation in its alignment may be the product of two separate phases of construction. Second, the berm east of the outer gatehouse rises to a significant degree towards the re-entrant angle of the inner ward curtain wall. No such rise in ground level is apparent to the west of the bridge and gatehouse. Although other explanations are possible, these features may give clues as to the location of William II's earth and timber stronghold. According to this suggestion (Fig 32, p 28) a massive semicircular ditch and rampart could at this date have enclosed the area now defined as the inner ward. The position of the ditch is reflected in the course of the present outer ditch east of the bridge, as well as in what is now known as the inner ditch. The rise in ground level on the berm of the outer ditch could be explained as the truncated remains of an earthwork rampart or motte which was superceded when the castle was built in stone. The relationship between the late eleventh century turf and timber castle and the twelfth century stone castle is discussed in the section dealing with the curtain walls (p 26–8).

3 The defences

Introduction

The defences of Carlisle castle consist of an unbroken curtain wall enclosing an area of 1.62 hectares (4 acres). On the southern side there is a very wide and deep ditch, which initially cut off the promontory on which the castle stands. In the twelfth century the castle was linked with the city as a single defensive unit. Between the city walls lay the city ditch which is no longer visible. A series of boundary stones to the north of the ditch marked the division between the city and the castle until earlier in the present century.

Other defensive works in the castle area are known to have existed. In the sixteenth century outworks designed by Haschenperg were built against the north curtain wall into the area now known as Bitts Park (Figs 9–10 and 126; p 181). In 1989 trenches to accommodate floodlighting cables were cut on the bank outside the north curtain wall. Masonry was observed in two places, to the north between the two northern buttresses, and to the south immediately east of Queen Mary's Tower. Large blocks of red sandstone set in a thick clay matrix were uncovered. No other features were noted and nothing was discovered to shed light on the purpose of the masonry. In view of the presence of sixteenth-century outworks in this area, however, it is possible that the stonework represents the northern and southern 'bulwarks' of the Haschenperg defences. In 1856 excavations for sewers at the junction of the Bitts embankment and Castle Walk led to the discovery of masonry between 0.83 and 0.91 m (2'9" and 3 feet) in thickness and up to 3m (10 feet) deep. The location and scale of this masonry also suggests that it may be part of the Haschenperg outworks.

Other outworks are attested. They include ditches outside Queen Mary's Tower and beyond the west curtain wall and are referred to in documents dated to 1385 (p 150).

Access to the castle in the early twelfth century was through a gate, later known as Queen Mary's Tower, located in the south-east corner, and giving directly on to the inner ward. This was soon discontinued and a new gatehouse built when the castle and city walls were linked together in the mid twelfth century. This is now known as the Outer Gatehouse or de Ireby's Tower. Access between the two wards was obtained through the inner gatehouse, also known as the Captain's Tower.

In addition there were a number of simple postern gates. One at the base of Queen Mary's Tower is known as the Dacre postern. There is another in the west curtain wall by the castle mill, and one in the north curtain, although this is barely visible today. Nineteenth-century paintings show a small gate apparently cutting through the blocked twelfth-century entrance in the south-east corner, and the blocked remains of another is still visible. A postern gate can be seen in the 'dog-leg' in the north city walls.

The outer bridge and the outer ditch

The outer bridge

The bridge is largely constructed out of red St Bees sandstone, although some blocks of the grey Kirklinton stone can be seen. The bridge soffit is built of handmade brick which springs from six courses of sandstone on either side. The quality and coursing of the bridge stonework is extremely variable especially on the north-eastern face.

The inner or northern abutment is 4.5m wide at the base of the ditch. Its north-eastern face has a complex structural history. The lowest section of masonry, 3m in length and 1.9m high from the bottom of the ditch projects to the east a distance of *c* 0.23m. It consists of two areas of stonework. One is in relatively small coursed blocks and the other, which forms part of the quoin of the abutment, is in much larger blocks. Two structural phases can be postulated on the basis of the varying sizes of stone. The remaining stonework below road and parapet level is largely uncoursed, extremely variable in size and displays a certain amount of battering where some of the stone has been cut back; this can be seen up to about a metre below the top of the parapet. It is unclear how many structural periods are represented here, but there could be more than one. The parapet and stonework immediately above the vault is relatively uncomplicated. There are two holes cut into the sandstone. One is diamond shaped and very shallow, whilst the other is sub-rectangular and *c* 0.15m deep. There is no evidence for the function of the holes, but it may be supposed that they originally functioned either in connection with the bridge lifting gear or with a water pump attested here in the early nineteenth century.

The south-west face of the inner abutment is quite different in character. Although two offsets can be seen, the lower almost at the level of the base of the ditch and the upper one chamfered, the structure of relatively large red St Bees sandstone blocks could be of one build below road and parapet level. The slight skewing of the lower offset could suggest another structural phase. There are two hinges set 0.55m north of the bridge quoins, reflecting the former presence of a gate.

The outer abutment is marginally narrower than the inner one and does not lie squarely opposite it. It also presents a different appearance. On the north-east face up to four horizontal offsets can be seen, but not all continue as far as the bridge vault. The lower stones are large and, so far as can be seen, they are regularly coursed. They project up to 0.3m in front of the parapet wall above. The stonework in the centre of the wall contains many thinner stones except at the quoins of the bridge passage where they are larger. Some of the offsets almost certainly reflect different structural phases.

On the south-western face of the outer abutment there is some variation in the size of the blocks. Some of the stonework is in small almost square blocks which are fairly evenly coursed, but the rest is larger. There are two offsets, as is the case with the inner abutment, and the walling above the offsets is slightly skewed.

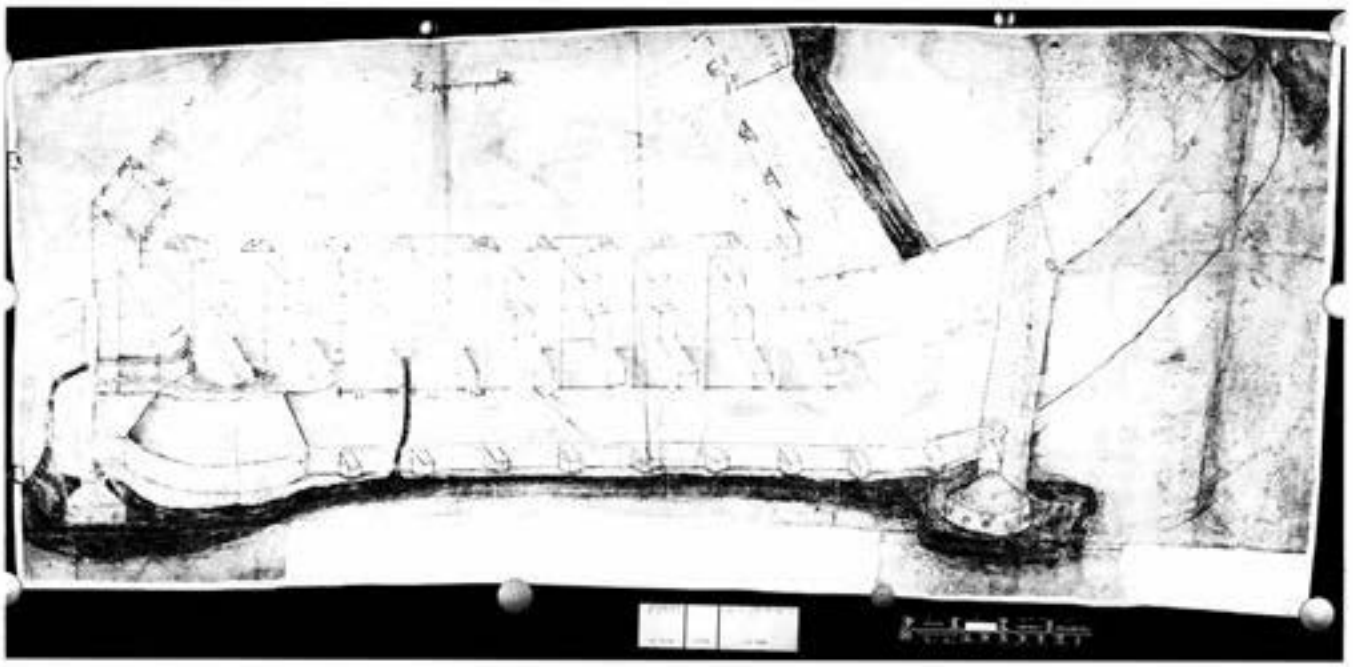

Fig 9 Drawing of the outworks against the north-east curtain wall by Stephan von Haschenperg c 1542 (photo: British Library)

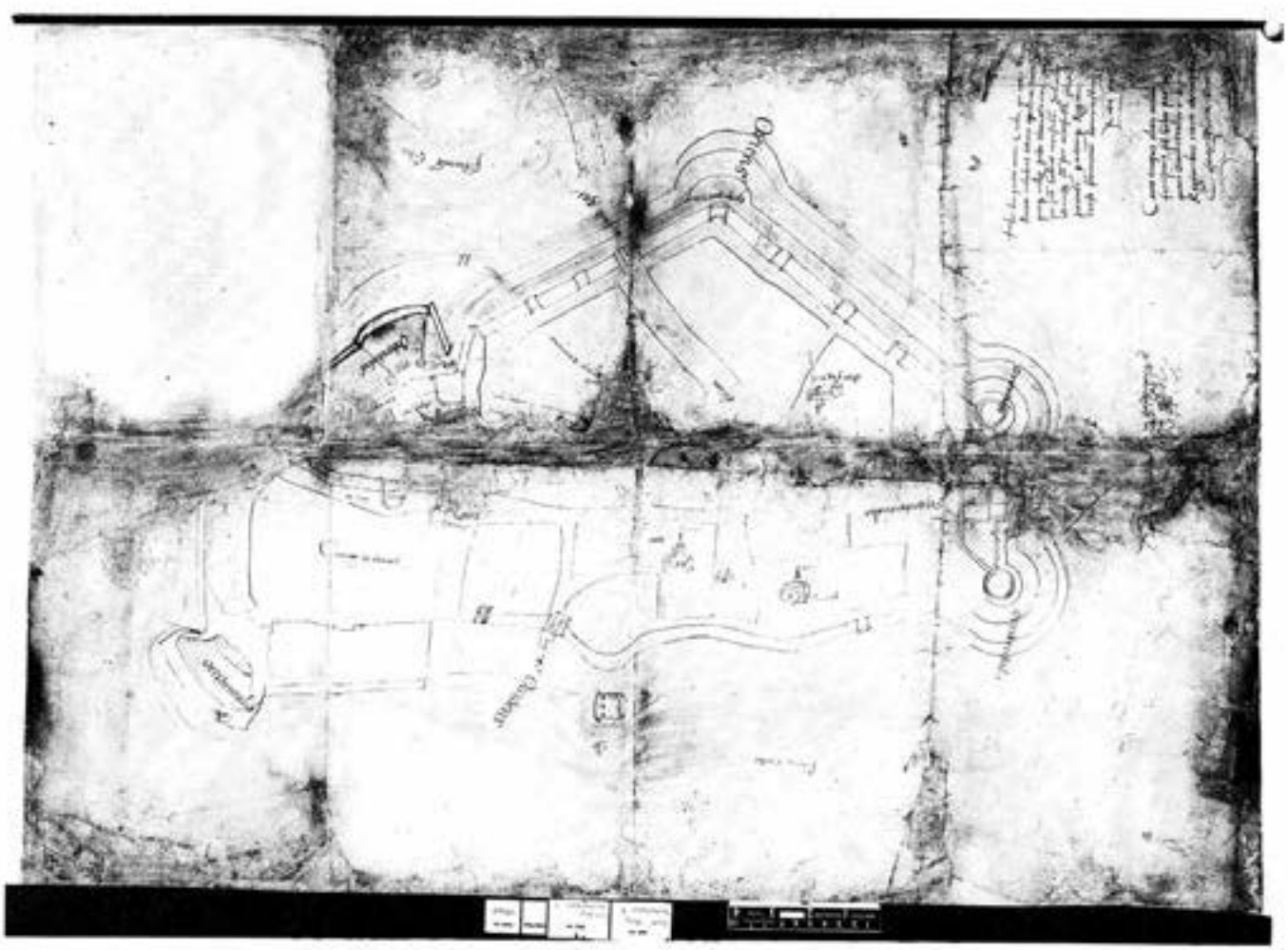

Fig 10 Drawing of the city and castle of Carlisle by Stephan von Haschenperg c 1542 (photo: British Library)

The bridge passage is a little under 3m wide and has walls uniformly built of large red sandstone blocks with a distinctive pecked tooling. They are quite unlike the external faces of the two abutments to which they are butt-jointed.

The masonry immediately above the vault on both the north-east and south-west sides is not the same as that at the walling at parapet level, although it is built of the same red St Bees sandstone. It has a distinctly fresher appearance and appears therefore to be later in date. A clear patch of replacement sandstone with distinctive tooling can be seen in the centre of the parapet on the north-east face. It abuts stonework which is much more varied in size and in the coursing at either end of the bridge. The parapet on the south-western face also shows extensive signs of stone replacement in a distinctively tooled sandstone at parapet level over the bridge. The coping stones bear many graffiti of the 1840s and later, some by members of the 40th Regiment.

The outer ditch

There is some variation in the course of the ditch on either side of the bridge (Figs 7 and 8, pp 10–11). On the north-east side a narrow berm, rarely more than 2m wide, separates the ditch from the curtain wall. The ground level of the berm rises to a very marked extent between the bridge and the re-entrant angle of the curtain wall. The ditch in this sector takes the form of a deep and wide U-shape and follows the line of the curtain wall in an arc.

South-west of the bridge the berm is equally narrow and almost disappears at the south-west end. The ditch follows an almost straight course. It has a wide U-shape and is 2.8m deep below the level of the castle gardens. At the bottom of the ditch there is a stone-lined drain, of which one capstone is visible against the west city wall. The ditch terminates abruptly against the city walls at both ends. There is no visible evidence for the ditch ever having continued beyond the walls.

In May 1989 narrow trenches were dug down the side of the outer side of the ditch prior to laying cables for floodlights. Although they were very narrow, observation of the trenches showed that the ditch was wider by two to three metres than appears today. No conclusions can be drawn from this, however, because there is no other archaeological evidence and very little from other sources about the history of the ditch.

Discussion

The extremely varied quality and coursing of the masonry in the bridge abutments, together with the offsets and the skewing apparent on the south-west face, show that the bridge has had a complex history. Despite the documented presence of a bridge over the outer ditch from the twelfth century (Table 1), there is little in the fabric to enable structural phases and their dates to be clearly defined.

The views by Hearne (Fig 11) and Clennel (Fig 12) are just two examples of several that exist depicting the bridge. Other views and maps add some additional detail but the contrast between these two is especially instructive. Hearne, in a view dated *c* 1778, illustrates the timber framing and bracing of the late eighteenth century drawbridge seen from the south-east, whilst Clennel shows the bridge in 1812, with a stone vault and walls viewed from the south-west. Although the bridge today has a vault turned in brick, there is little to distinguish the early nineteenth century structure from that which can now be seen. This must also be the date of the fresher looking sandstone on top of the vault below parapet level. The stonework of the parapet itself in the centre of the bridge appears even more recent in date, and could belong to the period when the soffit of the passage was rebuilt in brick, which, to judge from the evidence of the graffiti on the parapet must have taken place before the late 1840s. Much if not all the masonry below parapet wall and road level could be earlier than the eighteenth century. The north-east face of both abutments is especially complex and much of this resembles medieval work. The masonry which projects east slightly on the inner abutment is probably the earliest visible stonework. The variations which exist between the two abutments, as well as on both the north-east and south-west sides, suggest that much of the masonry represents repairs. Wholesale rebuilding, however, is implied by a statement in 1356 that a new 'outer bridge below the exchequer of the castle' was made (see Table 1). Later in the same century references occur to repairs and the purchase of ropes, presumably for the bridge lifting gear. It is possible that much of what is visible today is fourteenth century or even earlier in date, perhaps belonging to a late twelfth century bridge.

Hearne's illustration shows that by the eighteenth century the bridge was a form of drawbridge. However, it is clear from this engraving, together with the fact that the southern face of the inner abutment is over 12m from the barbican, that the bridge could not be

Table 1 Documentary references to the outer bridge in Periods 2–5

Date	*Source*	*References*
1185–6*	PR	the bridge of Carlisle Castle
1197–8	PR	the bridge between the castle and town
1240*	PR	repairs to the moat bridge
1257	PR	repairs to the bridges inside and out
1297–8*	PRO *E372/147*	three bridges renewed
1308	PRO *E372/153*	repairs to bridge outside outer gate
1335	PRO *C145/134*	all bridges in need of repair
1356	PRO *E101/554/17*	outer bridge remade below the 'Cheker'
1367–8	PRO *E101/554/18*	newly made outer and inner bridges
1369–70	PRO *E101/554/19*	repair of thick iron chain for outer drawbridge
1385*	PRO *E101/40/6*	repair of bridges of inner and outer baileys, and ropes for raising bridges
1595–1602	PRO *E101/545/16*	repairs to great outer bridge
1597	PRO *LR 9/83*	making great drawbridge without castle gates
1633	PRO *SP16/534*	there are no drawbridges
1661	PRO *WO 55/1696*	outer drawbridge in need of repair
1745	PRO *WO 71/19*	outer drawbridge useless
1745	Mounsey, 1846	the 'drawbridge is of no sort of use'

Asterisked references may refer to other bridges

Fig 11 The outer wooden bridge and outer gatehouse by Thomas Hearne c 1777 (photo: Cumbria County Library)

raised either from the barbican or from the gatehouse. Hearne shows a simple wooden frame, braced at the top corners, against which the bridge rested when in the raised position. The kind of mechanism used for raising the bridge is not known and it is possible that the bridge was left more or less permanently lowered especially in times of peace and neglect. Indeed, if this were the case planks laid between the two abutments may have taken the place of a proper lifting bridge.

The curtain walls

Introduction

The curtain walls effectively describe two lines of defence (Figs 7–8). To the eastern side of the castle lies the inner ward, massively defended by very thick walls, supported by huge buttresses on the north-east side, as well as by the inner ditch and the half moon battery on the west and the outer ditch on the southern side. The curtain wall of the outer ward is linked to that of the inner ward at its north-west and south-west corners. A smooth junction was achieved on the north-east side, but on the southern side the south curtain wall of the outer ward does not meet squarely with the inner ward curtain wall. Instead a re-entrant angle is formed and provides a clear line of fire from the south-west corner of the inner ward along the face of the south curtain wall towards the gatehouse.

The inner ward

The west curtain wall facing the outer ward (Fig 14) is dominated by the square projecting inner gatehouse. The wall on both sides of the gatehouse is constructed in red St Bees sandstone with significant areas of grey Kirklinton stone visible in places.

Both sections of curtain wall rise from a grassed bank; south of the gatehouse this is approximately 1.5m high above modern pavement level, while to the north it rises to nearly 2m high. The wall to the north of the gatehouse consists of three main elements. At the northern end is a short length of wall rising vertically from the top of the bank in a series of nine, narrow, stepped offsets, and an upper chamfered offset. At the north end of this sector there is a narrow pilaster buttress which is integral with the wall. This section is essentially of one build and represents the

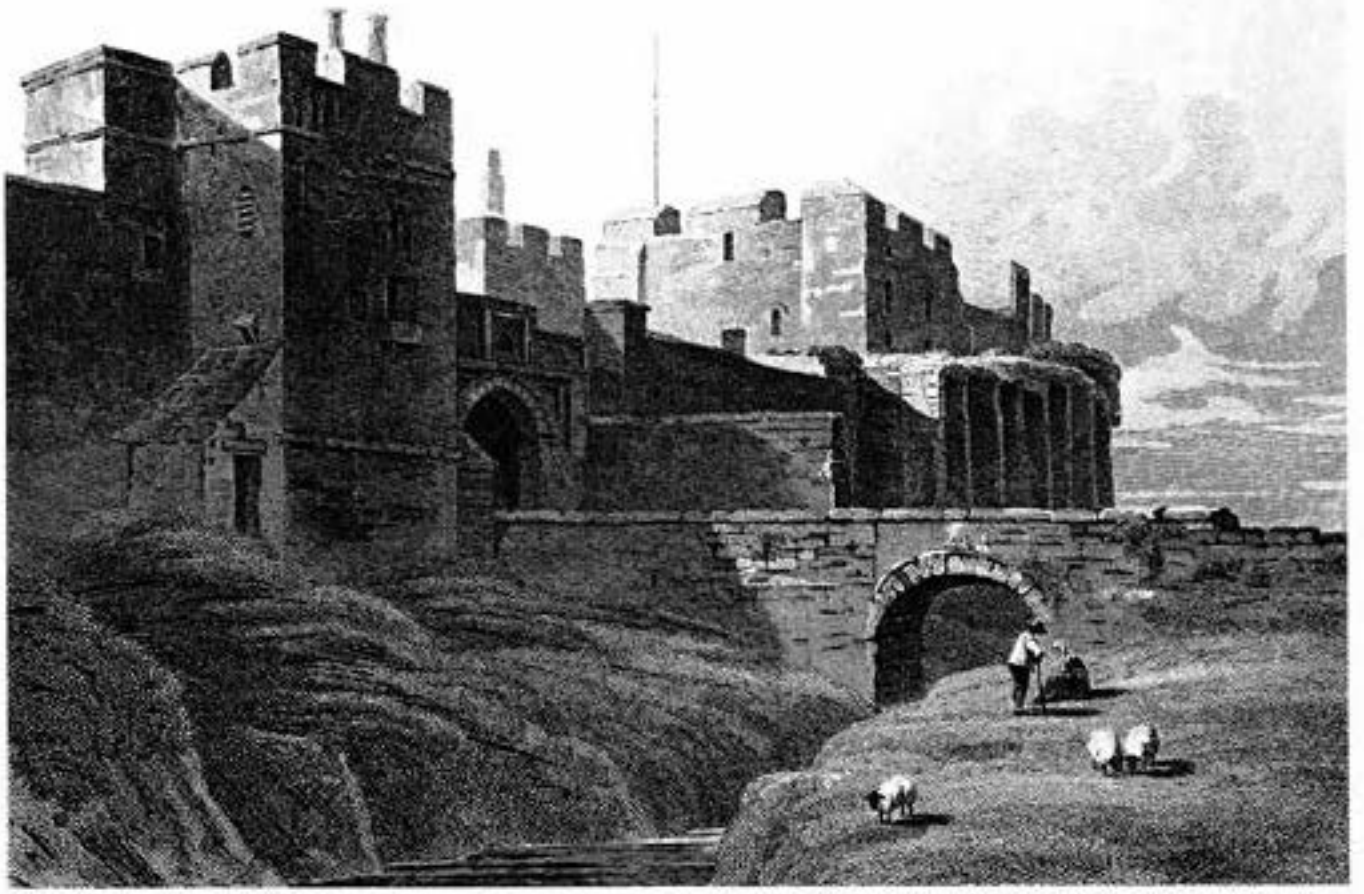

Fig 12 The outer stone bridge and outer gatehouse by Luke Clennel (photo: Cumbria County Library)

Fig 13 The outer bridge showing the east elevation (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Fig 14 The inner gatehouse and half-moon battery (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Fig 15 The inner ward curtain wall (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

original face of the inner ward curtain wall. It differs from the rest of the wall, as far south as the inner gatehouse, in that the latter is marked by a substantial batter containing blocks of stone of varying size and sometimes irregular coursing. Some of this stone is almost certainly re-used. The lowest part of the batter is very irregular in appearance and projects a distance of 0.4m in front of the original wall at the point of junction; it clearly represents an addition to the original wall face. The building of the battered face entailed the reconstruction of two narrow pilaster buttresses, and cut across a relieving arch, the top of which can be seen near the gatehouse. The upper section of this wall is vertical and probably represents the original wall face.

The wall south of the gatehouse (Fig 15) also has a battered face, but this differs from the wall to the north. The batter is located above a vertical section and below the parapet from which it is separated in both cases by chamfered offsets. The battered section is very regular in appearance with long blocks of evenly bedded sandstone. In contrast to the section of walling north of the gatehouse which contains re-used stone, the battered face to the south shows no signs of re-used masonry. The battered face to the south is separated from the top of the wall and the lower section by chamfered offsets. The lower part of the batter is almost vertical and consists of shorter and narrower blocks of unevenly bedded, wide jointed sandstone. The southern length has two chamfered offsets, features which do not otherwise occur on the inner ward curtain, but it is unclear whether these differences have a chronological importance or whether they merely reflect different working gangs.

The southern sector also contains an evenly coursed vertical face rising from the uppermost offset to the top of the parapet. There are no buttresses in this section of walling except at the south-west corner where a clasping buttress can be seen rising from a series of chamfered offsets (see Fig 18).

The wall walk is 5.8m wide in the northern section and just 2m wide in the southern. It is carried round the back of the inner gatehouse on a substantial arch which is attached to the gatehouse. The wall walk in the southern section has a wall of uncoursed sandstone along its inner edge. This rests on an earth bank which fills the space between the keep and the defences.

To the north of the gate passage there are four casemates below the wall walk. Relieving arches of red sandstone, coupled with four-centred arched entrances, can be seen in three of the casemates (Fig 16). The casemate at the northern end has a relieving arch, but the original entrance has been destroyed and blocked up with re-used red sandstone. The north jamb has been entirely removed and replaced by a square-headed door. The jambs of the replacement door are partly face-bedded. The masonry above the arches has no specific characteristics except in so far as the stonework includes both grey and red sandstone in varying sizes. Much of it is probably re-used.

The arches of the other three casemates are chamfered both internally and externally and have been cut by holes for wooden walls and doors. The casemates are vaulted in sandstone and brick and contain many signs of internal fittings, including shelving as well as the crease for a pitched roof in the west wall of the southern casemate. The internal walls of the casemates are varied in appearance. The southernmost casemate, for

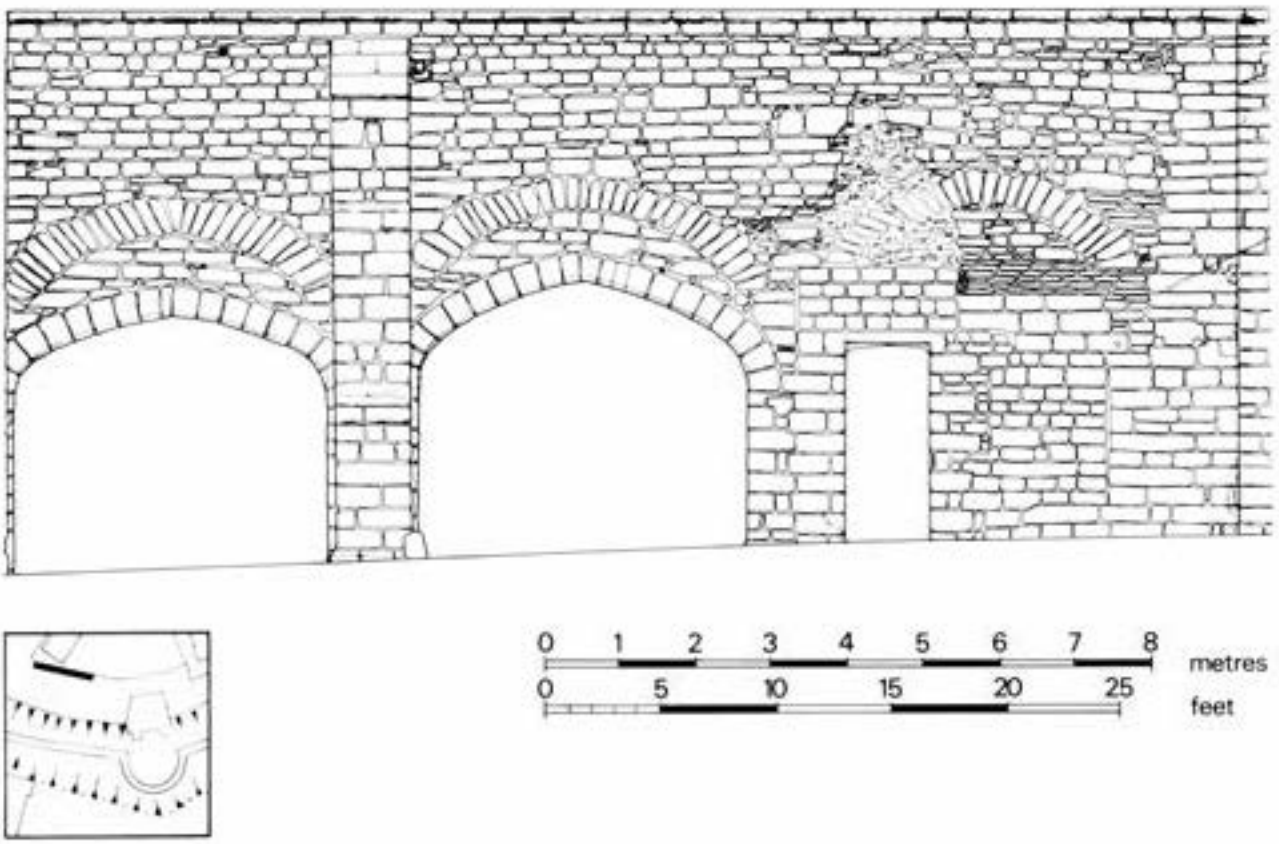

Fig 16 The three northern casemates in the west curtain wall between the inner and the outer wards

example, has side walls of long regularly laid St Bees sandstone, but the west wall contains much very small uncoursed masonry. The other casemates have masonry which is less regular in the side walls, and many signs of repairs suggesting repeated use and modification. Between the casemates, buttresses with chamfered and moulded offsets rise in three stages. At the southern end the north-east room of the first floor in the gatehouse (room 5), is carried outwards on a series of projecting corbels as is shown in Figure 58. Beyond the northern casemate, the curtain wall is cut by the roof-crease as well as a number of holes for the roof and ceiling of a 'lean-to' (Fig 16); this may have been for privies erected in the nineteenth century (p 236).

The internal face of the parapet is plain along its entire length. In the southern sector the masonry is not always even, and it may have been reconstructed in places. The top of the parapet slopes down externally and is covered with grass.

Access to the curtain wall is obtained by way of a stepped ramp (Fig 17) set against the north face of the keep. The wall of the ramp has roof-creases and other features associated with the former fire-engine shed. There is a square-headed entry in the wall which eventually opens out inside the ground-floor passage of the keep through an earlier window embrasure. The purpose of this passage is uncertain.

The south curtain wall of the inner ward (Figs 18–19) is built of blocks of mixed grey and red sandstone darker and squarer in shape than those used in the length of outer ward curtain wall between the re-entrant angle and the outer gatehouse. The external face rises vertically from three contiguous chamfered offsets just above ground level. The offsets continue

Fig 17 The ramp from the inner ward to the wall-walk (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

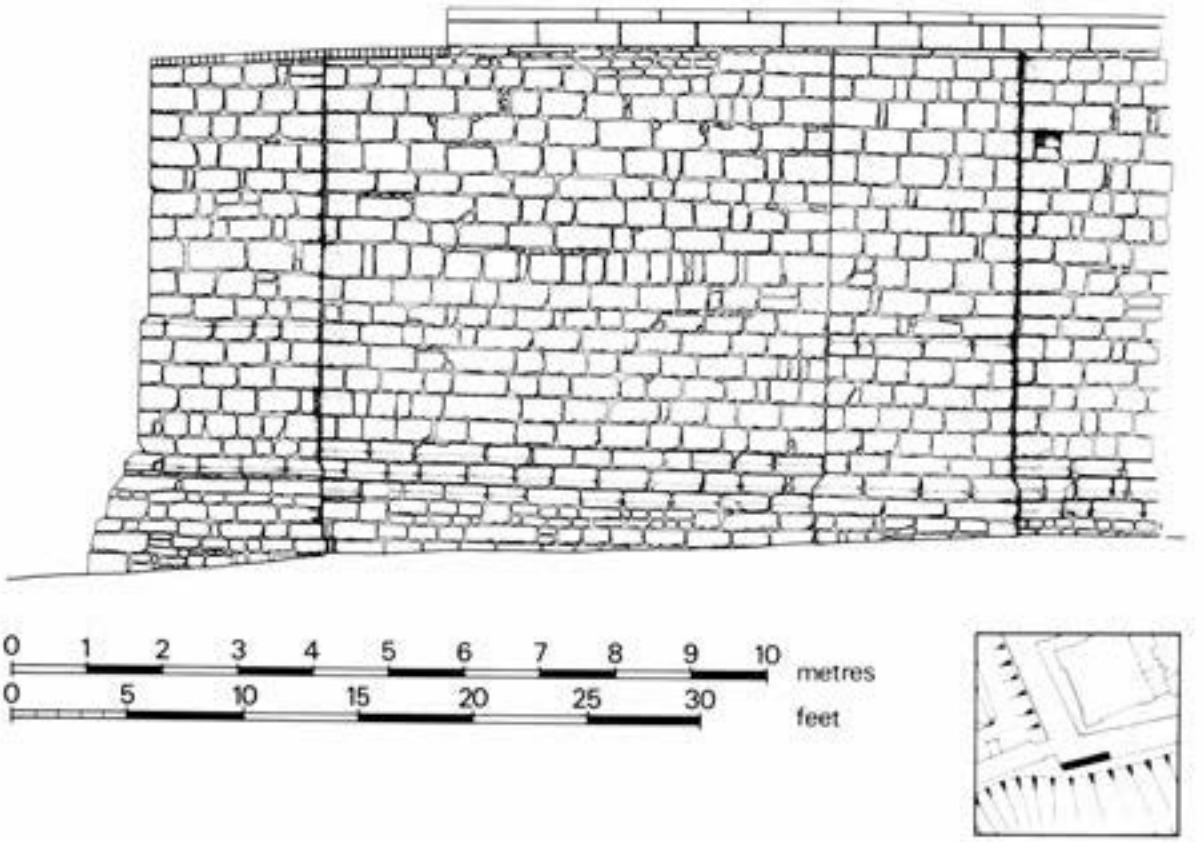

Fig 18 The curtain wall; elevation of the south wall of the inner ward and the corner of the re-entrant

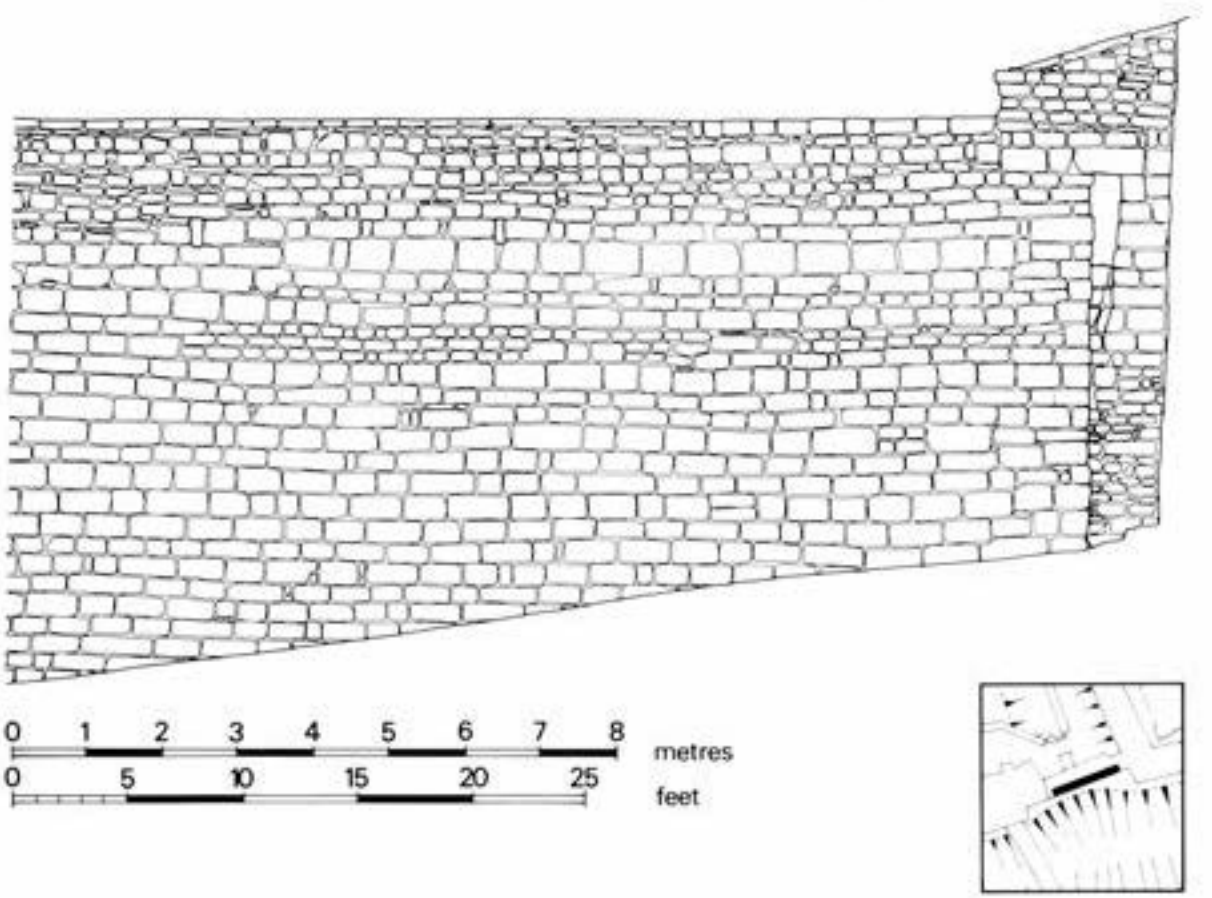

Fig 19 The south curtain wall between the outer gatehouse and the re-entrant

round the five broad pilaster buttresses and the clasping buttress at the re-entrant angle on the south-west corner. The buttresses are approximately 2.4m wide and project up to 0.45m from the wall face. They have two chamfered offsets; one above a battered face is close to modern ground level, and the other is about half way up. Between the buttresses and above the offsets, the wall rises vertically to parapet level and is featureless.

Beyond the eastern buttress the lowest 2.3m of walling has been thickened and an extra series of three chamfered offsets added. This walling has itself been interrupted by the insertion of the Dacre postern gate. Externally this simply appears as an opening 0.68m wide with a square head bearing a shield with the arms of the Dacres (Fig 20). The postern is cut through the wall, the inner face of which has a single chamfered offset overlying a broader plinth. The postern reveals are slightly splayed and are 1.3m wide. The passage is just under 2m in length after which there is a drop of 1.5m to the floor internally (Fig 21). There are no signs or scars of steps, but there must originally have been a ladder, if not stone steps, providing more convenient access. The curtain wall above the postern consists of more or less equal sized blocks of coursed red sandstone, but immediately to the east the stonework has been replaced with uncoursed stones of varied size.

The masonry of the south-east corner (Fig 22) has been reconstructed and is easily differentiated from the rest of the stonework by its fresh, bright orange-red appearance, and the regularity of the stone sizes and jointing. The stonework here has been face-bedded in places and this has resulted in a flaked surface.

The outer face of the north-east curtain beyond the corner is dominated by seven enormous projecting buttresses (Fig 23) rising between three and five stages. The buttresses are constructed from two types of masonry which is an indicator of different construction periods. The stonework adjacent to the curtain wall is a weathered red sandstone, whilst the quoins and lowest stage is in a darker red, unweathered, tightly jointed sandstone.

Fig 20 The Dacre arms on the postern gate in the south curtain wall (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Between the buttresses the masonry is varied in appearance. At ground level there are two chamfered offsets, whilst between the southernmost two buttresses two broad pilaster buttresses which are also chamfered can be seen (Fig 24). The character of these two buttresses and the offsets is very similar to those on the southern curtain wall with which they probably contemporary. Between the pilaster buttresses there is a blocked square-headed door rebated externally. Between the other very large buttresses several other pilaster buttresses, much narrower than those on the south curtain wall, can be seen. They appear to rise from the battered lower section of wall, but in reality are of quite different periods. Whereas the pilaster buttresses are narrow, and in heavily weathered sandstone, the battering is in a fresh tightly jointed masonry identical to that used as quoins on the large projecting buttresses. Between the remaining projecting buttresses the walling varies between older, weathered sandstone and fresher lighter coloured stone. The inner face of the curtain wall behind the existing buildings has been substantially reconstructed above the lowest courses. The upper section of walling contains five widely spaced crenels with external splays and sills sloping downwards.

The outer ward

The south curtain wall divides into two sectors split by the outer gatehouse. Between the gatehouse and the inner ward re-entrant the wall is mostly composed of rectangular red sandstone blocks (Fig 19, p 19). It is quite different in appearance to the south curtain wall of the inner ward in colour, uniformly light red, and the stonework is slightly larger and longer. These characteristics, together with the absence of offset courses and buttresses, suggests that it belongs to a different period of construction.

At the west end of this sector the curtain and the gatehouse walls are of one build to first floor level. Above this the gatehouse wall is set back behind the wall walk. A blocked window can be seen at ground floor level, and a plain square-headed opening can be seen at the first floor.

At the eastern end, the junction of the south curtain wall with the inner ward west curtain is more complicated. At this point the south curtain wall is set back *c* 0.25m over a distance of about 1m. The lower part of this short stretch is built of mixed grey and red sandstone, but the upper part has probably been rebuilt. At parapet level a chute pierces the wall which has reconstructed masonry above it.

The inner face of the south curtain wall at the point of junction with the inner west curtain is battered (Figs 15, p 17, and 25), and constructed in masonry which differs from that on either side. This short section lacks a wall walk and would originally have been bridged by planks. The rest of the inner face between the inner

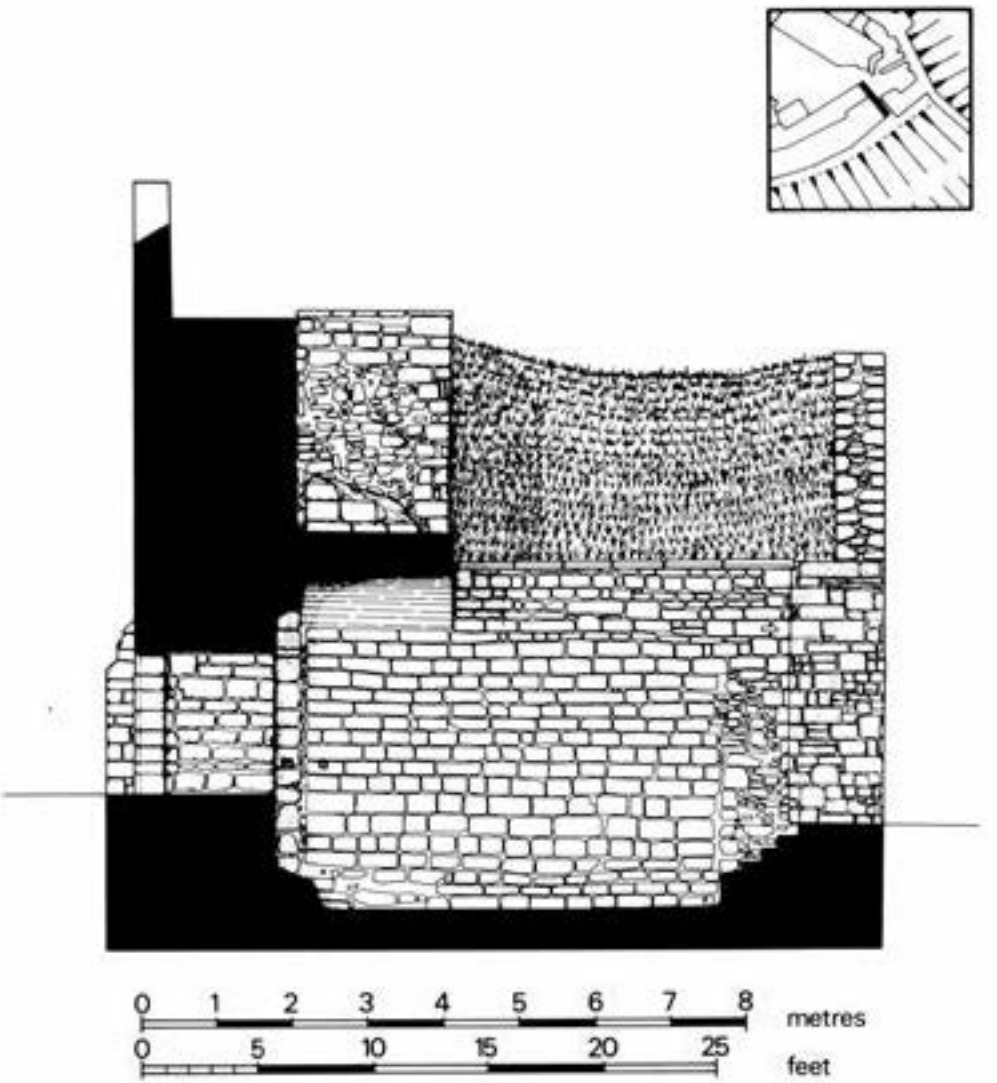

Fig 21 The curtain wall; north-south section through the inner ward curtain wall and the Dacre postern gate passage

Fig 22 The south-east corner of the inner ward curtain wall showing the reconstructed section of Queen Mary's Tower (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

ward and the gatehouse (Fig 26) is of multi-period construction. A square-headed door leading to an intra-mural chamber can be seen near the east end. Close by there are two projections with chamfered reveals; these are probably the responds for a structure connected with a bridge over the inner ditch which meets the outer ward curtain wall at right angles at this point. A large relieving arch can be seen at the base of the present ditch.

West of the gatehouse there is a continuous stretch of wall with much grey and some red sandstone similar in size and colour to that of the south curtain wall of the inner ward. There are seven pilaster buttresses *c* 1.85m wide (Fig 27). They rise from, and are integral with, the battered lower section. The most westerly sector shows clear signs of rebuilding in a uniform red sandstone. This length of rebuilt walling is separated from the rest of the south curtain by a larger buttress of later medieval type with a chamfered offset half way up. Within this sector fragments of the earlier wall can be seen at the point where it joins the city wall.

The internal face of this sector of walling is obscured by the garrison cells and other recent buildings. At the west end it can be seen to have a batter with a rolled string course at the top and a squared plinth at ground level.

The internal face of the south-west corner contains many traces of modern reconstruction but fragments of

Fig 23 The north-east curtain showing the buttresses (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

earlier walling survive at the rear of the later medieval buttress; these include a section of wall built into the wine store of the Officers' Mess. This is probably part of the south-west battery which was partly demolished to make way for the new barrack store in 1826, and later converted into a Master Gunner's house and store; the site was rebuilt as the Officers' Mess in 1876 (Fig 65, p 70).

The west curtain wall is a long section which terminates on the south at the point where the city wall joins the south-west corner of the castle. An angled projecting bastion at the north-west corner marks the north end. In between, the walling divides into several distinct sectors and contains a postern gate and a tower.

At the southern end (Fig 28) there is a sector 32m in length constructed from long, red sandstone blocks, containing five deep, substantial buttresses rising from a deep batter. These rise in three stages, the lower two of which have a chamfered top. This section of walling projects 1.5m in front of the city walls and 0.7m in front of the next section to the north. It has a chamfered offset at the top of the batter which continues round the buttresses. A chute, possibly part of a garderobe, can be seen in the southernmost buttress (see Fig 28). A vertical break in the masonry at one point suggests work by different gangs of labourers. The inner face is mostly obscured by the Officers' Mess (Fig 117, p 115), but in the angle of the two curtain walls the visible large blocks of stone seem characteristic of nineteenth-century work.

As already noted, the southern sector of curtain walling projects slightly forward of the next sector. This consists in the main of smaller, grey Kirklinton sandstone blocks with two broad pilaster buttresses 1.75m wide. They rise from the top of a batter which has a chamfered offset. Between this section and the postern gate there is an area of recent reconstruction, which differs from the rest of the wall in being battered outwards from just below parapet level. This is evenly coursed and tightly jointed but is constructed out of re-used blocks of grey and red sandstone. It is based on a plinth with a chamfered upper course. The inner face of the wall is plain and largely consists of squarish grey sandstone blocks evenly coursed as far as the northern side of the postern gate. Despite the former presence of ablutions and a cook-house, which abutted the wall behind Ypres and Gallipoli blocks, there are very few traces to be seen. The occasional slots, pipe-grooves, and a roof-crease are not sufficient to enable the nature and size of the buildings which lay here to be determined.

The postern gate (Fig 29) is constructed from red sandstone and shows clear signs of having been cut through the earlier, grey sandstone wall. A relieving arch lies immediately over the plain square-headed lintel. The opening is 1.2m wide and is reached today from outside by wooden steps. There is no evidence for the original means of access to the door. The door reveals are plain internally and 1.57m deep. The threshold is 1.6m below present internal ground level. There is evidence of two sets of doors, the inner one hinged on the inner face of the wall from which it would have stood proud as there is no rebate. The adjacent earlier walling on the outer face is plain and rises from a battered plinth which has a chamfered offset at the top and which rests on an offset, below which four courses of walling are exposed.

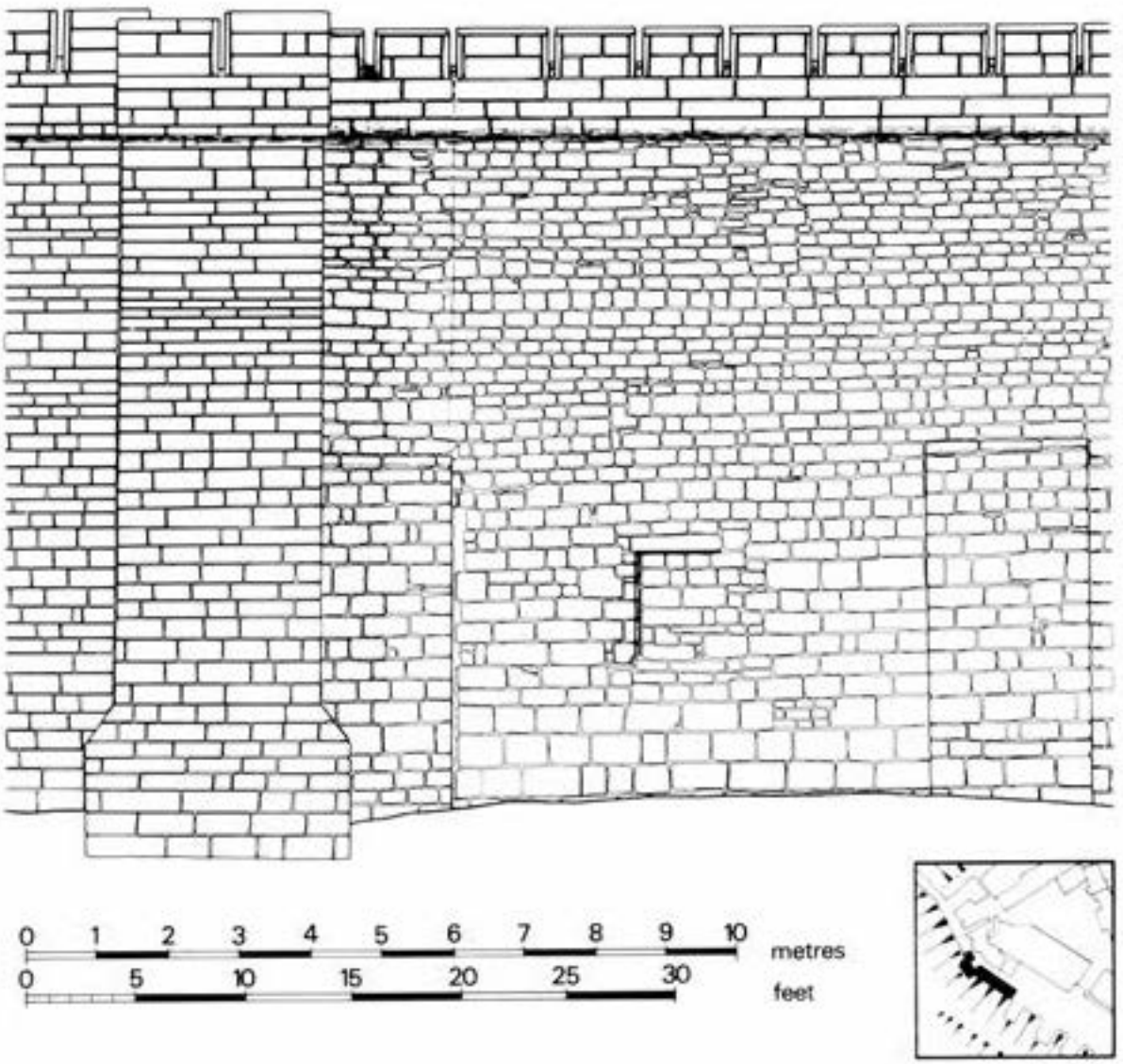

Fig 24 The north-east curtain wall between the two southernmost buttresses showing twelfth century pilaster buttresses, a blocked postern gate, and the junction with Queen Mary's Tower (left)

A tower projects up to 3.3m from the wall face a short distance north of the postern gate. This bears clear traces of multi-period construction. The two side walls are built of relatively square blocks but the three angled faces are slightly battered with varying numbers of chamfered offset courses, perhaps indicating different constructional periods, but above this the wall is of one build. This is built out of blocks of red sandstone 0.9 to 1.1m in length. The angled faces have suffered the effects of weathering especially as some of the stones are face-bedded.

There are single loops on the north and south faces of the tower, and a chute and drain with diamond broaching on the north. The loops are splayed internally and appear with plain squared internal arches 0.56m wide and 0.4m wide. The drain passes through the wall and can be seen inside. At parapet level there are single crenels with external splays to north and south, and two on the west face.

The door into the tower from the inner face has a depressed arch with a keystone. The quoins are plain, but the reveals are very slightly splayed internally and rebated for the door which does not survive.

Internally the tower's south wall shows signs of reconstruction from ground to ceiling level, but the other two sides are probably of one build. The west wall has three rough offsets low down and four notches, which may possibly be putlog holes, high up. There is no evidence for joist sockets. The ceiling is vaulted in pitched sandstone below a pitched roof; this has been lowered in recent times, and is now well below wall walk level.

Two sectors of walling can be seen north of the tower. Nearest to it is a stretch of mixed badly weathered grey and red sandstone, with three pilaster buttresses 2.3m wide rising from a battered lower section. The batter rests on a broader plinth which is just visible at the north end. The batter has a single cham-

Fig 25 The junction of the south curtain wall with the inner ward west curtain (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Fig 26 The south curtain wall over the inner bridge (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

fered offset course. This part of the wall is very similar in appearance to the area of largely grey Kirklinton stone walling to the south of the tower.

The second sector is a recent reconstruction which is battered outwards from just below parapet level. This is also very similar in appearance to the wall immediately south of the postern gate, and has a fresh unweathered appearance with large regularly coursed and tightly jointed sandstone blocks. The inner face of this wall is plain and consists of mixed grey and red sandstone blocks smaller than those that can be seen south of the postern.

The north-west corner is marked by an angled bastion (Fig 30) constructed in red sandstone, and is featureless apart from chamfered offsets of which there are several on the external face. The parapet wall is made of brick capped with a sandstone coping bearing graffiti. There is only one crenel.

On the inner face there is a fragment of red sandstone wall oriented east-west, supported by a buttress rising in three stages. The foundations of this wall, which abuts the curtain wall, were found to continue eastwards when the adjacent building, the Gymnasium, was reconstructed in 1989. The bastion has three inner faces which are completely plain except for blocked joist holes. The lowest seven courses on the south side are mostly in grey sandstone and appear to be largely earlier than the red sandstone above. Similar indicators of rebuilding can be seen in the other two sides of the bastion as well as the adjacent stretch of north curtain wall.

The north curtain wall from the north-west bastion to the junction with the inner ward, is relatively plain on its external face. Some parts show clear signs of reconstruction in that the stone is fresher in appearance. Much of the north curtain wall is of one build containing squarish blocks of red sandstone, evenly and neatly coursed. At the base this wall is battered with a chamfered offset at the top. A buttress 3.9m wide can be seen at one point (Fig 30), whilst at parapet level a small turret has been corbelled out (Fig 31). At one point the wall has been cut through by a narrow postern gate which can just be seen at ground level. The gate has a small square-headed door with a chamfer on the lintel and quoins. To the east of this sector is a section of replaced mainly face-bedded, and thus partly weathered, masonry battered outwards from parapet level.

Beyond this, towards the junction with the inner ward curtain wall, there are two further lengths of wall. The first consists of red sandstone blocks of varied size, but predominantly squarish. The masonry is coursed but the presence of smaller and longer stones than the average creates the impression of uncoursed masonry. No offsets or battered sections are apparent.

The wall linking this sector with the inner ward is quite different and is set up to 0.6m further back. The stones are of varying size and are a mixture of red and grey sandstones. It is based on a battered base containing seven stepped offsets.

The inner face is almost wholly obscured but includes a number of repairs, some apparent from the breaks in coursing and others in handmade brick. The junction of the inner and outer ward walls is marked by a substantial batter from wall walk level, thus preventing would-be assailants from passing between the Wards at parapet level. A similar feature occurs further

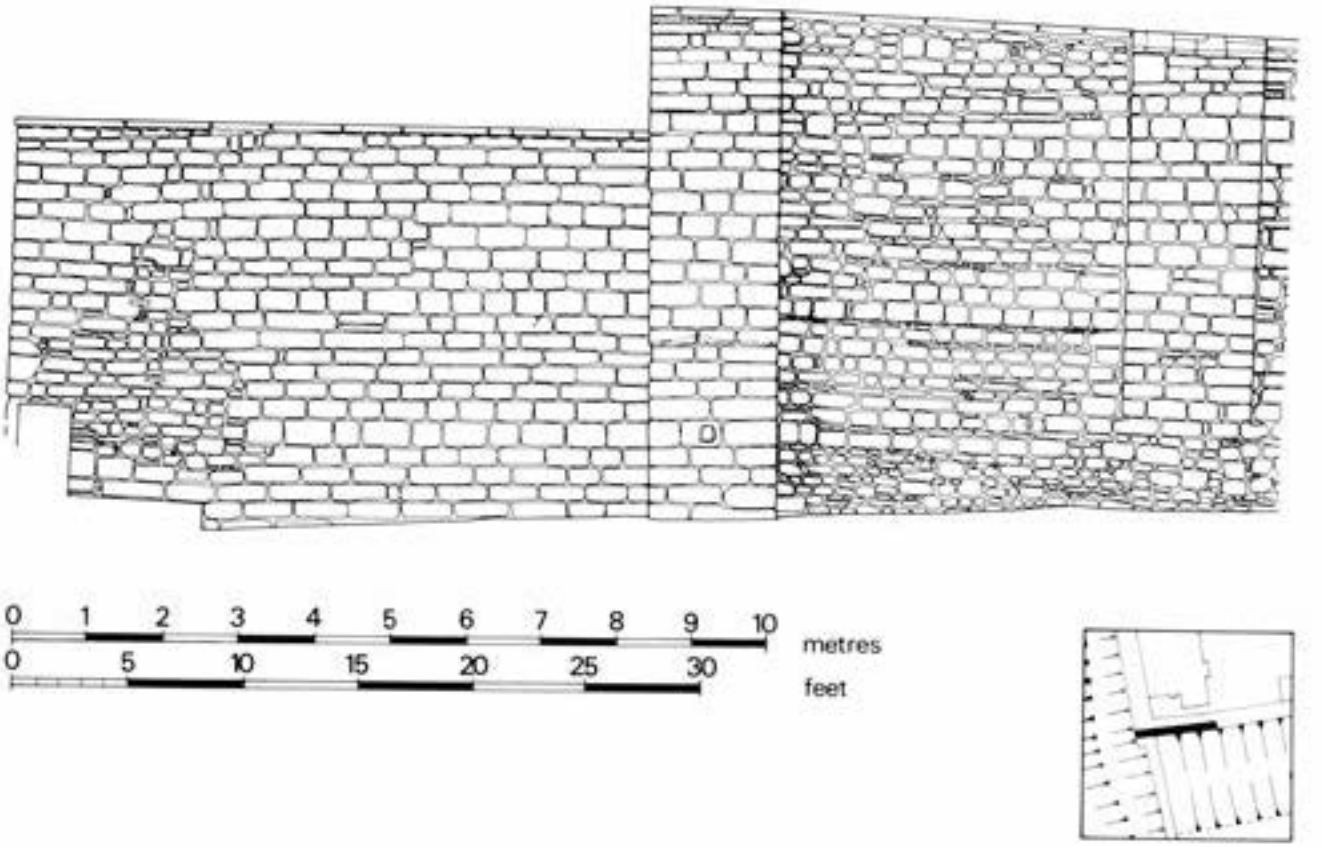

Fig 27 The south curtain wall of the outer ward at the south-west corner

Fig 28 The west curtain wall at the south-west corner; this may be part of the wall documented in 1318–21 (photo: Institute Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York)

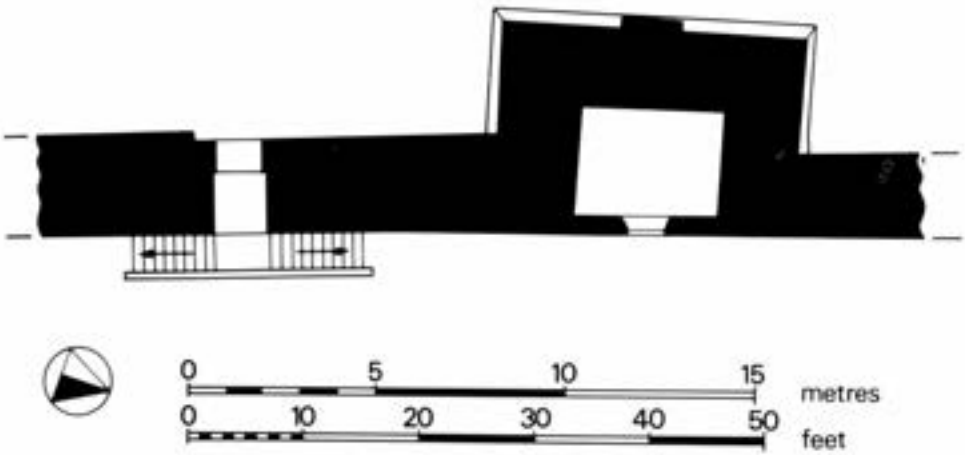

Fig 29 The tower and postern gate on the west curtain wall

Fig 30 The north-west bastion (photo: Institute Advanced Architectural Studies, University of York)

west on the north curtain. The parapet wall shows many signs of reconstruction in both stone and hand-made brick.

The inner face of the wall behind Arnhem block is partly concealed by a skin of bricks, a relic of buildings which may be associated with either the Master Gunner's house or the nineteenth-century hospital, both of which abutted the curtain. These features include a semi-circular headed alcove, a small recess and a roof crease. Between Arnhem and Alma blocks, the internal face has a number of partly bricked-up recesses, as well as a number of slots and other minor features which reflect nineteenth-century hospital stores.

Discussion

Period 1

There are no features which can be attributed to this period with any certainty. However, it is possible that the grassed bank, on which the west curtain wall of the inner ward stands, together with the rise in ground level at the re-entrant, is a remnant of an early earthen rampart. If this is not the case the bank is probably a sixteenth century addition (p 29).

Period 2

Many clear traces of the curtain walls for the twelfth century castle can be identified. The most obvious can be seen in the south curtain wall of the inner and outer wards, the north end and the uppermost courses of the inner ward west curtain, two lengths of the outer ward west curtain, and the city walls. The north-east curtain wall probably also contains traces of twelfth century work.

In most cases this early work is distinguished by offsets and pilaster buttresses, as well as much grey Kirklinton sandstone. There is a substantial length of

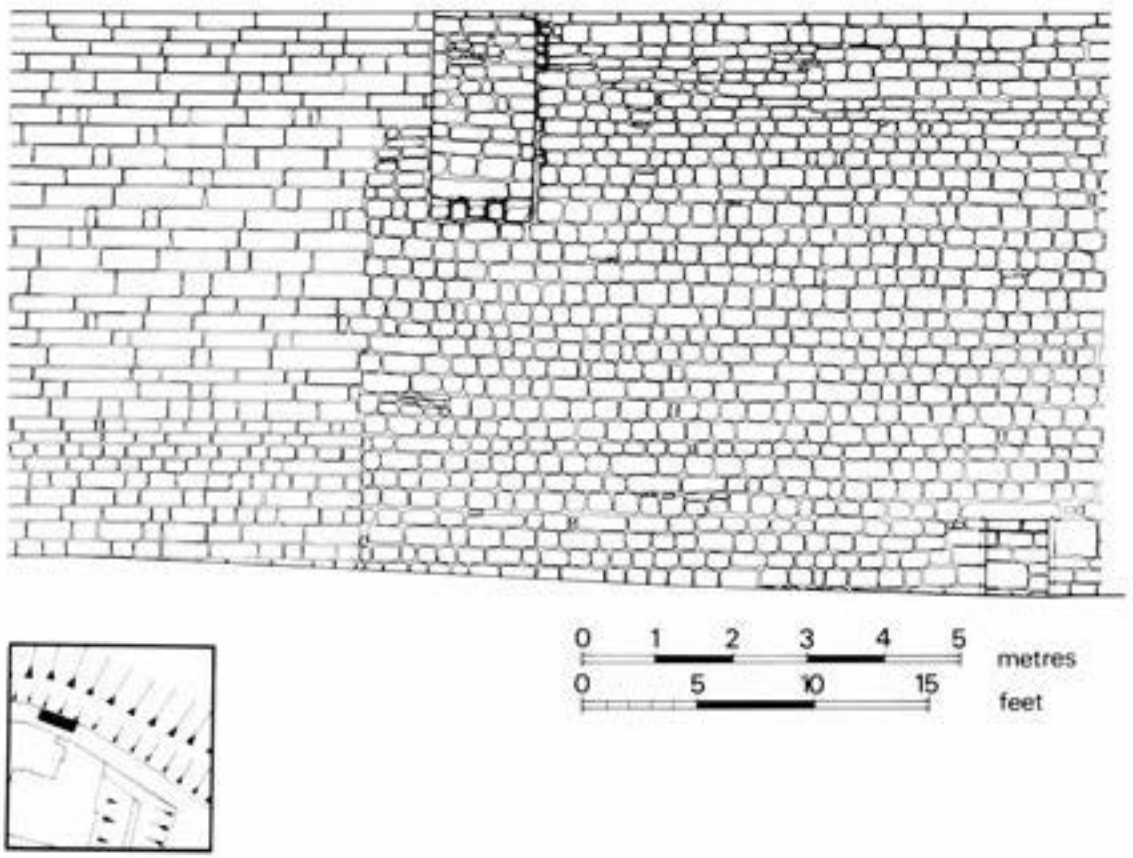

Fig 31 The north curtain wall showing the blocked postern gate and a turret

unbuttressed walling in the north curtain that may be identified as twelfth century on the basis of the quality of the masonry. The buttresses vary in width and the offsets differ from place to place, some being chamfered and others stepped. The significance of these variations is unclear, but the size of the castle, coupled possibly with constraints provided by the pre-existing earth and timber castle, required that the wall building programme had to be implemented in stages, probably over many years. Variations in style could therefore be accounted for both in chronological terms and as the work of different masons and gangs of labourers.

It is possible, but not certain, that the earliest significant section of surviving walling is that of the inner ward south curtain (Fig 18, pp 18–20). The massive buttresses combined with multiple chamfered offsets of the inner ward curtain would not be out of place in a mid-twelfth century context. These features are not precisely matched anywhere else at Carlisle, although the north-east curtain wall has been too heavily rebuilt in later times to be sure of what this looked like. The north-east curtain, however, almost certainly contained some early features, for the earliest gatehouse is thought to have been located here (Fig 24) in what later became known as Queen Mary's Tower (p 99). A round-headed arch of twelfth century type is depicted on early nineteenth-century illustrations (front cover), and Jefferson, in his account of 1838 (p 100), described the remains of what was clearly this early gatehouse.

The south curtain wall of the outer ward west of the outer gatehouse, together with lengths of the west curtain wall, is similar to, but not identical with, the inner ward south curtain wall. The buttresses are up to 0.5m narrower, although still relatively broad, and the base of the wall is battered. It probably belongs to either the same or a slightly later constructional period as the south curtain of the inner ward. The north curtain wall contains much twelfth century masonry identified as such by the neat coursing and the squarish regular shapes of the stonework. Although there are no pilaster buttresses there is a chamfered offset above a battered base very similar to the one which can be seen on the west and south curtain walls.

Within this defensive circuit there is one obvious gap. No trace of masonry of twelfth-century character can be seen between the outer gatehouse and the inner ward. An early wall here may have been completely replaced at a later date, perhaps because it was the section mined in the siege of 1216 (p 126). Alternatively, this gap may not have been covered by a wall until later. It has already been noted (p 11) that the outer ditch east of the bridge may be of a different period to the ditch west of it. It is possible that the ditch east of the gatehouse, possibly a remnant of the Period 1 earth and timber castle, formed a continuous feature enclosing the whole of the inner ward. Only later, perhaps towards the end of the twelfth century or even later in the medieval period, was the gap eliminated by building a wall linking the outer gatehouse with the inner ward south curtain wall.

The west curtain wall of the inner ward, although much obscured by the later batter, lacks the broad

buttresses and chamfered offsets to be seen on the south curtain wall. Whilst the use of different masons and labourers may account for these variations, it is also possible that this wall represents a later stage in the programme of defence construction; this may be as late as 1167–8, the year documentary references refer to the removal or renovation of the castle gate (Table 6, p 45).

Summary of Periods 1 and 2

This interpretation of the development of the ditch and curtain walls rests on a number of assumptions. First, that the castle of William II is located where the inner ward is now. Second, that this early castle was a ring-work or promontory fort defined by a massive ditch on the west and south, but possibly utilising the natural defences of the scarp on its eastern side. Third, that the observed differences in the characteristics of the twelfth century walling are meaningful and reflect the castle's development.

On this basis the castle's ditch and curtain wall defences in Periods 1 and 2 may be summarised as follows (Fig 32).

Period 1 from 1092: construction of a massive ditch and rampart cutting off a roughly circular area against the eastern edge of the bluff on which the castle stands; the natural defences of the eastern side of the bluff supplemented by a palisade and by a timber gate tower; no evidence for an outer bailey.

Period 2a from 1122: work begins on the stone gate-tower at south-east corner and on the keep (see p 92).

Period 2b mid-twelfth century: curtain walls on south side cut into early rampart and north-east sides begun; new ditch dug west of present bridge.

Period 2c late twelfth century, possibly from 1160s: inner (Captain's Tower, p 57) and outer gate-houses (de Ireby's Tower, p 45) built; original gatehouse at south-east corner either blocked up or reduced in status; rest of curtain walls, city walls and towers started

Period 2d or Period 3 late twelfth or early thirteenth century: gap closed between outer gatehouse and inner ward.

Period 3

From the early thirteenth century onwards, the curtain walls underwent a series of repairs and modifications. With the possible exception of the wall linking the outer gatehouse with the inner ward, and which completed the stone enceinte, no major additions were made. There are many documentary references to repairs to the walls, and in many cases these clearly relate to the defences rather than to internal buildings (Table 2).

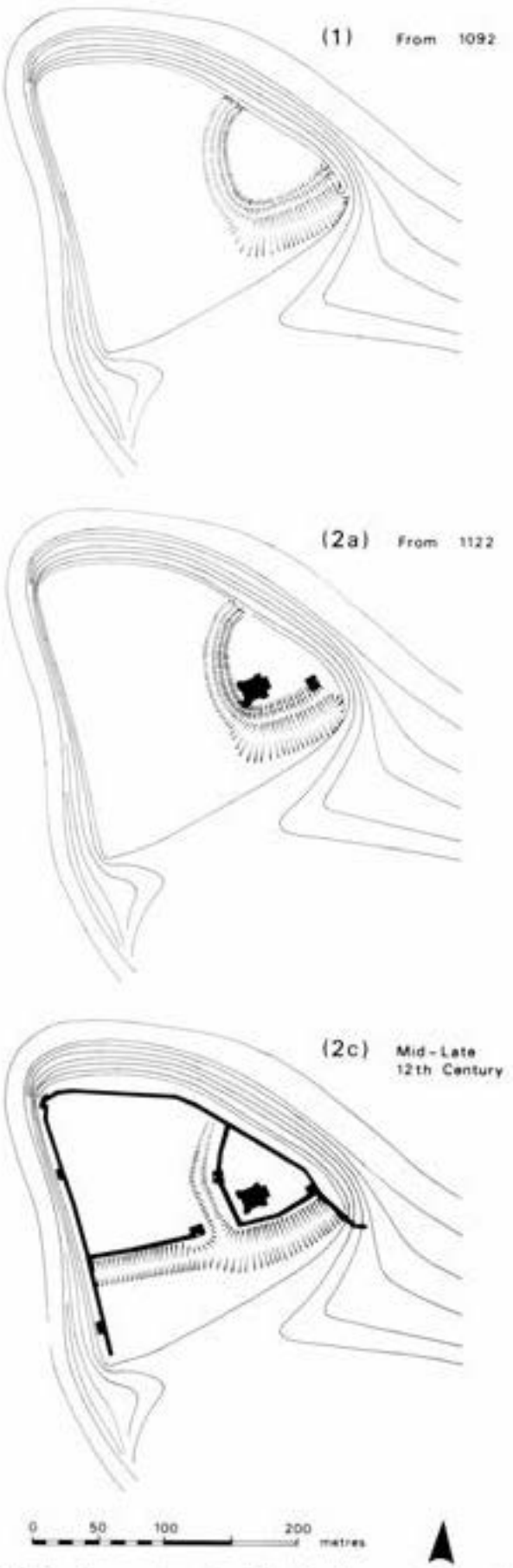

Fig 32 A reconstruction of the development of the castle's plan in Periods 1, 2a and 2c

Table 2 Documentary references to the curtain walls in Period 3

Date	*Source*	*Reference*
1233	PR	repairs to the wall where the miners dug
1244	*CLR* 1240–45	part of wall near castle gate lately fallen down
1297–8	PRO *E372/147*	repairs to walls round the gates
1303	PRO *E101/482/22*	33 roods of wall in outer bailey made
1308	PRO *E372/153*	repairs to breech in wall near castle's postern
1321	PRO *C145/86*	wall 40 feet long collapsed and another 120 feet long about to collapse in outer bailey near Caldew bridge. Demolition needed and new wall to have buttresses
1323	PRO *E372/181*	repairs
1369–70	PRO *E101/554/19*	repair to great turret in wall of inner ward
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	repairs and putting windows on outer bailey wall
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	part of wall near Haukeshoushille completely fallen down
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	collapse of wall by Langoushill and between the royal hall and new tower of inner ward
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	part of outer wall in castle garden made

The red sandstone wall linking the inner ward with the outer gatehouse may belong in this period (Figs 19 and 33). The date at which this walling was erected may be linked with the eastern tower of the outer gatehouse. It will be seen (Fig 34) that the alignment of this tower is different from that of the rest of the gatehouse and of the curtain wall. The reason for this is not clear, but it could have been determined by the line of the outer ditch. If the present inner and outer ditches were in the twelfth century parts of the same ditch, this would have taken a north-west by south-east course. The eastern tower of the outer gatehouse would then have lain close to the outer lip of the ditch and on a correct alignment. It can therefore be suggested that the wall linking the outer gatehouse with the inner ward postdates the construction of the outer gatehouse, probably in the second half of the twelfth century (pp 27,122).

The southern end of the west curtain wall of the outer ward contains much bright red sandstone masonry, together with buttresses and a garderobe chute (Fig 28). This postdates the twelfth-century work, which forms the next section of walling northwards, since it cuts into and projects forward of this wall predominantly of grey Kirklinton sandstone. The dearth of architectural detail in this sector precludes close dating, but it is interesting to note that documentary references specifically refer to this sector in 1318 and 1319 (p 139). The accounts of 1321 mention 40 feet of collapsed walling together with a further 120 feet described as about to collapse (Table 2). The total length of wall said to be in danger was 160 feet. This is significantly more than the stretch of walling 32m (106 feet) long which has obviously been replaced and which can be seen today.

At least two postern gates are known from Period 3 from documentary sources (Table 3). One is clearly located on the west curtain wall by the castle mill (Fig 29), whilst the other may be in the east wall below what later became known as Queen Mary's Tower (Fig 24).

Fig 33 The re-entrant, showing the rise in ground level on the berm of the outer ditch at this point (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

The postern gate in the west curtain wall has clearly been inserted into earlier masonry. Once more the lack of detail precludes close dating, although the stone sizes and shapes, in so far as they can be seen, are consistent with a thirteenth to fifteenth century date. This tallies with the documentary record which refers to a new 'stone postern' at precisely this point in the defensive circuit in 1385 (Table 3).

Period 4

The battered face of the west curtain wall (Fig 15, p 17) of the inner ward is almost certainly of sixteenth century date. The batter, which has been added to the twelfth century masonry beneath, contains almost no dressed masonry except for the chamfered offset course. The stonework is extremely varied in appearance strongly indicating construction work over more than one period. It is not possible to say which of the northern or southern sections is the earliest as neither section contains anything which is datable. A sixteenth century or later date is likely, however, if the assumption that the purpose of the batter was to deflect cannon shot is correct.

The inner side of the curtain wall either side of the Captain's Tower may also be contemporary. This includes the earth rampart between the keep and the wall to the north, and the casemates to the south. The casemates (Fig 16, p 18), are entered through four-centred arches, and support the wide wall walk above. They almost certainly provided storage accomodation, perhaps for munitions, whilst the wall walk facilitated the positioning and firing of cannon into the outer ward. The massive buttresses against the north-east curtain wall may also belong to this period, but there is little about their masonry which is diagnostic of a date.

The precise date at which these defence improvements were implemented is difficult to establish on architectural grounds, but the written sources (p 172) suggest that a Tudor date would be appropriate (Table 5). They were certainly in place by the time Garforth

Table 3 Documentary references to postern gates in Period 3

Date	*Source*	*References*
1303	PRO *E101/482/22*	brattices for the postern
1308	PRO *E372/153*	breech in wall near postern
1308	PRO *E372/153*	new chamber by the little postern
1318	PRO *E159/93*	a chamber by the postern
1345	PRO *E372/190*	three locks for two posterns
1383	PRO *E199/7/11*	locks on outer and inner posterns
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	postern towards the castle mill
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	repairs to watchtower by the castle postern of outer bailey towards the Caldew
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	making a new stone postern by the castle mill
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	blocking old postern in castle garden

drew his plan of the castle in *c* 1545 (Fig 125, p 181), but they are not to be equated with the work of Haschenperg in 1542, whose responsibilities in the castle seem to have been confined to the half-moon battery (p 61) and the outworks (Figs 9–10 and 126). The best guess is that they were erected sometime in the first half of the sixteenth century.

Sixteenth-century modifications can be identified in two postern gates. The Dacre postern in the south curtain wall of the inner ward has a square-headed lintel and bears the arms of the Dacres (Fig 20, p 20), whilst that in the north curtain wall has a plain square head (Fig 31). Both posterns appear on Garforth's map of *c* 1545 (Fig 125), and the north postern is probably one of the two mentioned in the 1529 survey (see Table 4).

The north-west battery is probably also of sixteenth century date. Its open plan and angular front (Fig 30) is reminiscent of Tudor work, and it does appear on Garforth's plan of *c* 1545 (Fig 125), as well as on Haschenperg's plan of the city of Carlisle and the castle in 1542 (Fig 10). It is possible that the long red sandstones forming the three angled faces represent a Tudor replacement of an earlier wall.

Despite occasional references to improvements being made in the seventeenth century, such as the reconstruction of the batteries, the repairs of 1661 (see Table 5), or the testimony of Gilpin in 1746 to the deplorable state of the defences, there is little in the masonry itself to allow repairs and modifications to be identified. Refurbishment of the gymnasium behind Arroyo block in 1989 revealed large architectural fragments in a style consistent with those evident in the Cathedral. This may be material dumped in 1645 and used to rebuild the batteries (p 199).

It is possible that those sections of the outer ward curtain wall which have battered faces from parapet level down belong to the seventeenth or eighteenth century; they may have been inserted after the castle was attacked in 1745 (pp 219f).

Period 5

Masonry repairs of the nineteenth century and later can be recognised in several places. The most obvious is that of the south-east corner of the inner ward where Queen Mary's Tower was demolished in 1834. The

Table 4 Documentary references to postern gates in Periods 4–5

Date	*Source*	*References*
1529	*LPH* IV, 3	postern in the inner bailey
1529	*LPH* IV, 3	two postern doors in the outer ward
1568	*CSPS* II	postern in inner ward opened up below Queen Mary's Tower
1597	PRO *LR9/83*	repairs to postern through which Kinmont Willie escaped
1745	Ray 1753	postern on the west curtain wall damaged
1745	Mounsey 1846	the Dacre postern gate recently bricked up
1831	PRO *WO44/193*	postern on the west curtain wall blocked up with masonry 4 feet thick

consequent gap in the defensive circuit was made good the following year. The stonework is characterised by its bright red appearance, the use of face-bedded sandstone, regular coursing and tight jointing (Figs 22 and 24; p21–3). The north-east curtain wall was also strengthened a few years earlier both internally and externally (Table 5). Here the fresh, unweathered masonry to be seen in both the curtain wall and in the buttresses is clear. Parts of the parapet, especially on the north and west curtain walls of the outer ward, as well as the outer bridge coping stones contain graffiti of the 1840s, showing that they were in place at that date.

Table 5 Documentary references to the curtain walls in Periods 4–5

Date	*Source*	*References*
1526	*CSPD* IV	outer walls decayed
1540	*LPH* XV	Andrew Bell escaped by leaping over walls of outer ward
1557	PRO *E101/483/17*	break in outer ward wall
1557	BL *Titus F XIII*	wall of inner ward not vawmered
1661	PRO *WO55/1696*	walls need repairs; crests needed on west curtain; repairs to north-west and south-west batteries
1681	Ferguson 1895	Musgrave reported that 'the walls are good...the castle is capable of being defended'
1745	Mounsey 1846	the wall east of the outer gate very low and might be scaled with ease; on the west it is old and decayed
1745	PRO *WO71/19*	walls very thin, cracked and could easily be thrown down (Gilpin)
1745	Ray 1763	north-west battery and west curtain wall damaged
1819	PRO *WO44/19*	north-west angle of outer ward turned into a separate fortification, cut off by deep ditches, surrounded by a parapet
1820	PRO *WO55/2456*	two casemates used for stores and tools
1822	PRO *WO55/715*	collapse of the north-east curtain wall - the 'saluting battery'
1824	PRO *WO55/715*	reconstruction of the 'saluting battery' finished

Description of the outer gatehouse (De Ireby's Tower)

The exterior

The outer gatehouse is the principal means of entry into the castle. It is located about half way along the south curtain wall and consists of a passage separating a square eastern tower from chambers on the western side (Fig 34a–b). The description which follows identifies rooms using the description given by Gilyard-Beer (1977).

The north elevation

This elevation (Fig 35), overlooking the outer ward, is divided into two parts by a massive buttress, 1.60m wide by 2.10m deep, to the east of the gate passage. West of this buttress the hall range extends some 13.75m. This range contains the gate passage itself, the present entrance, and the windows to the hall and the mural staircases. At its west end is a large buttress rising to the full height of the wall. East of the central buttress is the solar range. This is 5.3m wide and contains a recent door, the windows to the solar, the newel stair and the mural stair to the mezzanine.

The masonry west of the central buttress can be divided into three main parts. The parapet and upper courses above the windows are recent. This masonry lies above a large area of stonework around the windows, extending as far as the west corner and down to the upper window of the mural stair. Below this the masonry is in slightly shorter, deeper blocks, less well squared than those above. The windows of room 10 are a part of this second area. They are tall openings for sash-frames, 0.80m wide and 1.70m high, with a wide plain chamfer; on either side of each is a number of sockets left by bars or the hinges of shutters. This area of masonry corresponds with the internal elevation of the north wall of the hall. The remainder of the masonry of this wall is in even courses of similar sized stones; the only openings in it which appear to be original are the lower loop on the mural stair to the second floor and the gate passage. At the foot of the wall is a chamfered offset course which runs from the west buttress to the present entrance and then on at a lower level to the gate. This offset is cut by the draught-hole from the fireplace in room 2, and by the rebuilding of the jamb of the gate. The jambs and a lintel of the modern entrance are solid sandstone slabs; next to it is a narrow inserted window with a similar jamb on the east side. Slightly higher to the west the window on the stair to the first floor shows clear signs of remodelling.

The gate passage is entered through a pointed arch 4.25m high and 2.80m wide (Figs 35–6). The arch and jambs have a plain chamfer. The road surface was lowered in 1982, but the level of the original threshold of the archway can be seen from the projecting stones at the foot of each jamb. The west jamb of the gate had been damaged by large vehicles, and has required some rebuilding. Above the pointed arch is a segmental relieving arch of sandstone blocks.

East of the central buttress is the north face of room 12 and the rooms below. The elevation is dominated by the inserted, but badly weathered, window to room 12 and the door to the mural stair (room 8). The window has the remains of an elaborately moulded surround similar to that in the north wall of the Regimental Museum (Fig 111, p 108). The door is similar to the modern entrance west of the gate passage. Immediately east of it is a vertical straight joint and the remains of an earlier opening. Below the door the wall face is obscured by the external stair.

The east elevation

The east end of the solar (room 12) is 7.00m wide and rises to a shallow gable. At its north end, a wall which contains a newel turret rises higher than this gable, and just south of the gable's centre is a blocked flue belonging to a (late) fireplace in the solar. At second floor level is a small blocked window with a monolithic round head; its embrasure is now occupied by the fireplace in the solar. Below this is an inserted door, now partially blocked and converted into a window, which lies in the east embrasure of the mezzanine room. South of this is a garderobe window, which has been enlarged, and between and below these two openings is an inserted door to a passage to the cellar. Next to this door, under the garderobe window, is an area of disturbed masonry which contains some relatively large blocks. At the north end of this wall is a blocked door, 2.80m above ground level, once leading to the newel stair. It has a plain chamfer all around the opening; inside this is a rebate for a door hinged on the north jamb. A small square window occupies the upper part of the blocking. Access to the garderobe was by way of a door within the parapet of the curtain wall, added when the end wall of the chamber was forced through to the wall-walk.

The south elevation of the hall (room 10) and solar (room 12)

The south face of the eastern tower, including the solar, is formed by the curtain wall between the inner ward and gatehouse. The visible area of wall, above the wall walk, contains a solar window and a garderobe loop. The upper part of the wall, as elsewhere, has been completely rebuilt. Below this the blocks in this part of the wall are much shorter and deeper than those above. At the west end of this wall is the blocked chimney of the early fireplace of the solar.

The south face of the hall (room 10) is visible only above the gate passage and the barbican. As elsewhere, the upper part of the wall and the merlons have here been rebuilt. Below this, masonry similar in character to that of the south face of the solar is pierced by the enlarged south window of the hall and the door from the short passage between rooms 10 and 12. The masonry next to the door shows signs of alteration, probably caused by the insertion of the larger stones of the door jamb. The door opening has a plain chamfer. At parapet level the substantial chimney of the hall can be seen at the west side; this is now blocked.

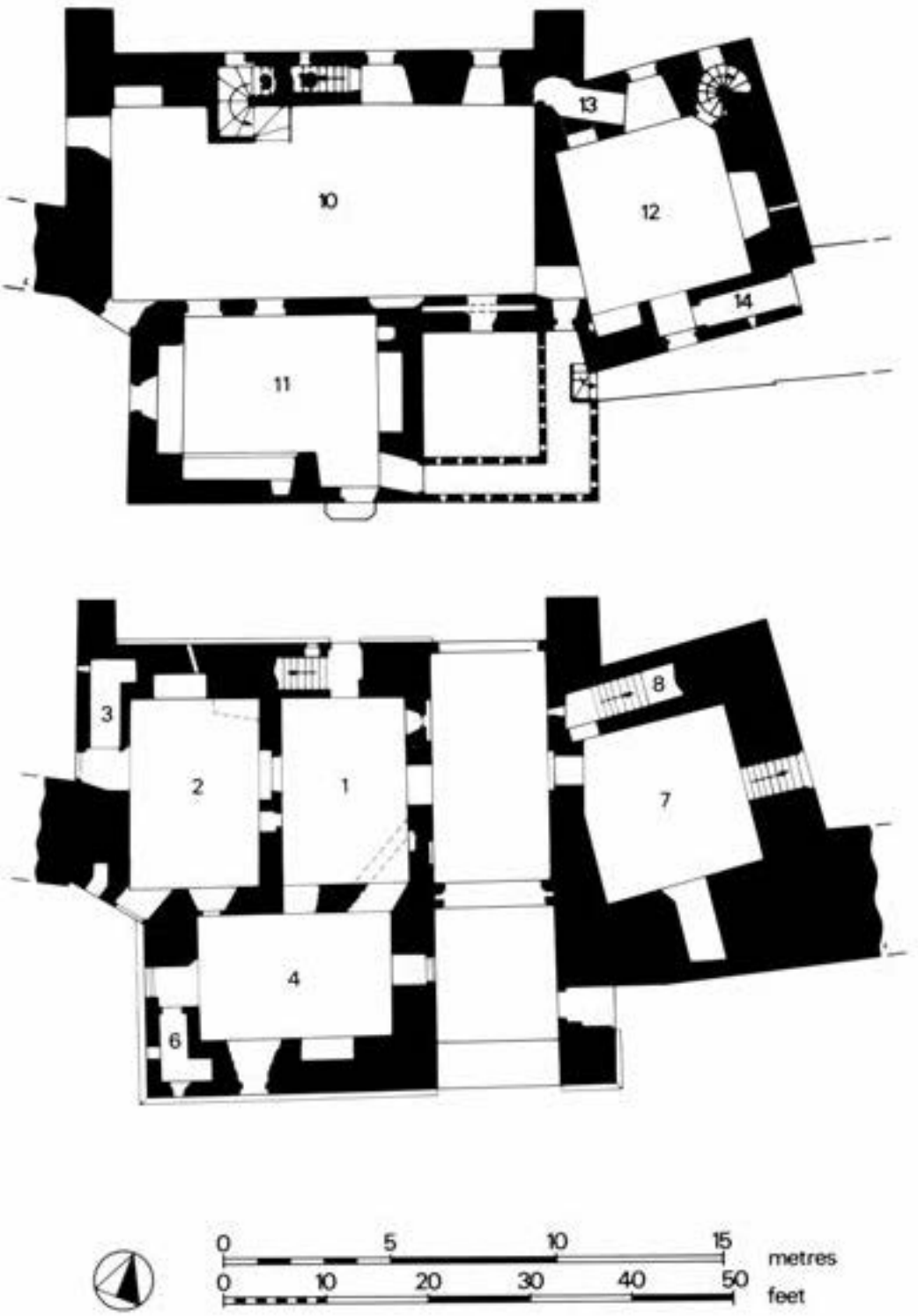

Fig 34 The outer gatehouse, plans at ground (below) and first floor (above)

Directly below the window is the pointed outer arch of the gate passage which covers the portcullis slot. This arch has two orders; the outer is 6.45m high and the inner 6.05m high. Both orders have a plain chamfer which also runs down the jambs. Behind this arch the portcullis survives in its slot. It has been cut down in order to allow the enlargement of the south window of the hall; nevertheless, a section roughly 3m high remains. Behind the portcullis is the opening to the gate passage itself. This is a pointed arch 4.75m high, also with a plain chamfer.

The gate inside this arch (Fig 37) is only the outer of the two pairs which originally closed the passage; the inner pair has now disappeared. It is a heavy double-leaf door made of two layers of oak planks clenched with large rivets; these have chamfered square iron

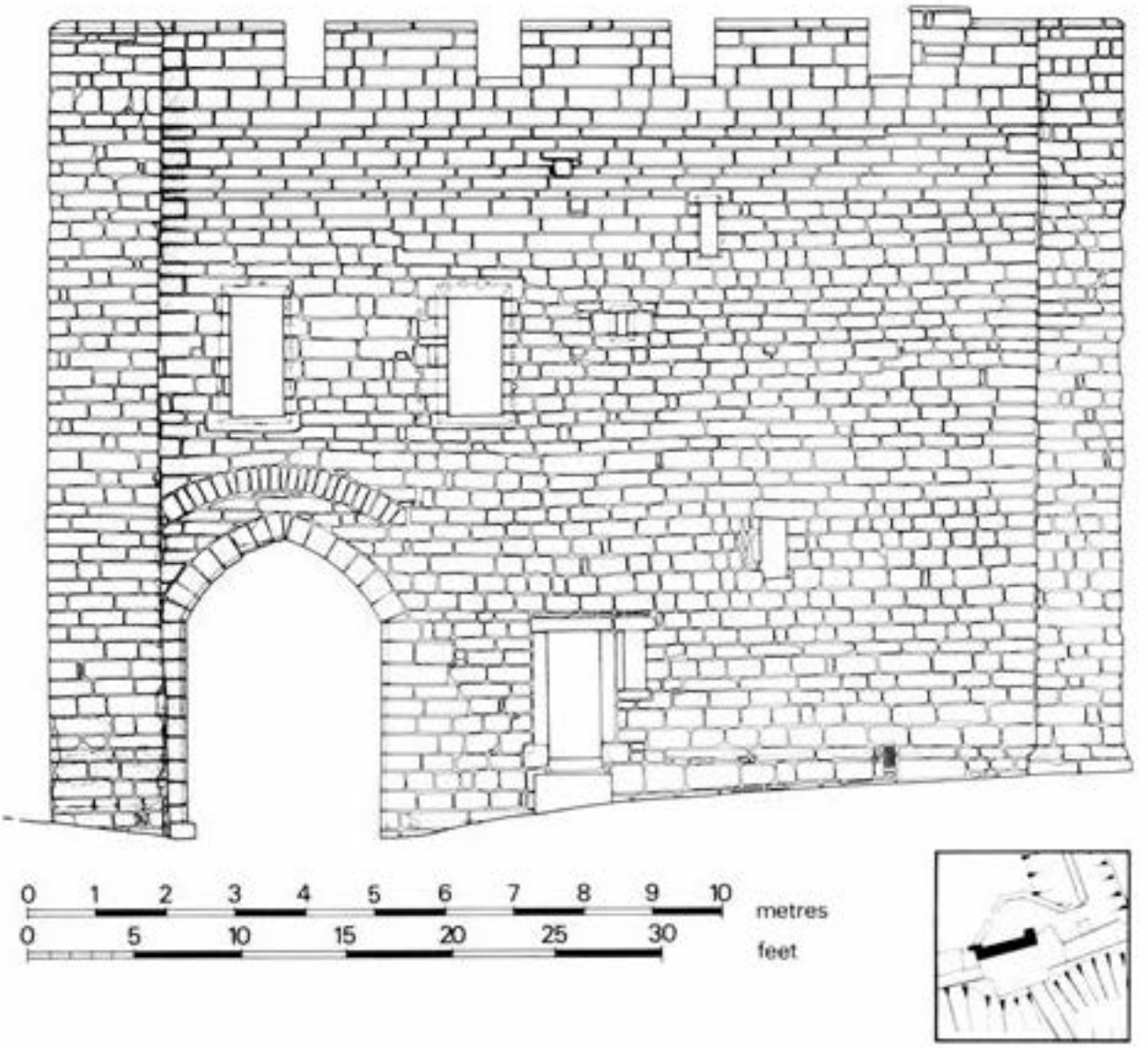

Fig 35 The north external elevation of the outer gatehouse west of the buttress

heads, and are fixed through diamond-shaped iron roves. The doors swing on three pairs of very large strap hinges, which have decorated ends. The middle hinge has been cut away to accommodate a large locking-bar attached to the eastern leaf; this is held on the western side by a substantial hasp and staple. In the eastern leaf is a small wicket which also has strap hinges, together with a bolt and staple. On the inner face the planks are set horizontally within a frame of large timbers: on the outer they are set vertically, and very closely fitted. There is some decay, and some timbers have been replaced with new wood, but on the whole the doors survive in good condition.

The south elevation of the kitchen tower and barbican

Below the modern stonework of the merlons the masonry is fairly uniform. There are a number of openings, some of which are blocked, and one significant area of alteration. The south face of the barbican is in the same plane (Fig 36) as the rest of the wall, but there is a straight joint between the two elements which is broken in only three places.

Immediately to the west of the barbican walk is one of the kitchen (room 11) windows. The masonry around the window has been disturbed, and just below there is a projecting semi-octagonal base supported on two large quadrant corbels. Above the window is a blocked light visible inside the kitchen. It is likely that the disturbed area below this blocked window is the remains of an opening which led into a turret supported on the corbelled base below. This turret would allow flanking fire to be brought to bear across the whole of the south face of the kitchen tower and barbican.

Just to the west of the kitchen window is a blocked inglenook window with unusual vertical slab jambs. At ground floor level is the south window of the gaoler's room (room 4), the garderobe loop and the

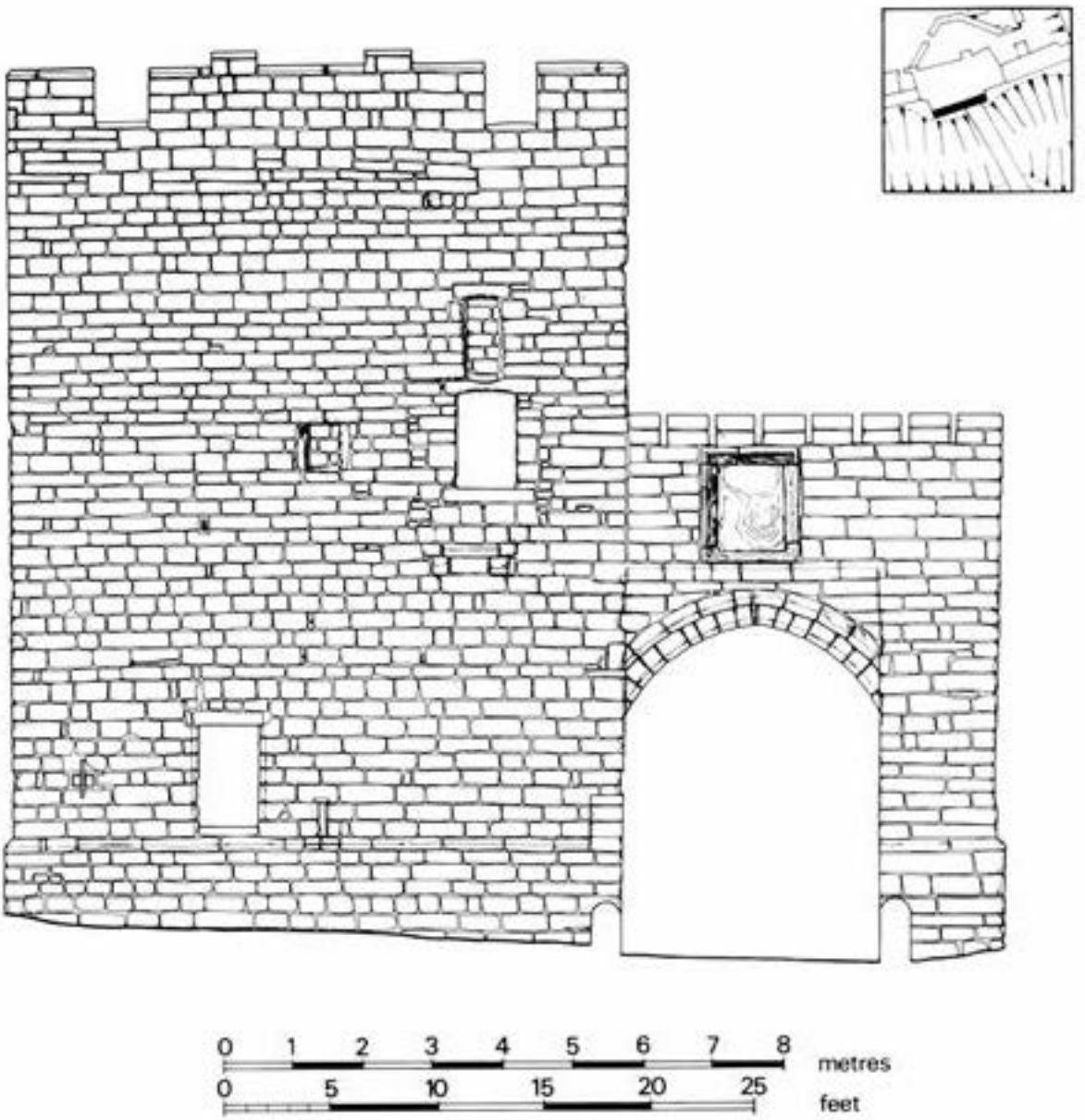

Fig 36 The south external elevation of the outer gatehouse

ventilator for the cellar. The window, which has been enlarged, has had a lintel inserted between two courses, and the jambs have a plain chamfer. The garderobe loop has been inserted, but the ventilation slot is original. Immediately under this opening is a chamfered offset course which runs across the whole width of the elevation, with a step up where it meets the parapet of the bridge over the outer ditch. At the level of the parapet to the gatehouse are two blocked chimneys serving fireplaces in the gaoler's room and the kitchen.

The south face of the barbican is built in even courses of large regular blocks. The arch has two orders with plain chamfers, and is set slightly back from the wall face in a rectangular recess with a flat chamfered head. Above this recess is a decayed armorial panel with moulded surround below the eight low merlons of the parapet wall.

The west elevation

The west elevation falls into two parts; the end of the hall itself, and the west side of the kitchen tower and gaoler's room with the angle wall between the two parts.

For the most part the masonry is evenly coursed and in regular blocks, but there are areas of disturbance around the enlarged windows and the blocked doors as well as substantial rebuilding near the top of the wall. The lowest 0.20–0.50m of the kitchen tower/gaoler's room wall is also unusual, since it is made up of irregular large blocks below a chamfered offset course. On the south side, the curtain wall of the outer ward abuts the gatehouse. On the north side of this elevation is a wall, 3.25m high, which forms the side of a small yard used by the Army for exercising

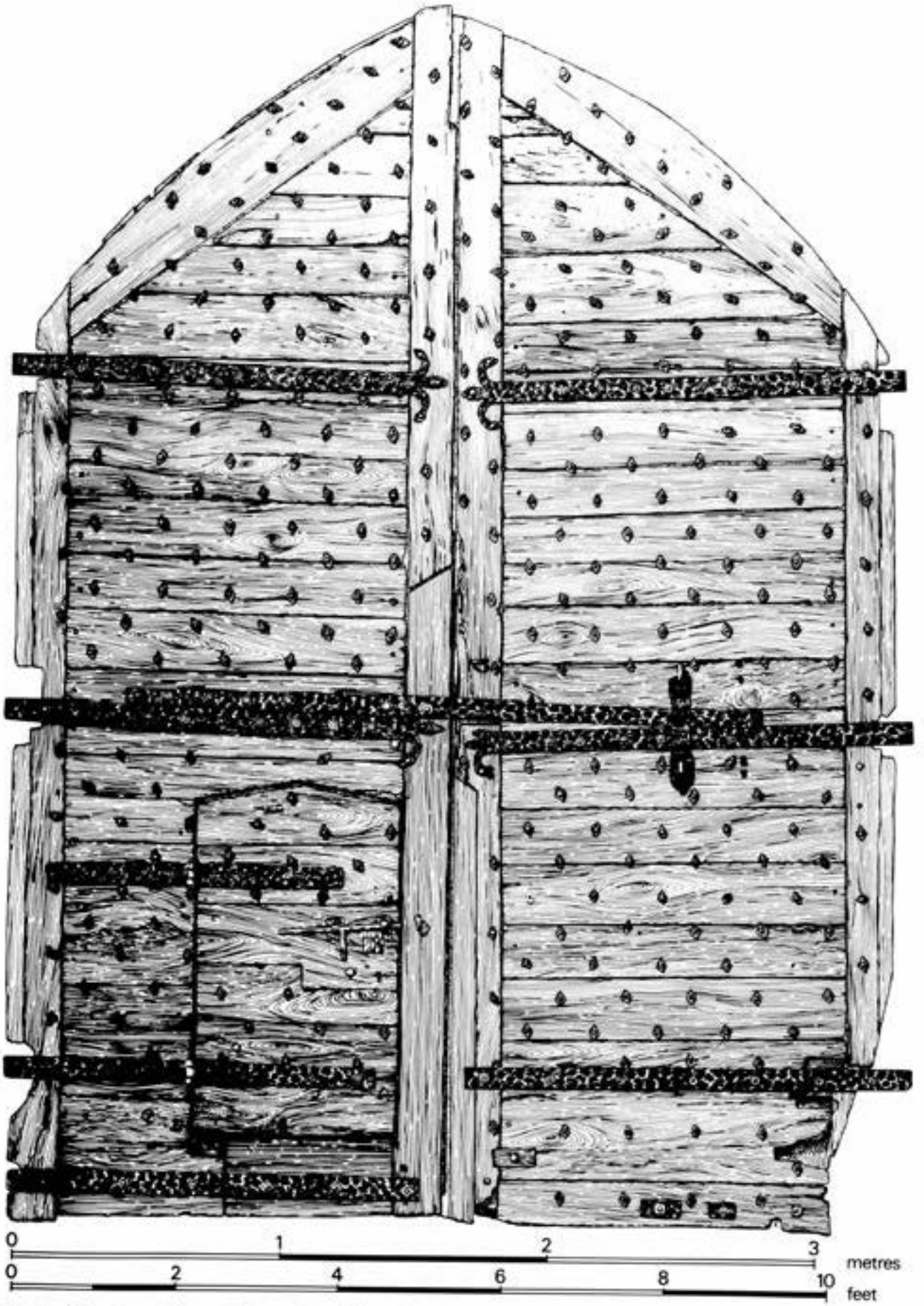

Fig 37 The outer gatehouse; the inner face of the main gates

prisoners from the adjacent cell-block. From the top of this wall two roof scars together with rafter holes can be seen.

The second floor window to the chamber over the west end of the hall (room 10) has been enlarged and the masonry north of it disturbed. To the south there is a blocked square headed window with chamfered jambs, 0.60m wide and 1.55m high, set in a blocked door. There are vertical straight joints at either side of the blocked doorway which originally gave access to the wall walk and, perhaps, a garderobe from the chamber. An opening at the bottom of a vertical shaft at the foot of the angle between the kitchen tower and the hall may be the chute of this garderobe.

The first-floor window has been greatly enlarged, and the ground-floor window is in a blocked door, which was forced through an embrasure by the Army, to give access to the yard.

The junction between the kitchen wall and the end of the hall is clumsy, even in the upper parts. At second-floor level in the angle wall is a small light in a chamfered opening.

At first-floor level two windows in the angle wall and the kitchen tower have been enlarged. In the lintel and jambs of the kitchen window there are blocked sockets from bars or hinges. Below this window a drain, just above the kitchen floor and 4.4m above ground level, has been cut through two courses.

On the ground floor, there are windows to the steward's and gaoler's rooms, and a garderobe loop. The window in the angle, which has a deep lintel and a large vertical block in one jamb has been heavily barred in the past: the sockets are still visible. The offset course on the south face of the tower continues to the south side of the angle wall.

The gate passage, west wall

This side of the gate passage (Fig 38) includes the eastern wall of the kitchen tower, which overlooks the barbican. Most of the masonry of this side of the tower is even and regular, rising to a shallow gable like that of the east end of the solar. Lines of settlement cracks are clearly visible running diagonally across the wall.

At first-floor level at the south end of the wall is a door from the kitchen on to the barbican wall walk. The opening is quite plain. The arch of the barbican itself has two orders inside and out, all the arrises of which are chamfered, and which spring out of the face of the wall. The outer parapet is 1.70m high, with low merlons; the inner is 1.10m high, with slits running through its full height.

Just below the level of the barbican walk, roughly 4.90m above the ground, a row of four quarter round corbels with raised lips project over the gate passage. These vary in width, and project about 0.30m.

At ground-floor level is the window of the gaoler's room (room 4), a late insertion which breaks the courses on either side.

The gate passage proper is entered through the arch with the portcullis described above. The arch inside the portcullis is 4.75m high, with a plain chamfer on its outer face. The inner face is rebated for a large two-leaf door. The passage is about 5.00m high, with pockets in its vault at either end for the doors. In this wall the three doors to the ground-floor rooms are visible. The south door is the original entrance to the gaoler's room, and is partly concealed behind the west gate in the now permanently open gates to the gate passage. It is visible as a recess on the outside but is blocked on the inside; the central door is a late insertion giving access to the anteroom (room 1) whilst the north door is the original entrance to this room. This is rather larger than the south door, as this was the the main entrance to the tower.

For the most part the masonry is uniform and even, but there are patches and some breaks in the coursing. The south door is 0.70m wide and 1.85m high, with a pointed arch and a plain chamfer all round. Within the surround a timber frame and door survive, behind which is a void roughly 80mm deep in front of the stone blocking.

The central door is 1.10m wide and 2.00m high. It is set in a deep square embrasure with a plain flat lintel and plain jambs. The north door is 1.20m wide and 2.05m high. It has a pointed arch with a plain chamfer which runs down to plain triangular stops above a step. The north jamb has a distinct lean, which may have been caused by settlement which required the patching above the door: in fact the whole of the north face of the tower leans perceptibly outward. The door is now blocked and there is a small window in the blocking.

The north gate of the passage is similar to the south gate; it has a pointed arch 4.30m high which has a plain chamfer outside and a rebate for doors within. The three large hinge pegs are still in place, though the doors have gone. The southern doors, however, are still in position. They hang on three pins and, in order to give better clearance for the knuckles when the doors are opened, the face of the wall has been cut back.

The gate passage, east wall

This side of the gate passage (not illustrated) includes the east side of the barbican. The barbican masonry is mainly regular and even, though disturbed by the insertion of the door to the Lady's Walk. Its parapet is pierced by loops 0.50m apart, and has a flat sill retained by lead plugs. The door to the Lady's Walk, which is square-headed and chamfered, is 0.80m wide and 1.90m high. The short passage beyond the door is slightly higher, and opens on to the berm through a doorway with a segmental head; this is rebated for a door, one hinge peg of which survives.

Within the gate passage the masonry is regular and evenly coursed. There are two doors in the gate passage, both of which are now blocked. The south door is the original entrance to the mezzanine room. It is 0.85m wide and 2.40m high, with a plain shouldered lintel and a step. A narrow loop has been inserted near the top of the blocking. One iron hinge pin and the sockets of two others remain as well as an iron hook and eye. The south door is an insertion giving access to the cellar. It is 1.00m wide and 2.00m high, with a large flat lintel; the opening is chamfered and rebated

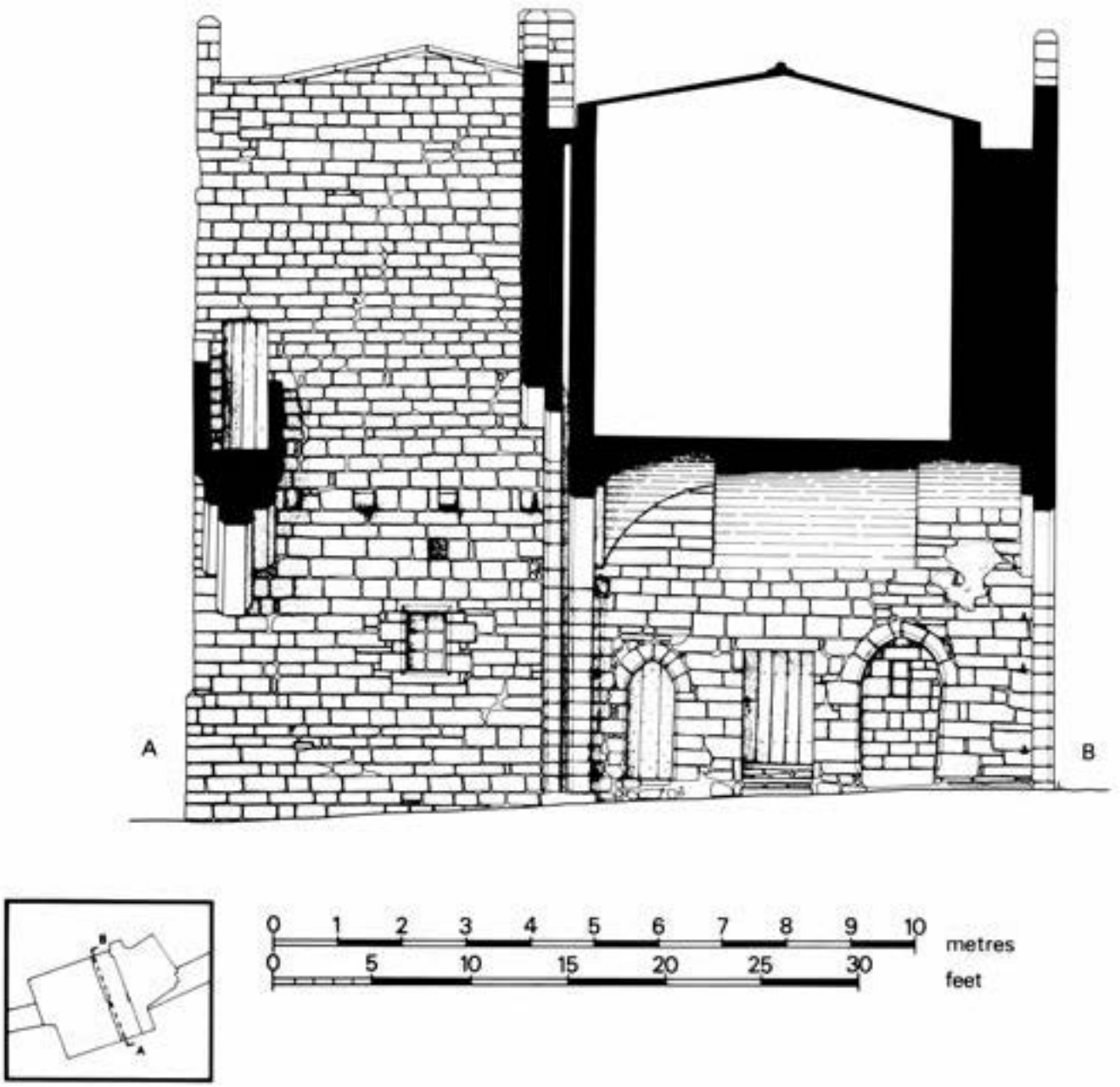

Fig 38 The outer gatehouse; north-south elevation of the west side of the gate passage

externally. A large rectangular window has been inserted at the top of the blocking.

The interior

Apart from the lintels and quoins of doors, windows and fireplaces, the masonry is often rather small, poorly coursed and very roughly dressed. The stonework, which largely consists of St Bees sandstone, is otherwise not described unless there are significant differences.

Ground floor, room 1; the anteroom

This is a rectangular barrel-vaulted room off the west side of the gate passage (Figs 34 and 39). The north wall (Fig 39) contains the door to the mural stair. The east jamb survives but the west has been cut back to expose the stair treads. The east wall contains three doors connecting with the gate passage (Fig 38). The northern and southern doors are original and are now blocked; in between there is a much more recent square-headed door. The north door has a segmental arch, with a plain chamfer stopped vertically at the jambs. Its blocking contains a small loop. The smaller south door is so much concealed by later blocking that only a part of the north jamb is visible. Between the central and southern doors an area of rubble marks the scar of a diagonal wall which cut this room off from a passage between the south door and room 4. The upper part of this wall is still in position, supported on massive timbers.

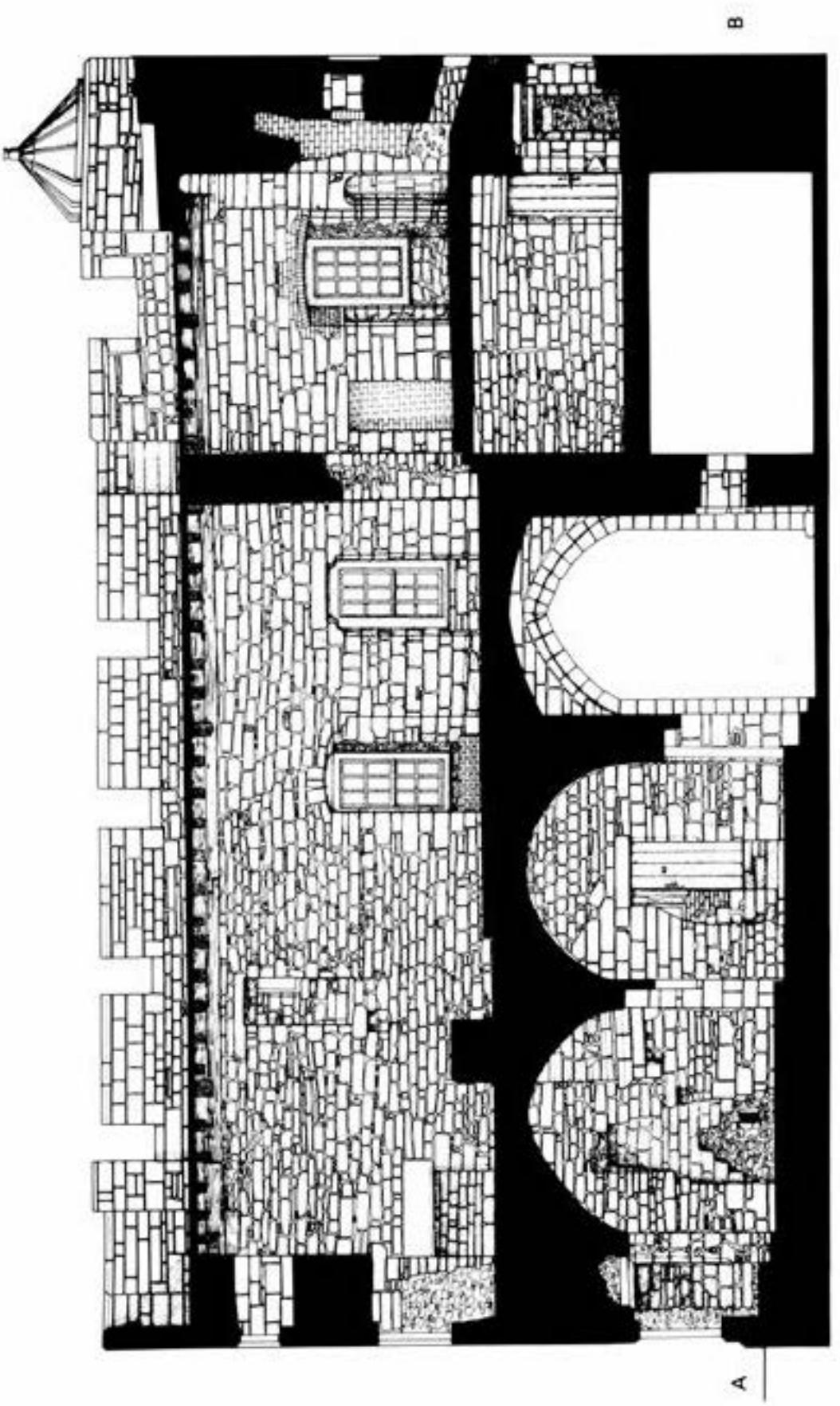

Fig 39 The outer gatehouse: internal east-west elevation of the north wall

The south wall has two openings to room 4 (Fig 34); on the east is the original passage, and to the west is a rough modern opening. Traces of the scar of the lower part of the diagonal wall are visible on the remaining part of this wall. Shallow joist holes run across this and the diagonal wall.

In the west wall, the door to room 2 has a plain chamfered pointed arch, 2.25m high, which is very similar to the external face of the north door in the east wall. To the south there is a small squint with a slab lintel.

Ground floor, rooms 2 and 3; the Steward's room and garderobe

Room 2 is a rectangular, barrel-vaulted room with a fireplace and garderobe. The north wall (Figs 34 and 39) contains a mutilated central fireplace and a projecting corbelled area supporting the mural stair. This is of dressed stone supported on two large chamfered quadrant corbels. No traces of the jambs or hood of the fireplace survive as some masonry has been cut away, but the socket of the west end of the lintel, now filled with small stones, is visible. The back of the fireplace has a narrow draught-hole. The east wall contains the door to room 1; like the door between the anteroom and the gate passage, it has a higher segmental arch on this side. The other feature of this wall is a squint located immediately south of, and cutting the quoins of, the door. The squint has been enlarged.

The south wall contains two windows. The eastern, probably a late insertion, is in a shallow embrasure cut through to room 4; the western is an enlargement of an original loop in the south-west angle. This has a slab lintel resting on a chamfered quadrant corbel, and is

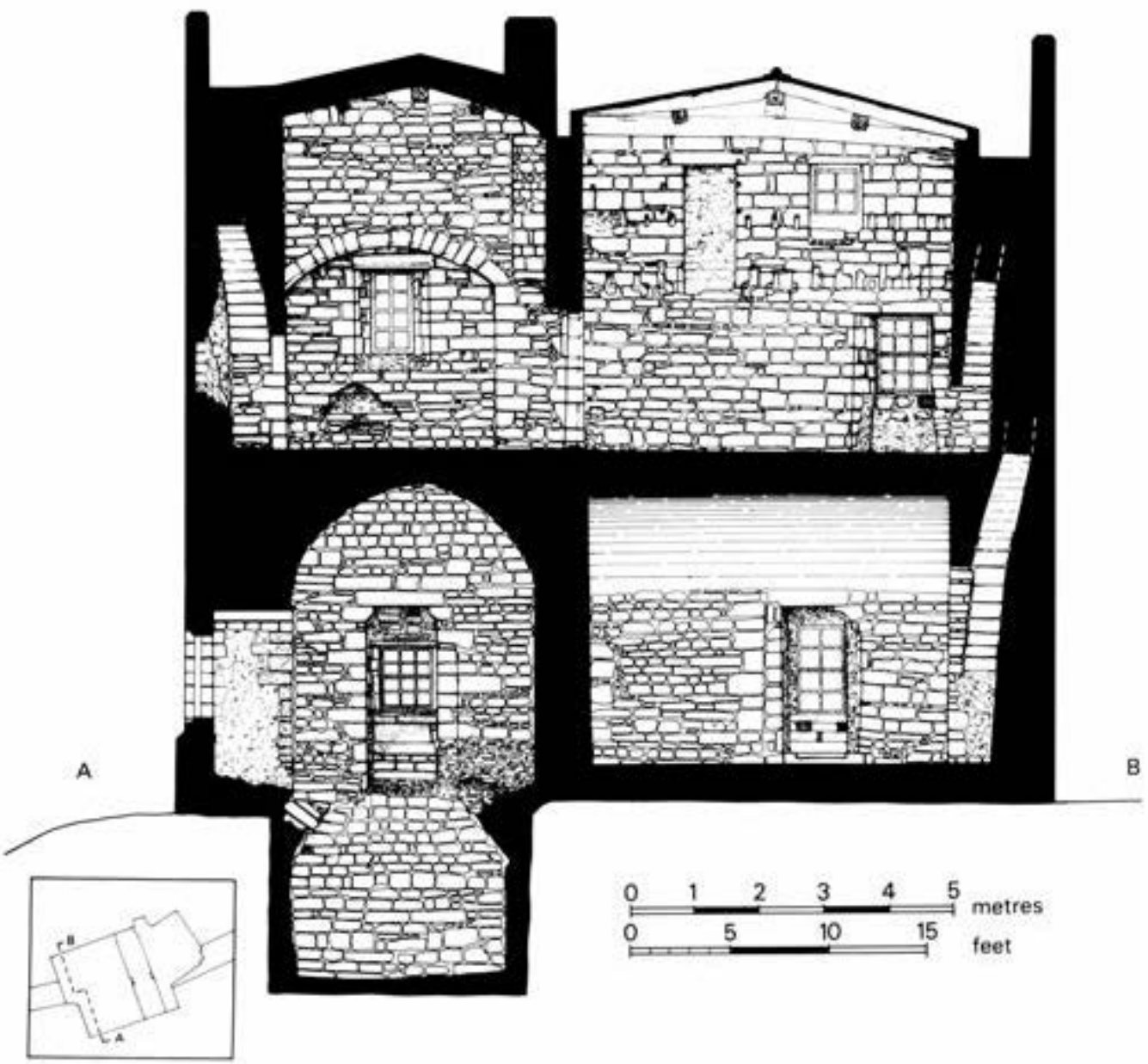

Fig 40 The outer gatehouse; internal north-south elevation of the west wall

similar to the window in the south-west corner of room 10.

Near the centre of the west wall (Fig 40) is an embrasure; from its north reveal runs a mural passage to the garderobe chamber in the north-west corner of the tower. South of the opening is part of an earlier embrasure in the same place. The present opening was enlarged in the nineteenth century to form a door to the adjacent exercise yard; later it was closed up again and a sash window inserted. The garderobe chamber has a small loop in the west wall, and a cavity left by the removal of the seat. There is no trace of a chute in the external walls.

Ground floor, rooms 4–6; the Gaoler's room, cellar and garderobe

The gaoler's room (4) (Figs 34 and 40) consists of a rectangular, segmental barrel-vaulted room, similar in size and arrangement to room 2. It originally stood above a barrel-vaulted cellar (5). The original floor level was about 0.60m above that of room 1.

The north wall is pierced by the window cut through from room 2 and the rough door from room 1. Towards the east is the end of the diagonal entrance passage, which has a slab roof carried on continuous chamfered corbel courses. Above these openings, a row of shallow joist holes marks the position of an inserted ceiling.

In the centre of the east wall is a narrow embrasure which has been cut down when the floor of room 4 was lowered. In the south wall are the remains of a fireplace and an embrasure. The fireplace has dressed stone jambs and a deep lintel with a plain chamfer, which has has been cut through completely in the centre. The dressed stone ceiling of the embrasure is of slabs resting on continuous chamfered corbel courses; the rest of the dressed stone was cut away when the embrasure was widened to take a sash window. Both embrasure and fireplace have been cut down to the later floor level, and at the same time a new arch was inserted between the jambs of the fireplace.

The west wall (Fig 40) has a narrow embrasure with a slab roof similar to that in the south wall. The north reveal has been cut back into the wall-core (restored in Fig 40) but the dressed stone of the south reveal with the door to the garderobe (room 6) survives. The garderobe, in the south-west angle of the tower, is reached by a narrow passage from room 4. The passage floor has been cut down to a new level and shows signs of considerable wear. The walls of the chamber show a slot in the position of the vanished seat, and there is a series of smaller slots which are probably for shelves.

The shape of the cellar's barrel-vault (Fig 40) is visible below the restored floor of room 4. The cellar (room 5) has an earthen floor and low, damp walls, relieved only by a ventilation shaft in the middle of the south wall. The lack of any trace of a stair or a ladder suggest that the only access to the cellar was by a trap door.

Ground floor, room 7; the cellar in the east tower

This almost square room (Fig 34) lies beneath the mezzanine room in the east tower. The walls and ceiling are now completely obscured by boarding and no details can be seen. Gilyard-Beer (1977, 200) records the presence of an 'early recess' later extended into a doorway in the south wall; this gave access to what is now the berm between the curtain wall and outer ditch. He further confirms that the room has no windows and no fireplace. Access was originally obtained from the staircase (room 8) through a rabetted trapdoor in the north wall.

Room 8; the mural staircase to the mezzanine room (16)

The staircase leading from the north door on the east side of the gate passage was originally the only way into the mezzanine room (Fig 34). Access to room 12, above the mezzanine room, was blocked by a wall through which a passage was later cut to join the bottom of the newel stair. The door at the foot of the stair was closed up, and a small loop was left to cover the gate passage. There is a later door in the north wall at mezzanine level, which is reached by means of an external staircase.

The north wall is mainly built of large squared blocks, but there are indications of a recess or alcove, filled with smaller masonry, at the bottom of the stairs. The late door to the outer ward has jambs made partly of brick. Close by is a small square window, which may be an enlarged loop.

In the south wall is the door to the mezzanine room. Below the stone lintel a wooden one has been inserted: a large block in one jamb bears a fragment of a carved but mutilated relief. At the bottom of the stair is a hatch giving access to the cellar (7), which is now partly blocked by the later wall which contains the door to the gate passage. The hatch is 1.05m high and 0.80m wide, with a rebate on both sides of the lintel.

Rooms 16–17; the mezzanine room and garderobe

The mezzanine room (Fig 39) lies under the solar: it is similar in size and shape, and has a fireplace and a garderobe.

Most of the masonry in the north wall is of roughly squared stones. West of a straight joint near the middle of the wall, the character of the stonework changes to smaller, irregular and uneven masonry, which suggests rebuilding; there is, however, no trace of this in the opposite side of the wall. At the east end of the wall is the door to the stair, hinged on the east side, and with a recess for the open door in the east wall.

The eastern wall contains an embrasure, much enlarged to form a door to the outer ward, and south of this a door to the garderobe (17). The north reveal of the embrasure is cut back, but the original shape can be seen from the remains of the lintel. The south reveal contains a very low door, forced through to the garderobe under a slab lintel. The original door to the garderobe is a low, narrow opening, chamfered all round, and with a very heavy shouldered lintel.

The garderobe itself consists of two small rectangular chambers, the southern with a window, and the door to the main room. There is no trace of a seat, and the drain has been removed by the late stair to the cellar below.

The south wall contains a fireplace and an altered embrasure. The present fireplace is built within the original one, the chamfered jambs of which are visible at either side. The insertion is built of brick, with a sandstone lintel and a brick relieving arch above it. There is no trace of the original lintel, but its position may be indicated by the brick patching above the present opening, which suggests a deep slab lintel similar to those in the north wall of the hall, and in the gaoler's room. Immediately west of the fireplace is an embrasure with a plain square-headed window which looks out over the moat. The reveals have been cut back and are very rough.

At the south end of the west wall there is a large hole which slopes upward on top of the vault of the gate passage. This contained an inserted stair to the hall which emerged near the fireplace in the south wall. Between this hole and the north end of the wall is a sculptured stone, 0.25m square, bearing three deeply carved sinuous lines.

The ceiling is made of very large timbers, overlaid in places by laths and wattle; there is a modern floor above it in the solar.

Room 9; the mural stair to the hall (10)

This stair (Fig 34) links the ground floor (room 1) west of the gate passage with the first floor, where it emerges under a canopy of brick and sandstone into the hall (10). The north wall contains two windows, and the later door to the outer ward, which has jambs of brick and sandstone slabs. The upper window is in the place of an earlier one, traces of which survive.

First floor, room 10; the hall, service room and chamber

Room 10 (Figs 34 and 39–41) was originally divided by a screen which ran across the room from the head of the stair. The presence of this screen can be inferred from the location of the original door leading between the service end and the kitchen. There was a chamber over the service area at the west end, whilst the larger east end was the hall was open to the roof. Access to the chamber was by way of the mural stair (18).

The north wall (Fig 39) contains two embrasures towards the east end, and near the centre, the stair from the ground floor. At the west end in the service area is a fireplace. Above the canopy over the stairs is a large square socket for the beam which supported the joists of the chamber. At the other end of the room, the joists rested on a row of corbels in the west wall. All but the northernmost of these corbels are modern replacements. The fireplace in the service room, at the west end has very deep lintel which, like the jamb, had a plain chamfer. The lintel has been keyed all over its surface for plastering, and the jamb has been mutilated. East of this, the stair from the ground floor enters the hall under its canopy: the wall here incorporates a chamfered lintel below which the uneven stonework is set back about 0.2m. Above the stair is the door from the mural stair to the chamber. It is rebated on the south face, and has hinge pins in its east jamb. mural stair (18). This door is rebated on the south side with hinge pins on the east jamb.

The two embrasures in the hall have been altered. The western reveal of the western embrasure, which contains the door to the mural staircase, is original; from this point to the east end, the wall has been rebuilt on a slightly different alignment. After this reconstruction, the embrasures were further altered by being cut back into the wall core to a splayed shape, with moulded heads; these are very similar to those of the altered windows in the south wall of the second floor of the Keep. A small hole at the junction of the east and north walls shows part of the south jamb of the door which originally provided access to the solar (12).

The east wall is featureless, except for the quoins of the blocked north door to the solar, and the ragged opening of the southern door. This has dressed quoins on its northern jamb, and from its south side a low door gives access to the barbican. There are a number of joist holes and traces of vanished fittings on the face of the wall.

In the south wall of the hall (Fig 41) there is a window, a fireplace and a door cut through to the kitchen; beyond the line of the screen is the original door to the kitchen and an enlarged loop in the angle, and above these another fireplace, door, and window in the chamber. The hall window is an enlargement of an original loop, the lintel of which is still visible, which cuts through the portcullis slot; the slot extends from the side of the fireplace to the door to the solar, and up to the wall-plate. The jambs and the hood of the fireplace have been destroyed and the flue exposed. High up on the wall is a large quadrant corbel, possibly to support the portcullis winding-gear. The square-headed door to the kitchen has a shallow chamfered lintel and chamfered jambs, and the original door from the kitchen to the service has a pointed arch with a plain chamfer.

The wall of the chamber contains a very rough square-headed door which led to a room above the kitchen. Next to this is the fireplace, which has a chamfer on jambs and lintel and reveals of dressed stone; in the angle is a small window in an altered embrasure. This part of the wall is pierced by a regular series of rectangular holes in vertical lines of three, which also appear in the west wall.

In the west wall at second-floor level (Fig 40) there is a door to the wall walk and a window embrasure, and at floor level is a window embrasure at the north end. The masonry of the upper part of the wall is in large squared blocks with plain edges at the openings. Similar masonry appears at the south side of the lower embrasure, but towards the southern corner the stonework is smaller and rougher. The wall face is cut back a little at the south embrasure, and the north jamb of the lower embrasure is rough. Only the upper part of the south reveal is original. Above the line of corbels, a row of holes shows the line of a later floor. There are two sets of these joist holes, at 2.50m and 3.50m above the floor.

The roof, which has been altered on more than one occasion, rests on substantial wall-plates, each made up of large paired timbers connected by stepped scarf joints. Cambered tie-beams carry the principal rafters

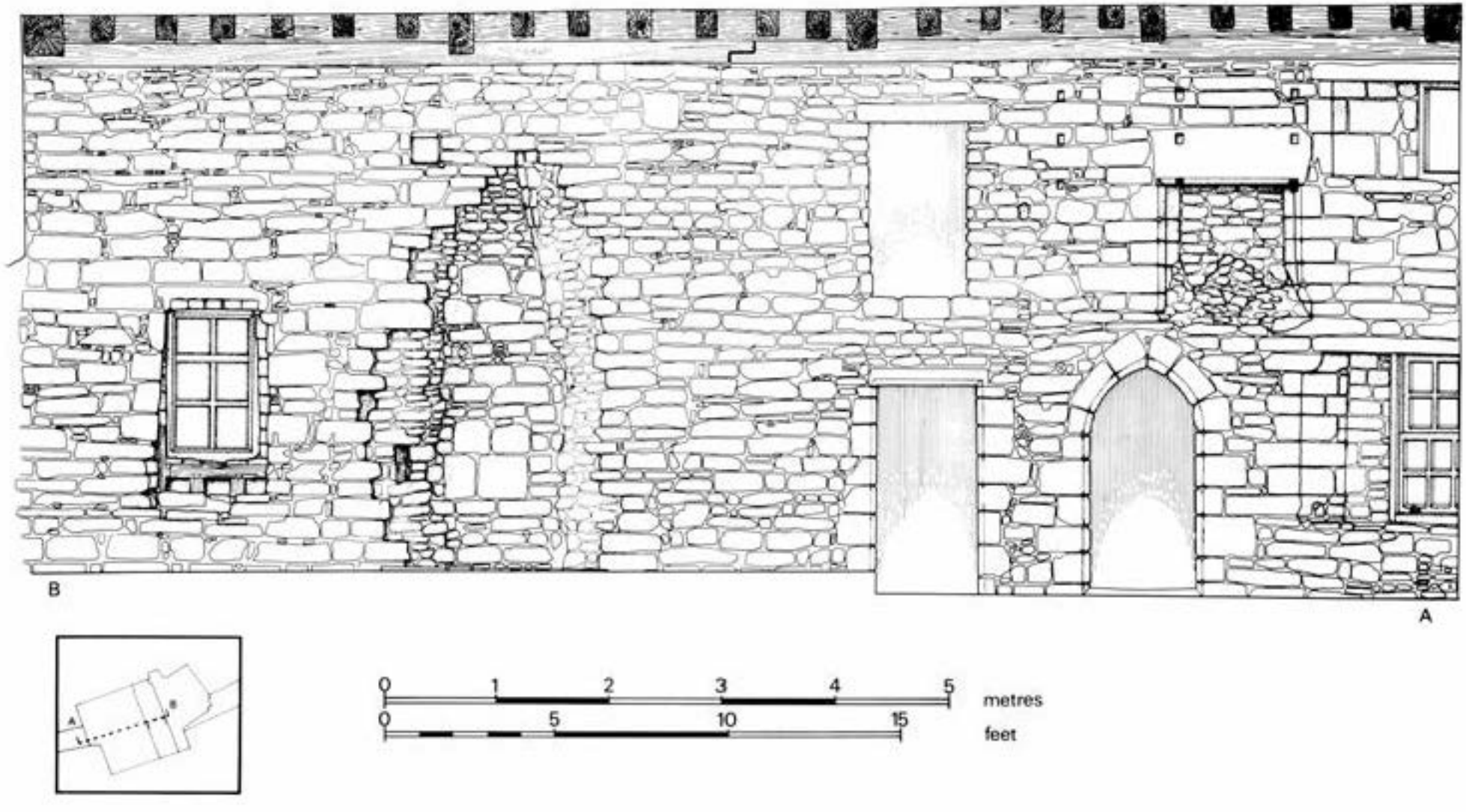

Fig 41 The outer gatehouse; internal east-west elevation of the south wall of the hall and the service area (room 10)

and ridge-purlin on low muntins, which are tenoned and pegged. The purlins are notched into the tie-beam and the ridge-purlin is twin-tenoned into the muntins. Five trusses cover the hall, the service room and the chamber. This is not the original shape of the roof; the mural stair (18) continues past the door to the chamber to give access to the parapet walk, but is now cut off by the present roof. The original roof must have been narrower, but as there are no signs of corbels or rafter holes in the walls it may have been of similar form to the present one.

First floor, room 11; the kitchen

The north wall (Figs 34, 40, and 42) contains the two doors leading off the hall (Fig 41) and the second-floor door opening into the chamber. The upper part of the wall at the west end runs at an angle across the corner to accommodate the chamber fireplace. Immediately below this is a reused fragment of moulding built into the wall. A line of shallow joist holes runs the length of this wall at about 3.15m above the floor.

The east wall contains a large fireplace, from which all dressings have been removed, exposing the flue. In the fireplace are the remains of a hearth, and to the north there is a small cupboard.

In the south wall (Fig 42), a large embrasure at the east end now contains a window in its lower half. In the upper part there is a blocked light, 0.50m wide, in a splayed opening of dressed stone, which is visible outside. The lower part of the embrasure probably gave access to a turret, which was supported on the corbelled base on the external face just below the window. A short passage has been cut through the wall to the barbican in the eastern reveal.

The rest of the south wall is occupied by a large fireplace, 3.20m wide and 1.70m high, under a chamfered segmental arch. The masonry above the centre of the arch has been reset in recent times, and the central stone of the arch is a replacement. One voussoir has a hole for a pot-hanger. In the back of the fireplace there is a draught-hole, now closed up, and at the eastern end there is a blocked inglenook window. A line of shallow joist holes, opposite those in the north wall, is interrupted by the replaced masonry above the centre of the arch. Above the sides of the fireplace arch there is a pair of large, shallow holes, 2.40m above the floor.

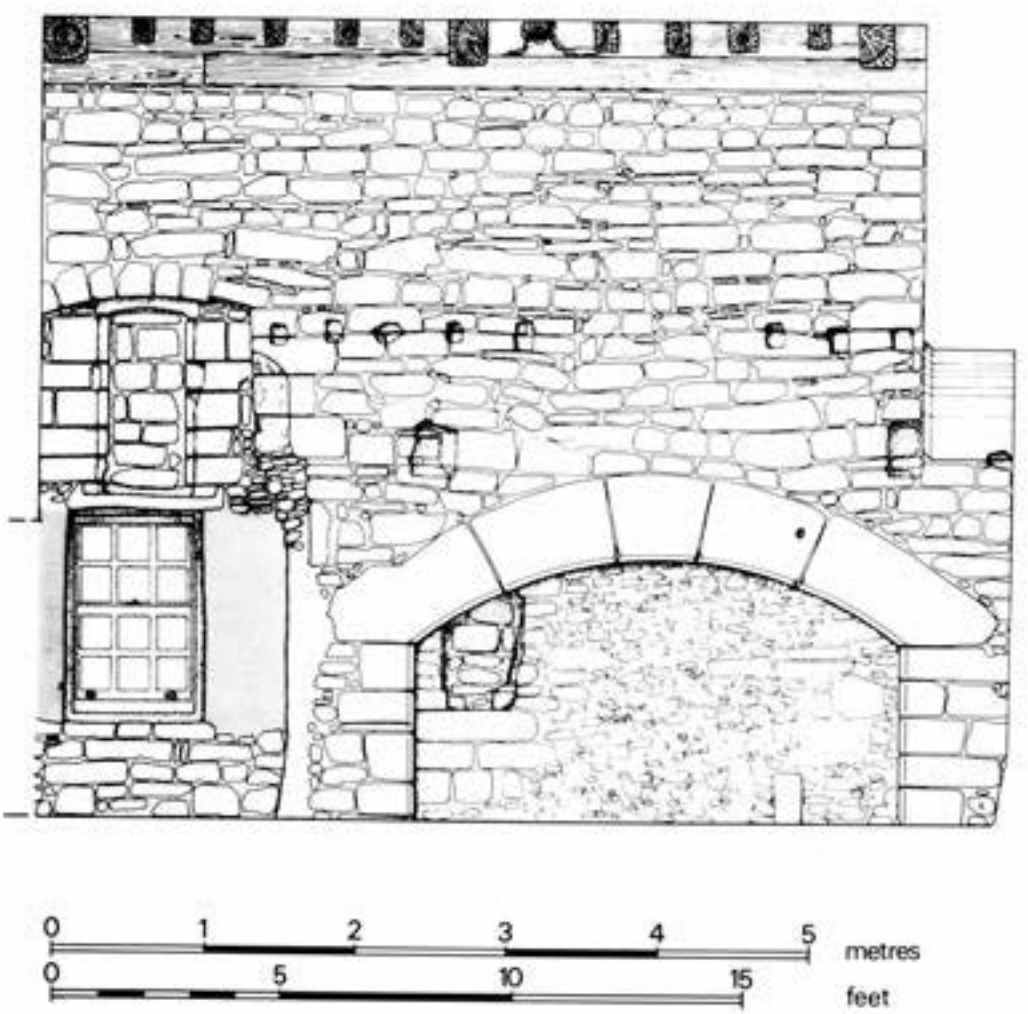

Fig 42 The outer gatehouse; internal east-west elevation of the south wall of the kitchen (room 11)

The west wall (Fig 40) is dominated by a high arch spanning most of the width of the wall; it is 3.10m high and 3.25m wide. The segmental arch and the north jamb are chamfered. Some of the voussoirs have slipped and have been very crudely cut back to their original line. In the middle of the wall, under the arch, a window has been inserted into a shallow embrasure, and later cut down by two courses. Below this a large area of patching or rebuilding probably marks the position of a sink.

The roof is similar to that in the hall and solar. Three trusses cover this room; the tie-beam of the eastern truss is a modern replacement.

First floor, rooms 12–14; the solar, passage to the hall and garderobe

The solar (Figs 34, 39, and 43) occupies the second floor in the tower to the east of the gate passage and is set at an angle to the hall. The original access from the hall remains in an altered form in the north wall; at the north-east angle there is a door to the newel stair (15). The east wall contains a fireplace, and the south wall has both an early fireplace and an embrasure, in which is the door to the garderobe (14).

The north (Fig 39) and east walls are both constructed of large squared blocks. In the north-west corner is a low door which originally gave access to the hall via a mural passage; it has been bricked up to form an alcove, 0.40m deep, and the reveals have been notched for shelves. The bottom of this door is below the present floor level. To the east is a much altered embrasure. Part of the west reveal is probably original, but it has cut away by a door and a short, sloping opening leading to the earlier mural passage to the hall. The embrasure has been increased in height, and a very flat brick vault has been inserted.

In the angle between the north and east walls is a narrow diagonal wall (Fig 39) which contains the door to the newel stair. This wall does not reach the ceiling, but ends just below in a projecting chamfered cornice. The door to the staircase has a deep lintel with a segmental arch, cut from a reused third-century Roman altar, removed and replaced in 1987 with a substitute stone.

Most of the centre of the east wall (Fig 43) is occupied by an inserted brick fireplace and overmantel. This occupies an original embrasure: part of the northern splay can be seen where the brick has been removed, and the small blocked light is visible in the upper of two cupboards in the back of the fireplace, and in the outside wall. The brickwork extends to 4.20m above the floor; at 3.25m up a small brick relieving arch supports the wall above the remains of an elaborately moulded panel. Only the upper right-hand corner of the border survives, and there is no trace of the original panel. The moulded bricks are covered with a thin layer of a fine dark red mortar, which has been whitewashed. The chamfered springer of a brick arch to the fireplace survives on the south jamb. The sides and rear of the fireplace are damaged and two cupboards have been inserted in the back; the lower one has a rebate and hinge-pins for a door. Lower down is a narrow draught-hole. A row of shallow joist holes runs

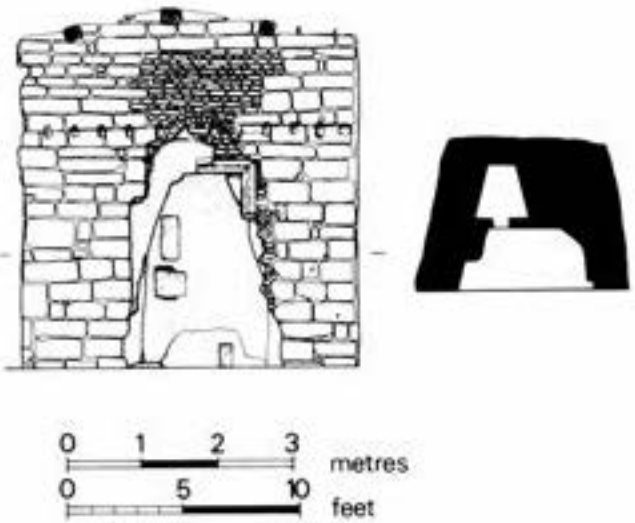

Fig 43 North-south elevation of the east wall of the solar showing the remains of the brick fireplace

across this wall at a height of 3.10m; higher up, the purlins of the roof run into the wall, rather than ending in a truss as is the case in the hall and the kitchen.

The upper part of the south wall consists of relatively large blocks at the top, with smaller, thinner blocks and some rubble towards the bottom. A square-headed embrasure, which now contains a window, occupies the centre of the wall. In the eastern reveal is the door to the garderobe (14). The garderobe is a straight passage, with a small loop in the south wall; the east wall has been cut away to make a door to the wall walk. The eastern reveal of the embrasure and the quoins of the western one are of dressed stone, and the lintel is chamfered. The lower three quoins of the western form the lower part of the jamb of the early fireplace in the corner of the room; this too is chamfered. The fireplace has now been opened out to form an alcove, with a timber lintel and reveals of sandstone and brick.

The west wall is featureless, except for a line of joist holes opposite those in the east wall, and the ragged opening leading into the passage from the hall. The original passage, from the hall to the north-west angle of the solar, is lined with dressed masonry, and the later passage with brick.

Room 15; the newel staircase

The stair (Fig 34) links the landing outside the mezzanine room to the parapet. It is a narrow, clockwise stair of 38 steps, with walls of large blocks of well-squared stone and a stepped ceiling. The lower part of the stair is in a passage cut through the wall to the straight stair (room 8). In the east wall, below the door to the solar, is a small modern window set in an earlier door which would have given access, via a ladder or timber stair, to the outer ward. Near the top of the stair, in the east wall, is a small recess which may be a blocked window.

Discussion

The castle's outer gate, de Ireby's Tower, stands halfway along the south curtain wall between the south-east corner of the inner ward and the south-west corner of the outer ward. It faces the city across the outer ditch (Figs 7–8). In plan (Fig 34) there is a passage which separates the square eastern tower from the principal rooms on the western side. The eastern tower is on a different alignment from the rest of the building and the curtain wall. It contains three floors. The lowest is now partly below ground level and is approached down a flight of steps in the outer ward. It is possible that this floor was originally at ground level, although Gilyard-Beer records no evidence of doors to support this view (1977, 200). If this is correct the mezzanine floor would become the original first floor and the present first-floor solar would have been on the second floor.

The main rooms on the western side of the gate passage combine residential comfort with security. The form of this range, which is two rooms deep from north to south on the ground floor, is much more in keeping with a fortified manor house – with an added prison – than with a castle gatehouse. The ground floor combines a gaoler's or porter's room (4) with steward's accomodation (Rooms 1–3) and a windowless cellar (Room 5) used as a prison below Room 4. The first floor has a well-appointed kitchen (Room 11) and a hall with service area (Room 10), together with an additional room above the service. The first floor of the east tower, which an entrance to the hall, is a solar (Room 12).

The gate passage was originally closed by a portcullis and two pairs of gates; it is further protected by a barbican which is itself overlooked by the parapet over the kitchen range on the western side. The gatehouse is built of large well-squared blocks of red St Bees sandstone externally, but internally the quality of the masonry is very variable. In some places, such as the south and west walls of the solar (room 12), the masonry is undressed and very rough in appearance. There are no features attributable to Period 1.

Period 2

Little can be said of the earliest gatehouse but part of its plan remains in the structure visible today. This is the eastern end which is on a different alignment (Fig 34) from that of the main range. It is suggested that the reason for this was that the orientation of the gatehouse may have been determined in part by the early ditch which, it has been suggested (p 28; Fig 32), may have formed a continuous arc enclosing the inner ward. The distinction between the east tower and the rest is also clearly visible as a change in floor levels (Fig 39); the arrangement on the east side of the gate passage is completely different from that on the west.

The fabric of the earliest tower survives only in a small area of the east wall, within the curtain: the lowest part of this wall is built of relatively small blocks, well worn and rather less evenly coursed than the later parts of the tower. Later doors and windows have been cut through in places, and there is an area of disturbance low down at the south end which may be connected with the garderobe just inside. Unfortunately, there is no feature in this early wall which could be used to date it.

Documentary sources of this early period do not specifically refer to the outer gate. However, the earliest reference to the gate in 1167–8 (Table 6) may refer to the transfer of the main entrance from the south-east corner of the inner ward to its present location.

Period 3

Above the early part of the eastern wall is an area built of rather large, evenly coursed blocks; it contains a small loop with a monolithic semicircular head and plain chamfered jambs, which appears to be of a twelfth-century type. It is possible that it has been reset in this position, as other evidence suggests that this area is of a rather later date.

Within the eastern tower the same type of stonework can be seen in the east and north walls of the solar, (Room 12; Figs 39 and 43). Although it has been scarred by later alterations, it is quite distinct from the masonry of the south and west walls, which are of small undressed stones. The mezzanine room below has similar masonry in its eastern and northern wall, though the difference is less clear-cut because of alterations and insertions; the door to the garderobe in its east wall has a fourteenth-century door with a heavy shouldered lintel, and the embrasure to the north has been greatly enlarged. What can be seen of the walls of the ground floor prison is of the same large masonry as on the upper floors.

In the north-east corner of the upper room there is a small door with a segmental head (Fig 39) leading to the newel staircase, which also belongs to this phase. The newel originally rose from the door in the east wall, which must have been reached by means of a ladder or a light timber stair, and ran up past the upper

Table 6 Principal documentary references to the outer gate and other less specific references in Periods 2 and 3

Date	*Source*	*References*
1167–8	PR	removal or renewal of castle gate
1196–7	PR	work on the castle gate
1203–4	PR	repair of gates
1257	Shirley 1866	gatehouse split from top to bottom – damage inflicted in 1216 not repaired
1297–8	PRO *E372/147*	work on houses over the castle gate
1302	PRO *E101/482/22*	repairs to the great gate
1308	PRO *E372/153*	new chamber at the outer gate
1318	PRO *C145/82*	great gate and its stone vaulting needs renewing
1321	PRO *C145/86*	vaulting of great gate collapsed; gate should be renewed
1356	PRO *E372/201*	repairs and renovations to the outer gate below the exchequer
1370	PRO *E101/483/1* PRO *E101/554/20*	various works on the wall by the new gate
1378	*CPR* 1377–81	appointment of John Lewyn; indenture of works
1379	PRO *E364/13*	iron and hooks for outer gate
1381	PRO *E101/39/11*	timber for new tower of outer gate
1381–2	PRO *E101/554/24*	detailed accounts
1383	PRO *E199/7/11*	locks on outer gate and handover
1425	PRO *E368/197*	repairs to the Cheker house

room to the roof. In its upper part is a small window looking east, now blocked by later rebuilding which has removed any trace of it on the outside wall.

The large, even stonework of this corner of the tower, visible outside in the east wall and inside in all three rooms of the eastern part of the building, is clearly all of one period. Although it is superficially similar to the masonry of the fourteenth-century rebuilding, the fact that it contains so early a feature as the small eastern loop suggests that it must be earlier: this is borne out by the existence in the north face of a clear break between this area and the rebuilding attributed to the work of Lewyn from 1378 (Table 6; p 45). This large area of masonry is obviously the result of a substantial campaign of repair.

Summerson has described the rebuilding of the gatehouse (pp 146f) which was both a remodelling and an enlargement of the old and decayed but rebuilt gatehouse of Period 2. While the shape of the building to the east of the gate passage was still basically that of the earlier tower, the gate passage was driven through at a straighter angle cutting off the north-west corner of the east tower in the process.

A reconstruction of the tower at this period (Fig 44) shows on the ground floor a pair of vaulted rooms aligned north-south (rooms 1–2) built inside the line of the curtain wall (Fig 39); these formed a unit with a similar room (4) aligned east-west on their southern side. This room, together with a cellar (5) below it, formed a prison suite (Figs 34b and 40) which projected from the face of the curtain as a flanking tower overlooking the barbican to the east and the berm to the west. The prison rooms were completely separate from the rest of the tower, and they had their own entrance just inside the doors of the gatehouse. Although they have been altered, the door and its connecting passage are still visible. The floor of the southern room was carried on the barrel vault of the cellar some 0.6m above the present level. The prison in the cellar probably had an earthen floor and was lit and ventilated by a small sloping shaft in the south wall. The eastern of the two inner rooms probably acted as a reception room between the gate passage and the stair to the main apartments on the first floor. The western room may have provided accommodation for the steward: the squint next to the connecting door enabled visitors to be examined before being taken upstairs. This scheme of use explains the presence of a fireplace and latrine in the western room, and their absence from the eastern.

These four rooms and their garderobes are visible today much as they were when built. The earliest accurate plan of the tower, on Garforth's survey of 1545 (Fig 125, p 181), shows a pair of rooms in the southern part of the tower where only one now exists; this, however, is probably an attempt to show the main room and the cellar below it on a single plan, a hypothesis borne out by the stylised way in which the diagonal passage leading to these rooms is shown on the same drawing. Alternatively, one of the existing

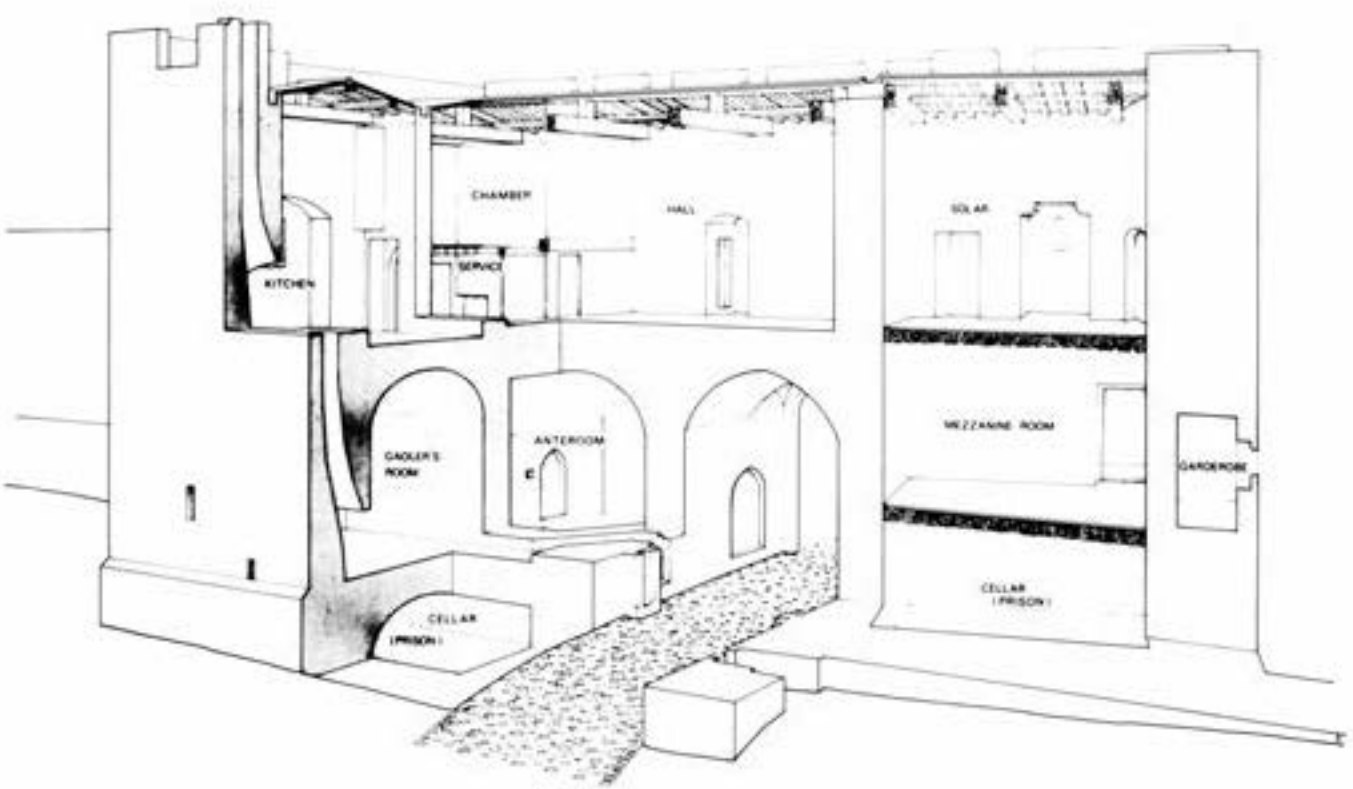

Fig 44 Cut-away view of the outer gatehouse from the south-east

rooms may have been subdivided by a timber partition, as was the case in the same part of the tower in later periods.

The two lower rooms of the old tower to the east of the gate passage were also used as a prison suite, consisting of a cellar with a chamber above it, similar to that to the west. The cellar was entered through a small trapdoor at the foot of the stair to the chamber, and it may have been lit by an embrasure cut into the south curtain wall. The upper chamber was a good deal more comfortable; it had a large fireplace, windows to the south and the east, and a garderobe.

Above the gate passage and the inner rooms, and reached by a mural stair to the north, was the hall and chamber (Figs 34 and 39–41). The chamber was a suspended room of timber over the service room at the lower end of the hall, supported on corbels at the western end and on the screen at the east. It was reached by means of a mural staircase in the north wall, which also gave access to the roof. Both the chamber and the service room below had fireplaces, and there was a larger one in the south wall of the hall.

The upper end of the hall (Figs 39 and 41) over the gate passage was lit by two square embrasures on the north side, each with a door in one of its reveals, and by a window in the south wall overlooking the barbican. This loop pierced the portcullis slot, which runs the whole height of the wall here; the windlass for raising and lowering the portcullis was probably housed on the parapet. The roof of the tower is recorded in the indenture as being of lead, so it must have been of a low pitch. The absence of a set of corbels at ceiling level suggests that, like its modern replacement, it rested on timber wall-plates.

The kitchen (Figs 34, 40, and 42) occupies the upper part of the tower over the prison rooms, to the south of the hall. It has a very high ceiling and two large fireplaces to the south and east at right-angles to one another, as was common in the period. The southern one (Fig 42) is almost one metre wider than the eastern, which has lost its dressings. Next to the north jamb of the eastern fireplace is a small recess which was probably used as a dry cupboard for salt or spices. In the western wall there are traces of a drain beneath the window suggesting the presence of a sink. The wall at this point is thinner than elsewhere; the full thickness of the upper part of the wall is carried on an arch above the loop. The other lights were both in the south wall: a small inglenook window in the fireplace, and to the east a larger opening high up in the wall. This gave access to a semi-octagonal turret projecting from the face of the tower, which could provide flanking fire across the face of the barbican.

Most of what can be seen of the defences of the barbican today is a late rebuilding of the original embattled walk, but its basic shape is unchanged. The narrow wall walk gave a wide field of fire in front of the tower and commanded the portcullis and the gate. On the east wall of the kitchen a row of four corbels projects at the level of the wall walk, and this was presumably matched by a second row on the east side of the barbican and which has now disappeared. These corbels would have supported a timber structure to provide more cover for the gates.

The new building of 1378 was connected to the older part of the tower at first floor level by a passage (13) through the wall at the north-east corner of the hall. This ran from the reveal of the eastern embrasure through the rebuilt corner of the old tower to enter the upper room (12) in its north-west corner. This upper room or solar was probably used as the exchequer of the sheriff -- the same 'Cheker Howse' which is recorded as being repaired some 35 years later. The presence of the exchequer in the outer gatehouse was attested during the riots of 1345 (p 142). It was lit by loops in the north, east and south walls, and it had a fireplace in the south-west corner. A mural passage in the south wall led to a garderobe. This apartment was the only one in the old part of the tower which was accessible from the main part of the building, as the rooms below were a separate suite.

The different functions of the rooms in the new gatehouse are suggested by their positions in the building, and by the level of sophistication of their fittings, such as windows, garderobes, and in particular their fireplaces. Three rooms were not heated at all; these were the anteroom (1) next to the gate passage, and (not surprisingly) the prison cellars (6, 7). In each of the other rooms there are one or more fireplaces, differing according to the function of the room or the status of its occupants. There are four types (Figs 39 and 41–2).

The simplest has a plain slab lintel and square jambs, carefully dressed and with a plain chamfer around the opening. The lintels are usually rather deep. This type appears in rooms used by servants, the public, and by those prisoners not confined in the dungeons: the prison rooms, the porter's room, the chamber at the upper end of the hall, and the service room west of the screen. Only the latter survives unaltered; the lintel in the western prison room is cut through, and in the porter's room it has completely disappeared and its socket has been filled with reused stones. In the eastern prison room a smaller brick fireplace has been built within the original opening, drastically reducing it in size. This late construction was never intended to house a grate, but formed an alcove for a stove whose flue ran up into the old chimney through a small hole in the new sandstone lintel. In the eastern chamber the fireplace was superseded by the elaborate sixteenth-century insertion in the east wall; although only a fragment of the early opening remains, the shape of the jamb and the proportions of the hearth show that it was of the basic type.

There is only one example, in the second-floor chamber over the service room, of the second type of fireplace: it is a more urbane form of the utilitarian model already described. Like the simple form, it has a deep slab lintel, but the ends are splayed; the jambs are not square, but turn in at an angle half-way back. The opening has a plain chamfer, and the masonry is very well finished. Although it is similar to the first type, this fireplace is clearly of a higher quality, suitable for an important domestic room. The third type is the purely functional fireplace found in the kitchen. Only one of the two very large examples here retains its dressings, and parts of that have been reset; but it is likely that both were originally of the same type. The surviving opening has a simple chamfered segmental

arch of deep sandstone slabs, making a broad, plain fireplace well suited to its practical purpose.

The fireplace in the south wall of the hall (Fig 41) is the only example of the fourth type in the gatehouse. It was an important feature of the most prestigious room in the building, and would have been an elaborate and imposing construction: it is unfortunate that there is now no trace at all of its former shape. The opening in the wall visible today is too shallow for a large hearth, and would originally have been flanked by projecting shafts or pilasters supporting a hood.

The remodelled tower served three purposes when it was completed in the 1380s: it was the most important element in the defences of the outer ward; it was used for the administration of the castle and the town; and, most importantly, it provided accommodation for the sheriff and his household.

Period 4

Despite its importance, the new gatehouse did not escape the neglect suffered by the rest of the castle (Table 7). In 1529 a report said that the lead roof was so leaky that the roof and the floors below it were decayed; the county gaol and its accompanying chambers were in danger of collapse, and the doors were rotten. Only two rooms were described as being habitable. These faults were not repaired for over fifty years, by which time the residential function was being superseded by the new building in the inner ward: however, later alterations within the tower show that it was still occupied, and it is clear from documentary evidence that the building was still used as a gaol.

By the mid sixteenth century a door had been cut from the gate passage to the prison in the old part of the tower. Garforth's 1545 plan (Fig 125, p 181) shows only a single chamber here – it omits the staircase – and a single door from the passage. An anonymous plan of a few years later (Fig 126, p 181) shows a pair of doors leading to two chambers, the southern slightly larger than the other; but the plan is clearly inaccurate in places, and the northern room is probably a mistaken interpretation of the stair. The inserted door is broad, with a slab lintel and a rebate for an external door.

It was probably at this time that alterations were made to the timber screen which supported the chamber at the lower end of the hall. In its original form, this crossed the hall immediately east of the fourteenth-century door to the kitchen, and the floor of the chamber oversailed it in a cantilever or jetty. There is no sign in the early masonry of a true screens passage, nor of an original door to the kitchen east of the screen. During this period, however, a low square-headed door was cut through the wall under the jetty, and it seems quite likely that a second screen was put up under the end of the chamber. The division of the hall on this line was preserved by a later brick wall, after the chamber itself had disappeared.

During the late sixteenth century, the room at the east end of the hall was refurbished in some style. The original fireplace in the south-west corner was closed up, and a new and much more elaborate one inserted in the embrasure in the east wall. It was built of brick, and had a low four-centred arch beneath a decorative panel or overmantel; in its back there are two small brick-lined cupboards. The arch is similar to that of the fireplace in the upper room of the Tile Tower, which has moulded jambs; the fireplace in the gatehouse has a plain chamfer on jambs and arch. At about the same time as this alteration, the window in the north wall was enlarged. Although it is very badly decayed, traces of the decorative moulding which surrounded this window can still be seen; it is very similar to the moulding of the upper window in the north wall of the Regimental Museum. Inside, the embrasure was widened a good deal and a very shallow brick arch inserted, and from its western reveal a passage was forced through the wall to connect with the door to the hall. The earlier passage to the chamber was bricked up, leaving only a small recess.

There is little direct evidence of alterations to the exterior of the tower during this period; it is possible, however, that it was during these years that the inner face of the wall walk of the barbican was remodelled to allow the use of firearms. The original inner wall was completely removed, taking with it the eastern row of oversailing corbels, and a new wall with plain gunslots running through its full height was built in its place. The wall as visible today cannot be dated, but defences of this type could not have appeared much earlier than the sixteenth century.

The documentary evidence from this period suggests that the tower remained in use as a prison (Table 7) and as a residential building, but in a rather less grand style. It was repaired from time to time, as when Scottish prisoners were accommodated during one of the Jacobite rebellions, but these repairs, like those of earlier periods, are very difficult to identify in the fabric. The only substantial area of repair is in the north wall of the hall, which was completely rebuilt from the western embrasure to its east end. The rebuilt section is on a slightly different alignment from the earlier part of the wall, and the masonry, which includes a number of re used stones, is of a different character. The new work includes an embrasure in a new position at the east end of the wall, which blocks the earlier entrance to the eastern part of the tower. Contemporary plans and later engravings suggest that the window in this embrasure was rather small, but it has been enlarged to take a sash window, as has the western one. The blocking of the passage between the hall and the eastern room made it necessary to make a new entrance passage, which was forced through the wall at the south-east corner: on the east side, the old mural pas-

Table 7 Documentary references to the outer gate in Periods 4–5

Date	*Source*	*References*
1529	*LPH*, IV, III	very bad state of outer gate
1543	BL *Add Ms 5754*	widening the outer gate
1586–7	PRO *E101/545/16*	repairs
1595–1602	PRO *E101/545/16*	repairs
1745	EH *931/1055*	repairs occasioned by need to house Jacobite prisoners
1819	PRO *WO44/14*	platform placed over barbican for stationing infantry
1834–41	PRO *WO44/14*	schoolroom established in the outer gatehouse between 1834 and 1841

sage to the sixteenth-century embrasure was blocked, leaving a recess.

At the east end of the upper chamber, west of the hall, a rough door (Fig 41) was forced through the wall to the kitchen. This small, crude opening cannot be dated, but was obviously intended as a way into an upper room over the kitchen. The only other trace of this room is a row of three rough joist holes over the south fireplace (Fig 42); another may have been removed by the rebuilding of a patch of wall over the fireplace arch. The kitchen must have gone out of use by the time that this room was built, or have been used on a much smaller scale. Whatever its function was, the upper room was short-lived, for the chamber which gave access to it had been removed by the mid eighteenth century.

A number of windows in the tower were altered or enlarged during this period. The window in the south wall of the kitchen, and the projecting turret outside it, appear to have been altered early in the tower's life: the turret does not appear on even the earliest plans. By the mid-eighteenth century it had been reduced to little more than the couple of courses which survive today, and a larger window had been inserted at a lower level. Thomas Hearne's view of 1778 (Fig 11, p 15) shows this window, with the old one above it apparently still open: the inglenook window in the same wall also appears to be in use at this time. There is a loop, not yet enlarged to its present size, in the south wall of the gaoler's room in the same engraving; and in the south curtain wall the heavily barred window of the eastern prison can be seen.

The internal arrangement of the building underwent some alteration during this period: contemporary plans show the anteroom west of the gate passage divided diagonally into two compartments. There are no scars on the walls, so the partition was probably only of timber; its position can still be seen as a line of whitewash on the vault. A new square-headed door was inserted from the gate passage to this room. At the same time, the hall is shown as being divided by a brick wall east of the stairs. The upper chamber at the west end of the hall had disappeared, and the fireplace in the north wall of the service room was blocked up. The garderobe off the exchequer was blocked and a passage forced from the chamber to the wall walk outside. This was the first direct connection between the ramparts and the interior of the tower, which had hitherto always been a separate defensive unit. In the kitchen, the south fireplace was open, but the one in the eastern wall was blocked up.

The tower is shown schematically on a plan of the Castle Green which was prepared for the Earl of Lonsdale in the late 1700s. At that time the rooms in the west of the building housed three invalid gunners, while those on the east are described as 'Some Old Rooms mostly in Ruins'. By 1806 the number of invalids living in the gatehouse had increased to six.

Period 5

The later history of the gatehouse involved few major alterations, but a number of minor changes to doors and windows were made. During this period the building was used for a variety of purposes by the Army; it served as a barracks for NCOs and men, as a guard-room and lock-up, and as a schoolroom and library.

Clennell's view of 1812 (Fig 12, p 16) shows a small lean-to, possibly a guard-house, against the west side of the kitchen tower, above which the drain from the kitchen is visible under a cover. The early high window of the south wall of the kitchen appears with its later, larger replacement and the inglenook window; but there is also another window, high on the wall on its west side, of which there is no trace in the fabric. This engraving also shows four tall chimmneys on the parapet: these served the south fireplace of the kitchen, the western prison room, the hall, and the eastern chamber. The same illustration shows that the outer wall of the barbican was in a ruinous state, standing no higher than the top of the armorial panel. The later rebuilding to its present height, and the provision of small-arms loops, is attributable to the nineteenth century. Documentary references (p 239) show that the loops were in position by 1831.

By this time the eighteenth-century stables along the curtain wall west of the tower had been replaced by the range of cells and offices seen there today, and these buildings communicated with the gatehouse through a door inserted in the western embrasure of the porter's room. Doors to the barbican were cut from the kitchen and the hall. The small inglenook window was blocked up by 1829, and by 1830 the south window of the eastern prison was also blocked up; its sill and parts of its jambs can still be seen in the curtain wall. There does not seem to be any evidence in the fabric or in early illustrations to support the suggestion that this was a door to a seventeenth-century building on the berm. The door leading into this room from the gate passage was partly blocked to form a window, and a new entrance was cut through the east wall below the disused garderobe of the mezzanine room. The newel stair was connected to the straight flight from the gate passage after the mid 1700s, and its door to the outer ward was closed up to form a window. Some time after this, a door was inserted in the north wall of the staircase, outside the mezzanine room and the door to the gate passage at the foot of the stairs was closed up.

It was probably during this period that the vault of the prison under the kitchen was removed. The lack of documentary or other evidence makes it impossible to date this alteration, or to say whether it was caused by decay; but whatever the cause, the barrel vault was taken down to its lowest courses, the pit was filled with rubbish, and a floor was laid over it at the same level as that of the rooms behind. The fireplace, garderobe and embrasure were all altered to suit the new floor level. Cut into the jambs of the fireplace are two sloping holes to fit the springers of an inserted arch, which has subsequently disappeared.

During the mid nineteenth century, the gatehouse was converted for use as officers' and soldiers' quarters, together with an armoury, a library, and a schoolroom. Fireplaces were blocked and replaced with stoves, lath-and-plaster ceilings were inserted, and holes were cut in walls and floors for gas pipes. Most of the walls were plastered, and some were cased in brickwork. Work was also done on the outside of the

building, where new parapets and crenellations were built. The building remained in the hands of the Army until the beginning of 1962, when most of these later accretions were removed. In the course of later alterations, carried out in 1987–8 as part of the conversion of the gatehouse for use as a ticket office and shop, the medieval timber chamber over the service room was reconstructed, and the door to the wall walk reopened. On the ground floor, the central door to the gate passage was opened up, and a floor was inserted over the prison at the same level as that of the reception room. Stud partitions were erected in the mezzanine room, and the door in its eastern embrasure was built up to form a window; this space, adjacent to the medieval garderobe, is now occupied by a lavatory.

The inner gatehouse

The inner gatehouse, or Captain's Tower, which provides access between the inner and outer wards, lies midway along the west curtain wall of the inner ward at the point where there is a slight angle in its course (Figs 7–8, pp 10–11). It is just over 12.5m in height on the external (west) face and approximately 9.8m wide at ground level. Its shape is basically rectangular, and consists of a gate passage surmounted by two storeys (Fig 45A, B, and C). The passage is vaulted, and has gates at front and back as well as a portcullis towards the rear. Access to the rooms on the first and second floors is by way of a door in the inner ward. There is a small chamber on the south side of the passage but no other ground-floor rooms. In its original form the gatehouse gave access to the wall walk on both sides by way of doors at second-floor level. In the sixteenth century, however, the use of cannon required the widening of the wall walk which was carried round the back of the gatehouse on a substantial arch.

The primary work is largely grey Kirklinton sandstone with later additions in red St Bees sandstone. The use of grey sandstone is especially evident in the outer (west) elevation.

The external elevations

The west elevation

The gatehouse projects in front of the curtain wall by between 2.5 and 2.8m. The gate (Fig 46) is centrally placed, and recessed between a pair of deeply projecting buttresses symmetrically disposed to either side.

The present outermost pointed arch is simple and plain, measuring 2.6m wide and 3.3m high. Its voussoirs have been cut back to receive a drawbridge. It is set within an earlier arch which projected slightly forward of the existing west face of the gatehouse. Quoins of red sandstone belonging to this earlier gate, 3.5m wide and 4.9m high, survive on both sides but especially well on the north. The stonework between the two arches is of varying size and shows signs of having been refaced when the gate was cut back.

The earlier arch was cut through by nine rectangular sockets or joist holes, which are signs of the presence at some date of a projecting balcony at first-floor level.

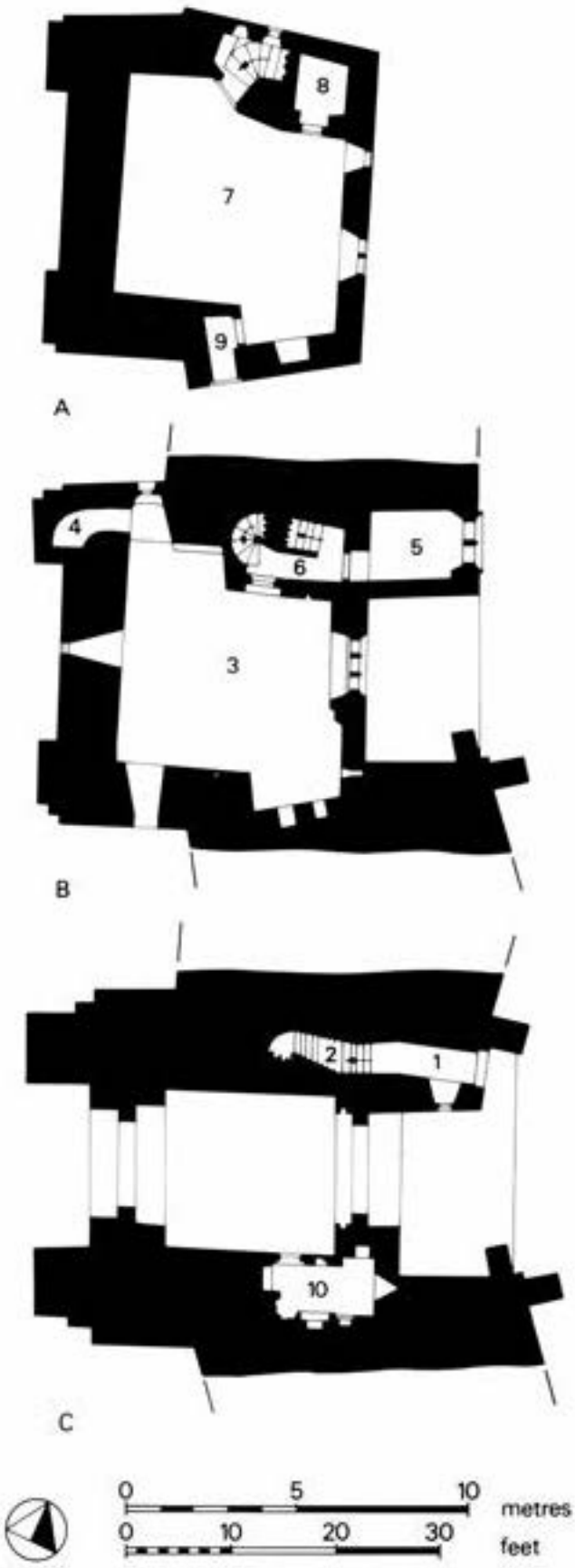

Fig 45 The inner gatehouse; plans at (A) second, (B) first, and (C) ground floor level

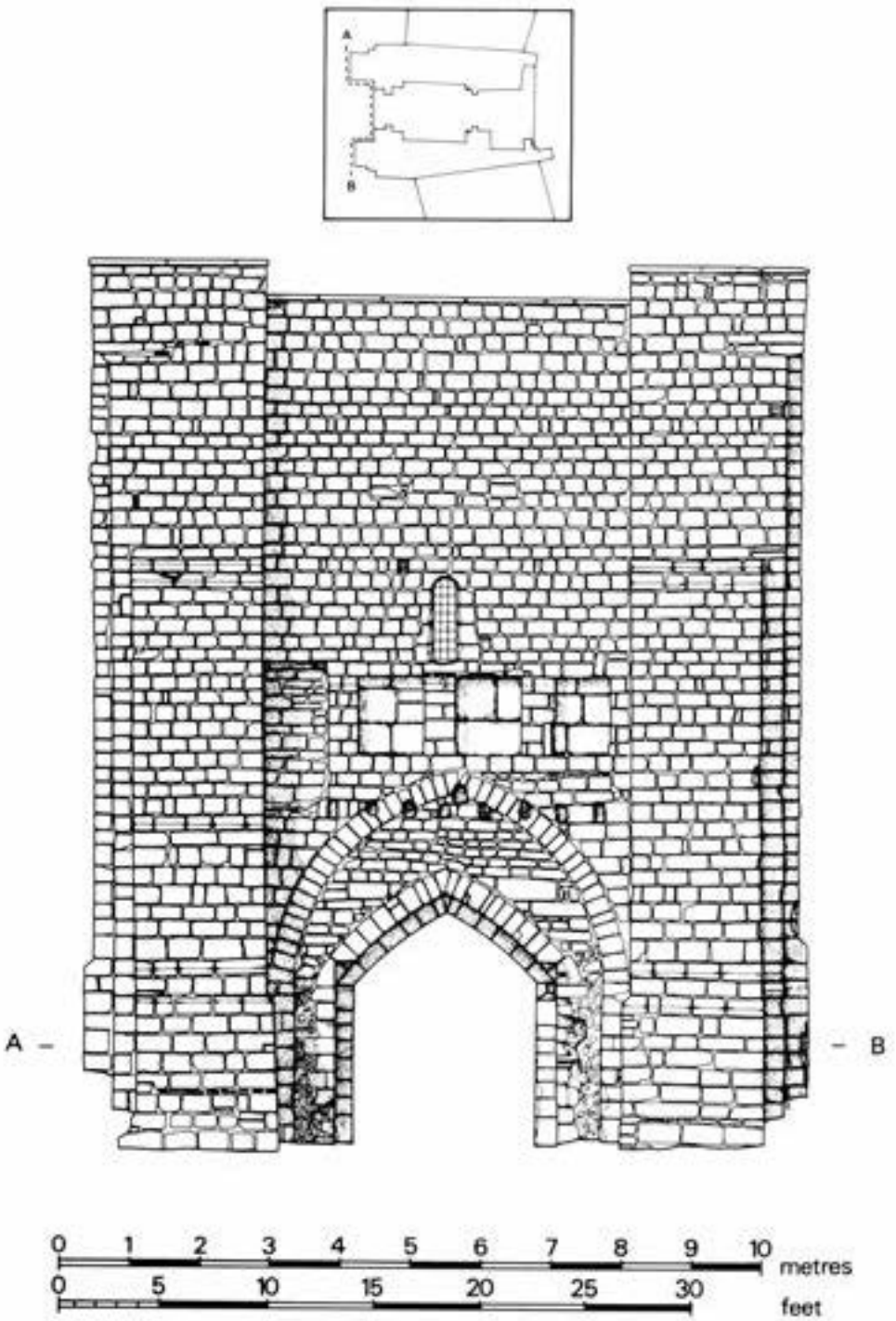

Fig 46 The inner gatehouse; elevation of the west front

Access to this was by way of a door, now blocked, and a short, curved intra-mural passage (room 4). Also visible on the west face are three plain recessed panels, possibly blocked windows. Above these is a single-light window with a rounded head formed from two stones. Apart from two other blocked holes at second-floor level, the facade is plain and without crenellations.

The buttresses which flank the gate are battered, with a series of offsets to a height of approximately 2m above present ground level. They have both been added to a pair of earlier shallower buttresses with up to three offsets which terminate about 4m below the top of the tower. These earlier buttresses can only be seen on the outermost corner, where they are not obscured by the later and deeper additions.

The north corner of the gatehouse has a chamfered plinth which continues round from the north to the west face. There is no sign of a plinth on the south face but it may be concealed. The north face also has a single offset, whilst two can be seen on the southern elevation. Neither of these appears on the west face.

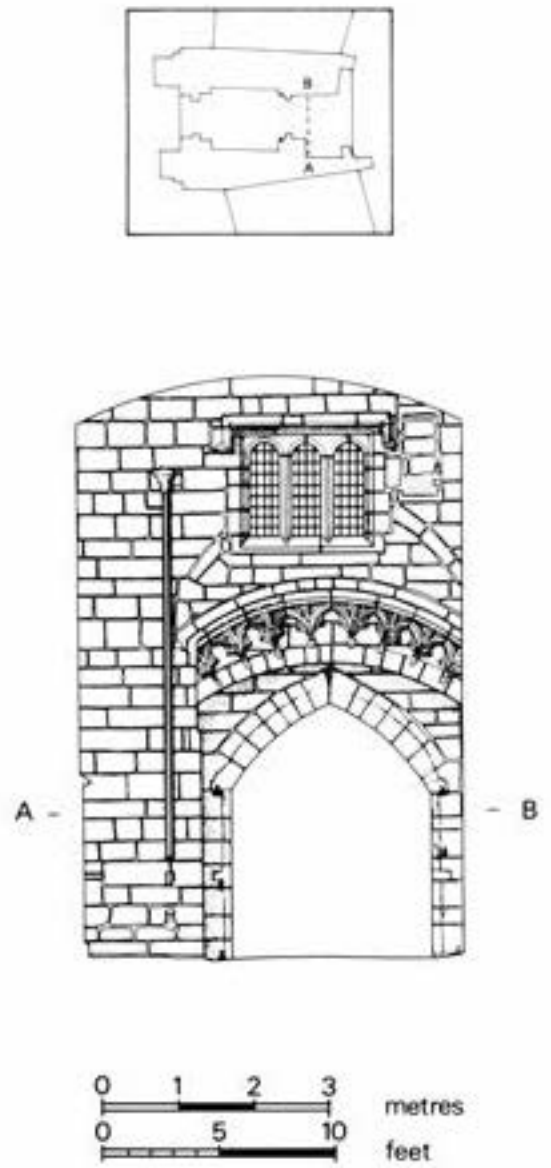

Fig 47 The inner gatehouse; elevation of the east front

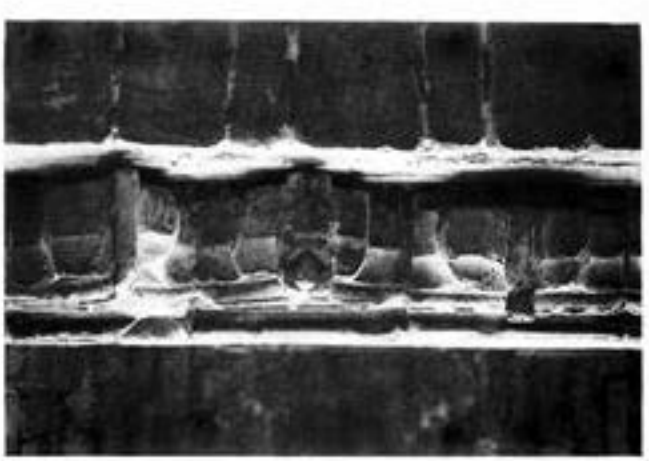

Fig 48 The Nevill arms on the east elevation of the inner gatehouse (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

The east elevation

The present inner gate (Fig 47) consists of a simple pointed arch, the voussoirs and quoins of which have been cut back fractionally to receive the gate. It is recessed behind a broad, shallow semi-circular arch which bears elaborate tracery consisting of foils and cusps. The underside of the cusps is heavily worn, but one (Fig 48) still retains a figure bearing a shield with the arms believed to be those of Ralph Lord Nevill of Raby. Just below the outermost cusps of the tracery are three decorative stops. Immediately above and projecting slightly forward of the tracery is a simple cavetto moulding.

The entrance was framed by a narrow fluted shaft springing from a bell-shaped base which rises from the plinth. The top of the shaft expands into a worn capital, but no trace of the arched member survives. The shaft on the opposite side of the entrance was removed when the wall walk was extended to the rear of the gatehouse in the sixteenth century.

Above the tracery of the gate is a relieving arch of long red sandstone voussoirs, which is cut by a three-light mullioned window of sixteenth-century date. There are traces of another blocked square-headed window immediately north of this.

At wall-walk level the east elevation includes red and a little grey sandstone with two windows. The northerly window has a single light formed from a monolithic pointed arch with an external chamfer. It is integral with the wall, whereas the other window has been inserted. This consists of two lights with a chamfered square head and a mullion. Closer to the roof line is a single, hollow-chamfered and heavily weathered offset which continues round on to the northern and southern elevations.

The north elevation

At the west end, where the gatehouse wall projects in front of the curtain wall, the building materials are predominantly grey sandstone. Apart from a small square-headed window which provides a view along the curtain from the first floor, the wall is plain. The parapet has been partially reconstructed in recent times. No signs of crenels or merlons are apparent.

A vertical offset, continuing the line of the front of the wall walk parapet, can be seen about midway along the north face. A door with a square head is partly blocked by the wall walk parapet, and a small square-headed window which lights the staircase is visible. The hollow chamfer on the east face continues round to the vertical offset.

The south elevation

The wall face projecting in front of the curtain is plain except for a square-headed window overlooking the the wall face. At wall walk level, however, the wall projects in front of the original face. This is of one build with the east and north walls, as can be seen by the hollow chamfered string-course.

A door gives access to a short passage leading to room 9. The opening is square-headed and rebated to

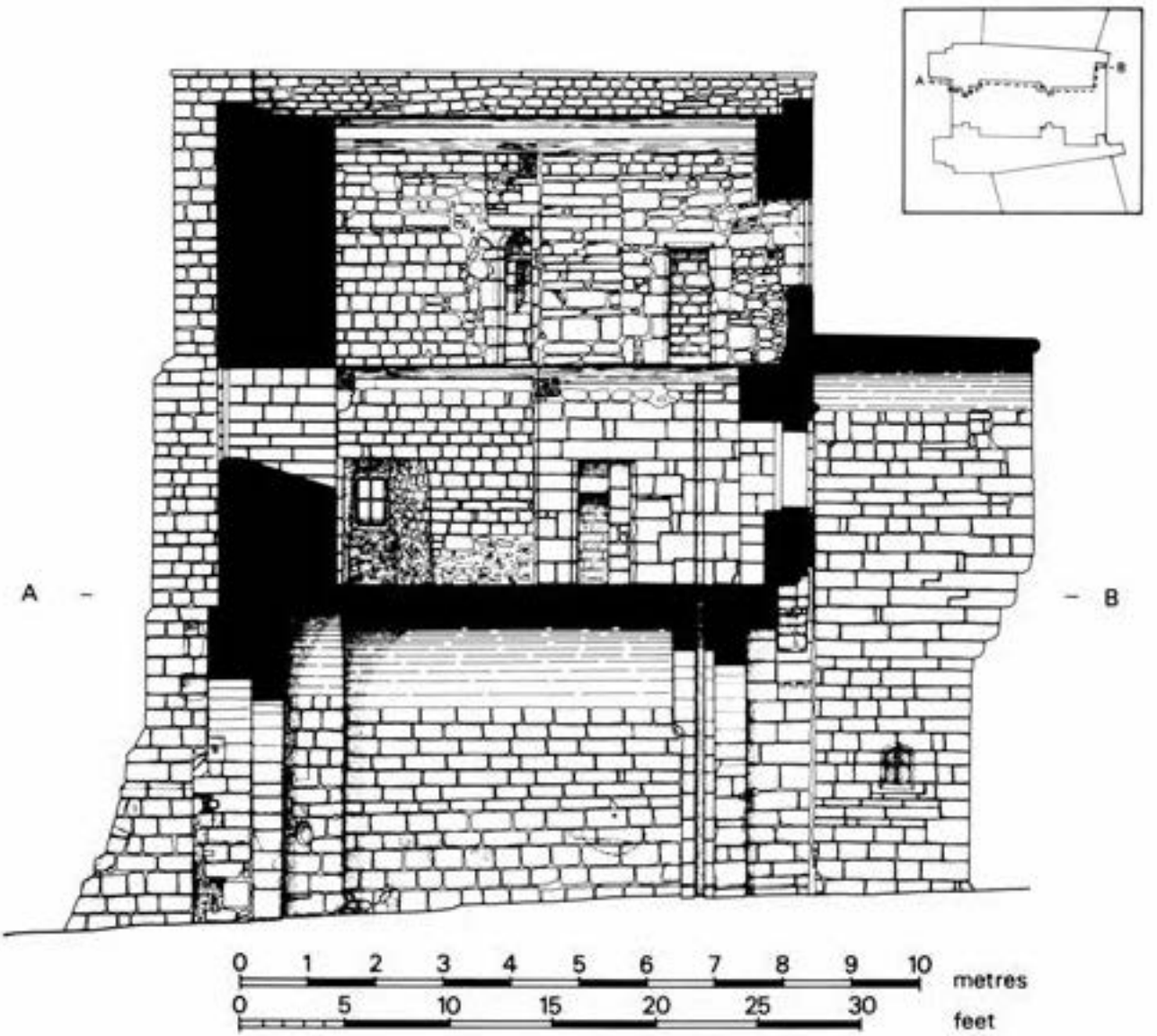

Fig 49 The inner gatehouse; internal west-east elevation of the north wall section along the gate passage, showing ground, first and second storeys

receive a door which opened externally. Immediately east of the door there are indications of patching in the stonework. This may be related to the blocked door which can be seen in the south wall of room 9 close to the south-east corner.

The gate passage

The passage (Figs 45, 49 and 50) forms a rectangular space 4.6m wide and 4.8m in length between the reveals of the inner and outer gates. The walls are plain on each side and show no signs of having been modified. There is a two-centred arched doorway with chamfered quoins and a plain hood-mould on the south side. This gives access to room 10, a small guard chamber.

At the east end of the passage there are two blocked 'murder holes' in the sandstone vaulted ceiling. The east end was also protected by two pairs of double-leaved gates, separated by a portcullis. The hinges for the gates can be seen as can the grooves which housed the portcullis. The voussoirs of the portcullis arch terminate in decorative mouldings which include a figured and foliage decoration.

The interior

The ground floor, room 10; guard chamber

The guard chamber is entered through a low pointed arch door in the south wall of the gate passage (Fig 50). Its north, south, and west walls all show signs of reconstruction. There are two square niches in the north wall (Fig 51), the eastern one in a shallow recess. The eastern wall may be all of one build and contains a single loop with splayed reveals. The loop is now blocked but the position of the window marks the outer face of the guard chamber in the inner ward before the addition of the sixteenth-century wall walk.

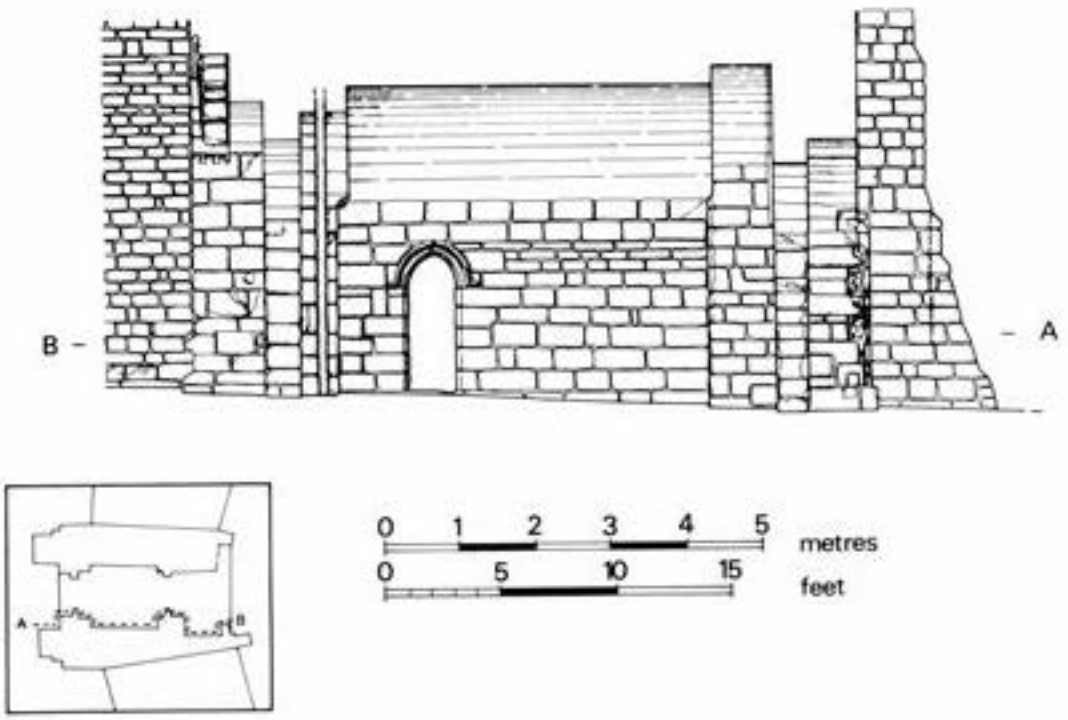

Fig 50 East-west elevation of the south wall of the gate passage showing the door to the guard room of the inner gatehouse

The south wall (Fig 51) contains a square niche and the damaged remains of a fireplace. Facing stones have been removed in places to reveal the rubble wall core. The masonry of the west wall has also been altered but a blocked doorway with a flat shouldered-lintel can be seen over a recess. It is not clear whether this door originally gave access to a second guard chamber, or whether it is a cupboard space.

The stairs to the first floor, room 2

Access to the first floor is by way of a passage (room 1; Fig 45C) at ground level which has been extended, and now runs along two short straight lengths ceiled by slabs before giving access to a newel stair (room 2). The entry into room 3 on the first-floor landing is through a door with a flat lintel but with roll-mouldings which also continue down the jambs. A small niche has been cut out of the western jamb.

The first floor, room 3

This room is basically square (Fig 45B), with deep recesses in the north-west and south-east corners. The west wall and part of the north wall have been reduced in thickness by about 0.2m. The lowest 0.5m of walling is rough, uncoursed rubble whilst above that is good quality, evenly coursed sandstone. In both walls there is an offset 1.21m above the present floor level. In the north wall the offset forms a shelf 0.2m in depth, but in the west wall the stonework has been very roughly cut back.

The west wall (Fig 52) contains a single-light round-headed window in the centre. It is internally splayed and has a sloping sill. The wall to either side of the window is much rougher than the window itself, which may have been partly reset in the slightly reduced wall thickness. Holes in the west wall were for part of the heating equipment used by the Army.

An opening in the north wall (Fig 49) fulfils the dual purpose houses a small square-headed window overlooking the outer face of the curtain wall, and provides an entry to room 4, a mural passage now blocked up. This door is 0.7m wide and bears traces of hinge holes and a rebate to take the door.

The eastern half of the north wall contains the door from the stair and landing, and is constructed out of larger blocks of sandstone than the rest of the wall. The northern portcullis groove, which runs from floor to ceiling, is close to the north-east corner.

The southern wall also bears traces of much rebuilding. Its western end is aligned at right-angles to the west wall and is pierced by a window which overlooks the outer face of the curtain wall at the south-west corner. The east end is aligned differently (Fig 45B) and takes the form of a recess containing a chute and a square niche.

It is possible that the masonry in the south wall originally consisted of a plain wall at right-angles to the east and west walls. However, only the west end of the original wall survives. It consists of evenly laid, relatively small grey and red sandstone blocks very similar in character to the stonework in the west wall; the two are probably of one build. The lowest part of the western sector is obscured by whitewash but includes a large brick repair. The eastern end of this sector consists of quoins for the short length of north-south wall forming the western end of the recess. The quoins are butt-jointed with masonry in the western sector.

The south wall was cut back to form a deep recess. The short length of north-south walling, forming the western end of the recess, has some of the original wall

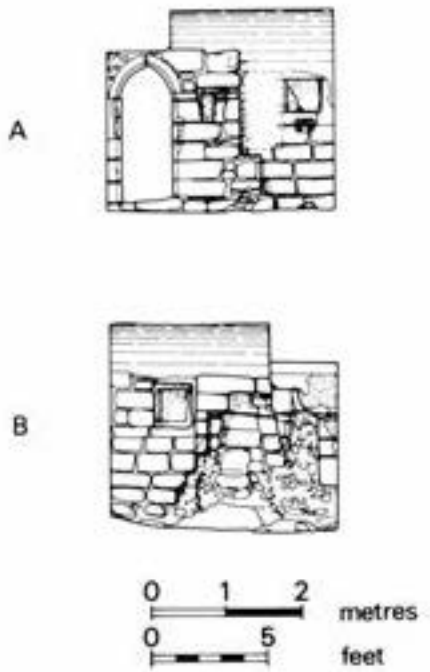

Fig 51 Internal elevations of the guard room (room 10): A north wall; B south wall

core exposed. The south wall of the recess is formed of large red sandstone blocks comparable with those in the east end of the north wall.

The east wall of room 3 (Fig 53) contains a three-light mullioned window in a broad splayed recess. The mullions have external cavetto mouldings and each light has a rounded top. To the south of the window there are scars in the stonework, indicating the former presence of architectural features which have now disappeared. These would certainly have included a wall housing the southern portcullis groove. This wall would also have divided room 3 from a smaller room which has become incorporated as the recess in the south wall. The other feature in the east wall is a blocked single-light window with a pointed top surmounted by a small loop. The window is now invisible on the external face. The hinges and rebate for a shutter remain.

The ceiling consists of boards resting on joists aligned east-west which are supported on a series of massive corbels. All the joists and one of the beams are of recent date. Two of the beams are older and show signs of reuse.

At the top of the staircase is a straight length of landing which leads to room 5 and the staircase to the second floor.

Room 5

This is a small rectangular vaulted chamber reached from the landing (Fig 45). It lies below that part of the wall walk extended in the sixteenth-century. The door is square-headed and has an external chamfer. The south wall has been repaired, but the east and north walls are substantially of one build. There is a broad splayed window recess in the east wall and a two-light mullioned window with depressed pointed heads.

The second floor

Access to this floor is by way of a landing at first-floor level (room 6) and a straight length of staircase. Originally the newel stair may have continued to the second floor, if not parapet level, and the present straight stair is a later modification.

Room 7

In this room (Fig 45A) four main sections of walling can be seen in the west face (Fig 52). Two zones of largely grey sandstone are defined by the two lines of an earlier steeply pitched roof. In the centre is a substantial area of red sandstone patching with features related to the heating equipment installed by the Army. To either side of the roof-creases the wall is composed of roughly coursed, thin sandstone blocks and rubble. At the top of this, three large corbels project inwards and indicate a secondary roof line. The space between this and the present ceiling is filled by long red sandstone slabs.

The north wall (Fig 49) bears evidence of several phases of reconstruction. At the north-west corner the lowest four courses appear to be bonded with the grey sandstone of the west wall. There is little which survives from this stretch of wall, however, which is otherwise dominated by a large repair in red sandstone. This is in an ideal position for a window embrasure looking out over the external face of the curtain wall, but no trace of an opening here can be seen on the external face. Other areas of grey sandstone and a corbel are also visible within the masonry.

The rest of the north wall is on a quite different plane (Fig 45A), and consists of several short, more or less straight, lengths on slightly different alignments. Access into room 7 is through a door at the top of the newel stair. The door has a flat, shouldered lintel with a plain external chamfer. The wall within which this door is set is noticeably uneven, built in part of red sandstone blocks of varying size and shape as well as rubble. It is possible that this door is not in its original position and has been reset, perhaps when the staircase was modified. Two vertical straight joints define an area containing large and long red sandstone blocks. This area may have been the original opening from the newel stair.

At the east end, the door leading into room 8 has a square-headed chamfered lintel. This door is probably of one build with the wall above and immediately west, but not with the walling to the east which is poorly constructed from rubble.

In much of the stonework of the north wall there is considerable variation in the size and shape of the red sandstones. Apart from the two windows, the east wall shows no obvious signs of modification, and no traces of the roof line visible in the west wall can be positively identified. The largest window consists of two square-headed lights with moulding on the jambs and mullion. The other window is a simple single light with a pointed top.

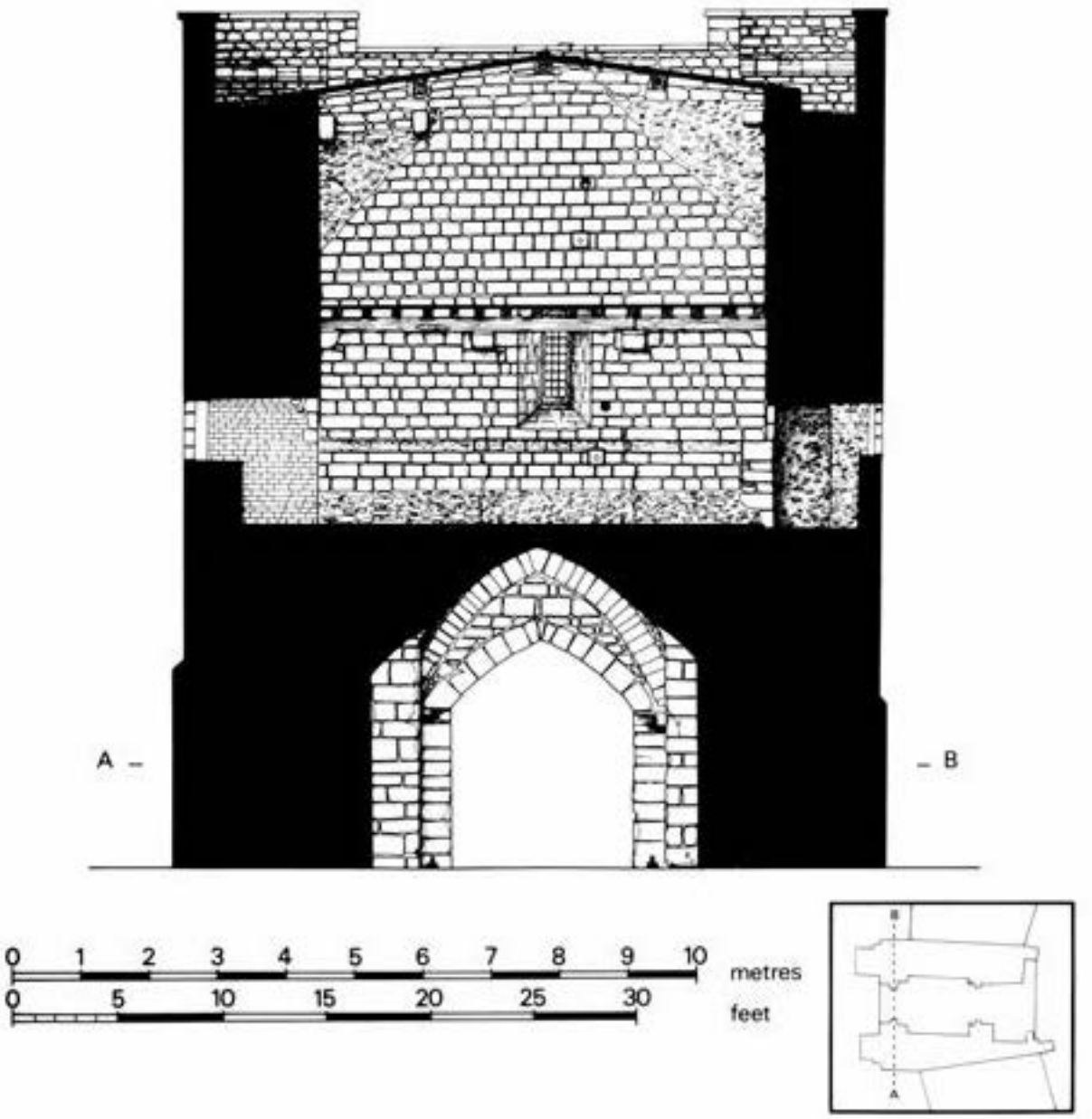

Fig 52 The inner gatehouse; internal north-south elevation of the full height of the west wall and section across the gate passage

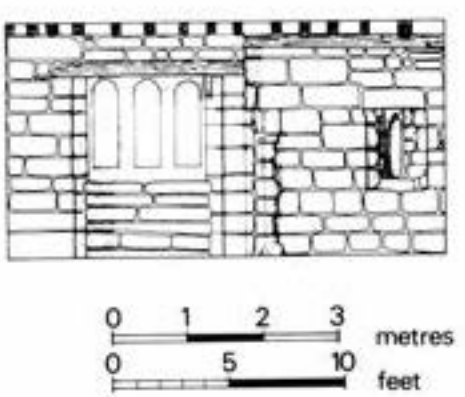

Fig 53 North-south elevation of the east wall of room 3

The south wall is very similar in shape to that in room 3 on the first floor (Figs 45A–B). The western section of the south wall in room 7 contains grey sandstone blocks close to the south-west corner which appear to be bonded into the west wall. There are clear traces of reconstruction in the central and upper parts of this section of walling indicating at least two and possibly as many as four structural phases. The evidence is largely to be seen in the variations in the sizes of stone.

The eastern end of the south wall is a recess similar to that in room 3. Within the recess there is a blocked door with a flat-shouldered lintel. This door would have originally given access to the wall walk. The walling to either side of the door is very uneven and includes some rubble. It resembles the poor quality walling immediately west of the door from the staircase in the north wall. In neither case, however, is it

necessary to distinguish this walling as a separate structural phase from the doorways. and the door providing access to the wall walk. The lowest courses of grey sandstone at the south-west corner appear to be bonded with the west wall. As in the north wall, there is a large area of repair in red sandstone, but there is nothing in the external elevation to aacount for its presence.

The present door to the wall walk by way of the passage (room 9) occurs in the short length of north-south wall in the recess. It has a worn head but it appears to be a four-centred arch.

On the ceiling can be seen a single large beam which rests on a corbel projecting from the south wall at one end, and which is let into the north wall. It supports three recent joists, above which is a lath and plaster ceiling.

Room 8

This is a small square mural chamber in the north-east corner. The wall in which the door is set, together with the west wall, is mostly of rubble construction, although there are large sandstone blocks including a chamfered lintel, subsequently covered up with blue painted plaster. The lintel is probably a fragment of re-used masonry. The other two walls are composed of red sandstones of varying size and show some traces of modification.

Discussion

Period 2

A twelfth century date for the gatehouse is indicated by the shallow pilaster buttresses, and the small round-headed window on the west wall (Figs 46 and 49), all of which are primary features (Fig 54). The simple square form of the gatehouse supports this view, as does the use of small, neatly coursed, grey Kirklinton sandstone blocks in the western, northern and southern walls.

Later modifications to the tower severely constrain any attempts at reconstruction. The gate passage, perhaps originally either barrel- or groin-vaulted, may have been entered through round-headed arches. Most of the external western face, together with the northern and southern elevations projecting in front of the curtain wall, is original. The pilaster buttresses in their original, shallower, form also belong to the earliest gatehouse; they were modified perhaps towards the end of the twelfth century. Much of the internal west wall (Fig 52) and the western ends of the northern (Fig 49) and southern walls at first and second floor levels is original.

There is clear evidence on the west wall at second floor level for the form of the original roof which had a pitch of about 45 degrees (Fig 52). Access between the ground and first floors was probably by way of the newel staircase which may belong to this period. There is no evidence for the access to the second floor, which was probably little more than a roof-space. A ladder probably provided a way up to parapet level.

There are no documentary sources providing any useful information for the earliest period of the Captain's Tower. The reference to the removal of the gates (Table 6, p 45) may give a construction date for this gatehouse, as has been argued in respect of the inner ward curtain walls (p 28).

Period 3

The entire gate passage, as well as parts of the north and south faces and the whole of the eastern elevation, was remodelled (Fig 55) using large ashlar blocks of red St Bees sandstone, characteristic of medieval and later work in this castle. A porter's lodge (room 10), which was entered through a narrow pointed-arched doorway with a hood-mould, was added to the south side of the gate passage (Figs 50–1). No details of the external portal survive but the inner portal was protected by a portcullis and two pairs of double-leaved doors.

The inner face of the gatehouse was completely rebuilt from the ground to the roof, and embellished by the addition of elaborate tracery and fluted pilasters (Fig 47), of which only one survives. Within this decoration there is a shield bearing a coat of arms (Fig 48). These appear to include a saltire and a label with three points in chief, but the colours have vanished. The coat of arms is an important detail as it provides a clue to the possible dating of reconstruction work in the gatehouse. The arms were identified by Watson and Bradley (1937, 22) as those of Robert de Nevill, whom they regarded as a retainer of Edward III.

This suggestion may not be correct. The most prominent northerners bearing the name Robert Nevill belong to the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, and end with the death of 'the peacock of the north' in 1319. Although there is documentary evidence (Tables 2, 3, and 6, and pp 138–9) for rebuilding in the castle following a survey of 1318, including a reference to the great gate of the inner ward (Table 8), none of this work can be attributed to the Nevills. Indeed none of the Nevills is specifically associated with Carlisle Castle at this time.

Some of the later Nevills, however, did have a connection. They include John, who is believed to have been responsible for substantial building work at Raby and Durham, as well as his eldest son Ralph, the 4th Lord Nevill of Raby and the 1st Earl of Westmorland, who was connected with Carlisle in his capacity as joint Warden of the West March in 1386. John, for example, was associated at Durham with John Lewyn, the craftsman who was responsible for the reconstruction of the outer gatehouse at Carlisle. The Nevill Tower at Raby Castle also bears tracery, albeit reconstructed, which is similar to that which adorns the inner gatehouse at Carlisle. The coat of arms containing the saltire, and label with three points is not that of John, whose arms lacked the label, but is almost certainly that of Ralph to whom a label would have been appropriate. It seems possible, therefore, that work on the Captain's Tower, including the reference to unspecified repairs over the inner gate in 1385 (Table 8), as well as the outer gatehouse was initiated by John and completed by his eldest son Ralph, and therefore should be dated to *c* 1390.

In addition to the external changes, the first floor of the gatehouse was divided into two chambers. The

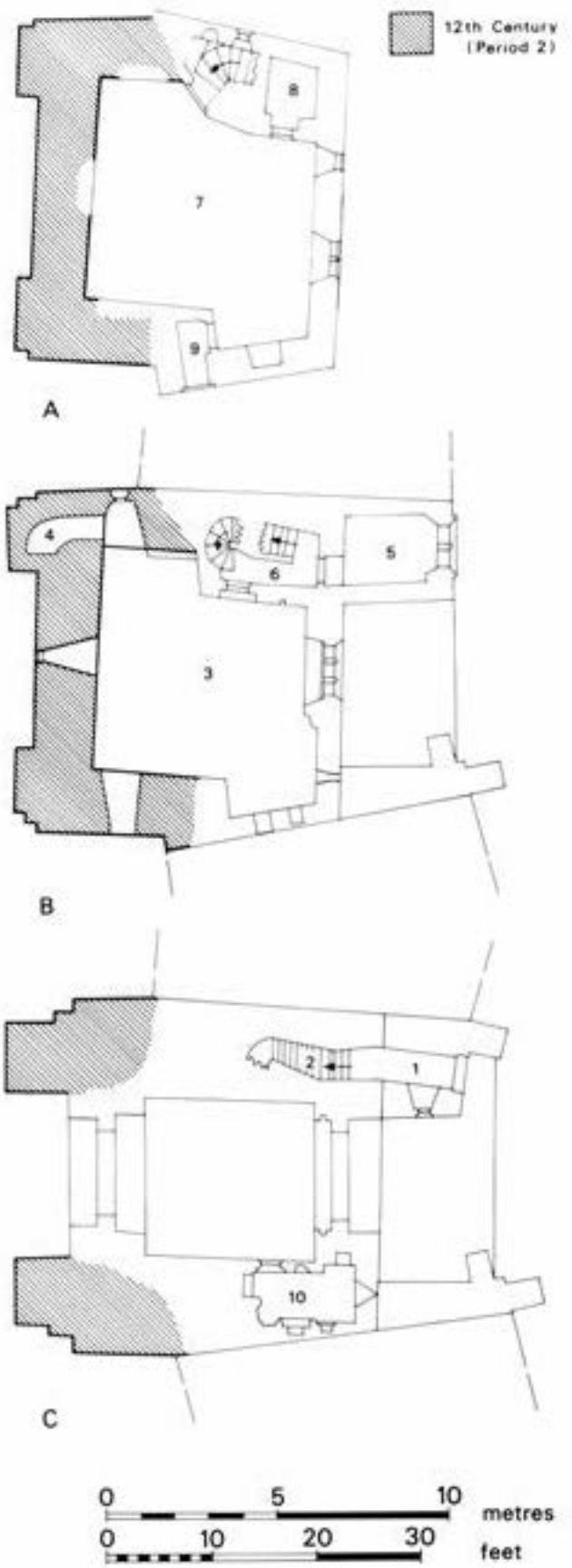

Fig 54 The inner gatehouse showing features of Period 2; plans at (A) second, (B) first, and (C) ground floor level

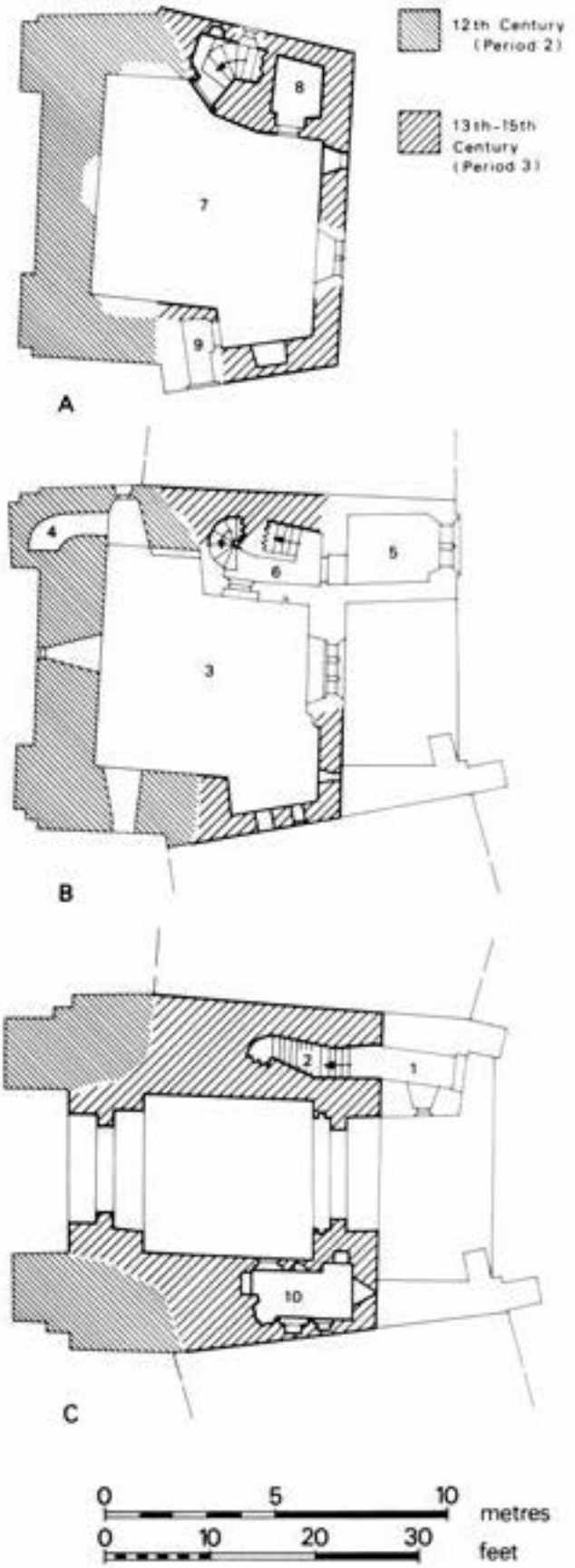

Fig 55 The inner gatehouse showing features of Period 3; plans at (A) second, (B) first, and (C) ground floor level

principal room contained the portcullises when they were raised. The room was lit by a single loop, relatively high in the east wall which is now only visible on the outer face (Fig 47). The only other walling which can be claimed as of fourteenth-century date is at the south-east angle. This corner contained a small chamber, a niche and a mural chute, possibly used either as a latrine or for the portcullis counterweight. There is a scar on the eastern wall (Fig 53) which marks the position of a dividing wall, as well as a small loop with splayed embrasures which is now blocked. The second portcullis was located at the front of the gatehouse, and is shown in a watercolour dated 1813 by Luke Clennel (Fig 56). Its housing can be seen covered by a sloping roof which concealed the twelfth-century window. There is no visible internal evidence for the position of the winding mechanism.

The creation of a room at second-floor level, in what was formerly roof space, entailed the insertion of a ceiling, supported on the surviving corbels (Fig 52). A new roof may also have been added although there is no evidence for this. Access to the second floor was probably by way of a newel staircase which was removed when the layout of the gatehouse was altered in the sixteenth century. The original door position on the second floor has been blocked and the present door (Fig 49), which has a shouldered lintel chamfered on the external face, appears to have been reset. The evidence for this is apparent in the rubble walling, as well as in the door's asymmetrically placed shoulders. Moreover the chamfers on the short quoins of the east jamb are placed in such a way as to make it clear that the stones are not in their original position; the chamfers on the lintel and the west shoulder have almost certainly been added when the door was moved. The south wall on the second floor contains a blocked door with a shouldered lintel; this originally provided access to the wall walk.

Periods 4 and 5

Many changes were put in hand during the sixteenth century. They were clearly needed, as the survey of 1529 makes abundantly clear (p 165), but one of the biggest alterations was the extension into the inner ward of the gatehouse. This included the provision of a much broader wall walk which was carried over the gate passage on a substantial buttressed arch (Figs 45, 49 and 57), and the creation of a new entrance from the inner ward. The walls for the arch abutted the original inner face of the gatehouse and entailed the removal of the original entrance. The new walls also concealed a window which lit room 3 in the south-east corner of the first floor. The other window which lit the principal first-floor room was blocked externally and obliterated on the inside.

The northern wall supporting the enlarged wall walk contained a mural chamber (5) at first-floor level, and on the second floor there was a very small chamber (8) with a window overlooking the wall walk. These features, together with the wall walk and the extended ground-floor entrance, were certainly in place by 1545 and are shown on Garforth's map of that date (Fig 125, p 181). The 1529 survey (p 166) refers to two rooms on the first floor. This could refer to room 3 and the small chamber in the south-east corner now marked only by a scar in the east wall. Alternatively, it may be interpreted as referring to rooms 3 and 5; if this is so, the small chamber in the south-east corner had presumably disappeared by that date. An early sixteenth century date is not inconsistent with the style of the window mullions and mouldings in the east wall.

Apart from the manifestly late entrance to the gatehouse from the inner ward, the gatehouse contains no architectural details specifically of post-medieval date. The brick repair in the south wall of room 3 canot be dated, although an eighteenth or nineteenth century date would not be inappropriate.

Documentary evidence, such as the reference to roof repairs and a raised parapet in 1661 (p 203) or the presence of a platform over the gate in 1819 (p 231) are the main source of evidence for changes to the Captain's Tower in post-medieval times. For the most part the references concern either the uses to which the rooms were put or relate to relatively minor alterations. For instance, the platform on the west face over the entrance, was loop-holed as a crenellated firing platform in 1819 in much the same manner as can be seen on the barbican of the outer gatehouse (Table 7, p 48). Openings, later said to have been blocked, were also cut through the north and south walls to provide a field of fire over the curtain walls (p 239); their style is consistent with a date in the early nineteenth century.

Two other modifications can be noted. First, the arched door into the gatehouse from the inner ward, the voussoirs of which still survive, appears in a painting by Clennel in 1812 (Fig 58). This had been changed by 1838 when Nutter depicted the present square-headed door. Secondly, the use of the gatehouse as barrack accommodation resulted in the insertion of stoves and an accompanying chimney, the removal of internal divisions, patching in brick, and possibly the creation of two windows on the first floor overlooking the outer face of the curtain wall.

Table 8 Documentary references to the inner gatehouse in Period 3

Date	*Source*	*References*
1216	*RLC* 1, 1204–24	turret over the inner gate damaged
1321	PRO *C145/86*	repairs to the great gate of the inner bailey
1356	PRO *E101/554/17*	renewals and repairs to the inner and outer gates, including work on masonry, lead and ironwork
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	repairs to chamber over inner gate

The half-moon battery, breastwork, inner ditch and inner bridge

The half-moon battery, breastwork and inner ditch form a line of defence parallel with, and immediately west of, the Captain's Tower and inner ward curtain wall (Figs 7–8 and 14, pp 10–11, 17). The ditch lies to the west of the battery and breastwork.

The principal feature is the semi-circular projection of the half-moon battery (Fig 59) which survives to

Fig 56 The half-moon battery, inner gatehouse and the inner ditch by Luke Clennel, 1813 (photo: Cumbria County Library)

modern ground level; the upper portion of the battery and the parapet for the breastwork were demolished in the nineteenth century (p 236). Below ground, a narrow vaulted gallery runs around the battery. This was originally reached by staircases at the north and south ends. The latter was blocked in the nineteenth century and restored in 1988. In the course of this work the back of the inner wall of the battery was revealed. It is a plain wall of masonry similar to that seen inside the passage, and its face is 3.0m inside the outer face of the battery. There was no trace in the excavation for the new stair of the position of the original flight. The stair here is roofed with a modern cast concrete slab; at the north end are the traces of a roof of sandstone slabs, or possibly of timbers.

The steps lead into a gallery 1.28m wide and measuring 2.18m to the crown of the vault. It is built of red sandstone blocks –those on the inner face are larger than those on the outer. There are ten externally splayed ports for hand-guns 1.22 to 1.32m above the floor, and a further larger port on the north side. In addition there is a much smaller port with almost parallel sides overlooking the north breastwork from the north steps. There are four vents in the crown of the vault for the escape of fumes. The roof of the passage has been partly concreted over in recent years.

The stonework on the external face is very largely of one build comprising relatively large blocks of red sandstone. One repair can be seen low down on the southern side. There is a sloping offset three courses deep just below the top of the surviving stonework. The ten hand-gun ports have flat lintels, and are splayed outwards to a maximum width of 0.8m. The larger port on the northern side has an external splay measuring 1.38m wide and is arched over with fairly rough voussoirs. This may be a later embellishment (O'Neil 1945, 155).

The breastwork is parallel with the inner ward curtain wall; it is 2m wide at present ground level. At the north end the breastwork turns west and joins up with the modern Alma block. The lowest four or five courses comprise relatively long weathered sandstones above which is a slight offset. The walling above the offset has been rebuilt in much smaller stones.

At the south end the breastwork passes beneath the stone bridge and abuts the south curtain wall. The breastwork masonry in this sector is very varied in appearance. It includes grey Kirklinton sandstone, some of which is face-bedded, as well as red sandstone. There is also considerable variety in stone size which probably reflects programmes of repair. Apart from the uppermost six or seven rebuilt courses, it is not possible to attribute phases to the stonework. However, the general character of the masonry is similar to the batter on the outer face of the inner ward curtain wall.

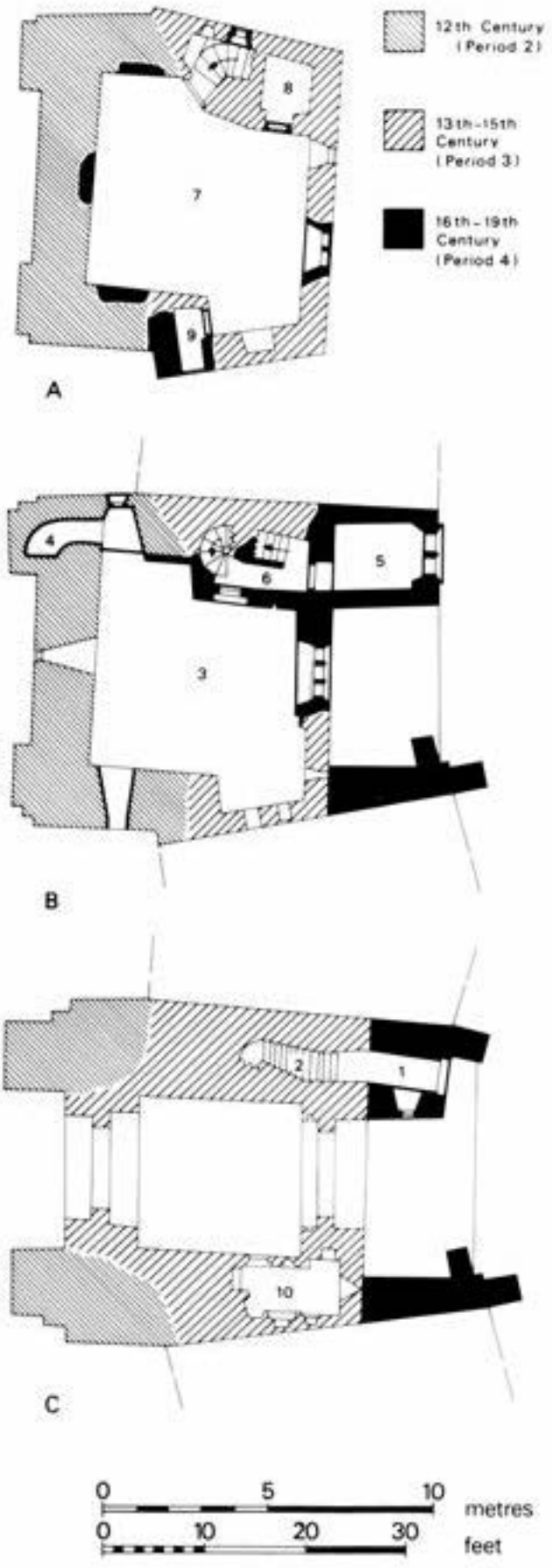

Fig 57 The inner gatehouse showing features of Period 4; plans at (A) second, (B) first, and (C) ground floor level

The bridge is a modern replacement of earlier bridges. The voussoirs for the arch of its stone predecessor are visible on the south face of the bridge, and two responds attached to the curtain wall for earlier structures, possibly of wood, can still be seen. The north parapet of the present bridge was joined to the 'baffle' wall which channelled access to the castle from the outer gatehouse. The parapet has been rebuilt but the lower part of the wall visible in the side of the ditch (Fig 60) consists of large blocks of unevenly coursed red St Bees sandstone. The appearance of this walling closely resembles masonry attributed elsewhere to Period 3. Two substantial buttresses in the ditch abut this wall.

This masonry continues under the bridge and is present on both sides of the ditch at its most southerly point. It is probably of one build with the former bridge responds referred to above and which can be seen at ground level on the curtain wall.

Discussion

Periods 1–3

There can be little doubt that the inner ward was cut off from the outer ward by a ditch from the twelfth century, if not earlier. As has been noted above in the discussion on the curtain walls (p 28), the curve of the eastern end of the outer ditch, together with the rise in ground level towards the re-entrant angle on the curtain wall, may reflect the earliest defensive circuit (Fig 32). The line of this curve, if extended west and northwards, is close to the line occupied by the present inner ditch.

The responds abutting the curtain wall (Fig 26) are all that survives of the earlier bridges. No datable features can be seen, but in view of the written sources which clearly allude to a bridge in front of the inner gate (Table 9) and the re-organisation of the defences in the sixteenth century, they are probably best regarded as of sixteenth-century date.

Documentary sources specifically naming either the inner ditch or its bridge are uncommon. Most sources refer in a general way to bridges: this could mean either inner or outer bridges or even planks placed over gaps in the wall walk. Table 9 lists the references which may refer to the inner bridge and ditch.

Period 4

The defences of the inner bailey were radically modified in the sixteenth century when the half-moon battery and probably the breastwork (see frontispiece) were erected under the direction of Stefan von Haschenperg about 1542 (p 172; Fig 10, p 13). Nearly all the masonry comprising the half-moon battery is of this period. The breastwork is not bonded to the battery and shows signs of repair work. Even so, and with the possible exception of the uppermost courses which may be nineteenth or even twentieth century in date, its general character resembles the battered face of the inner ward curtain wall (Fig 15, p 17). This is also attributed to Period 4.

The reorganisation of the inner defences, and the construction of the half-moon battery in particular,

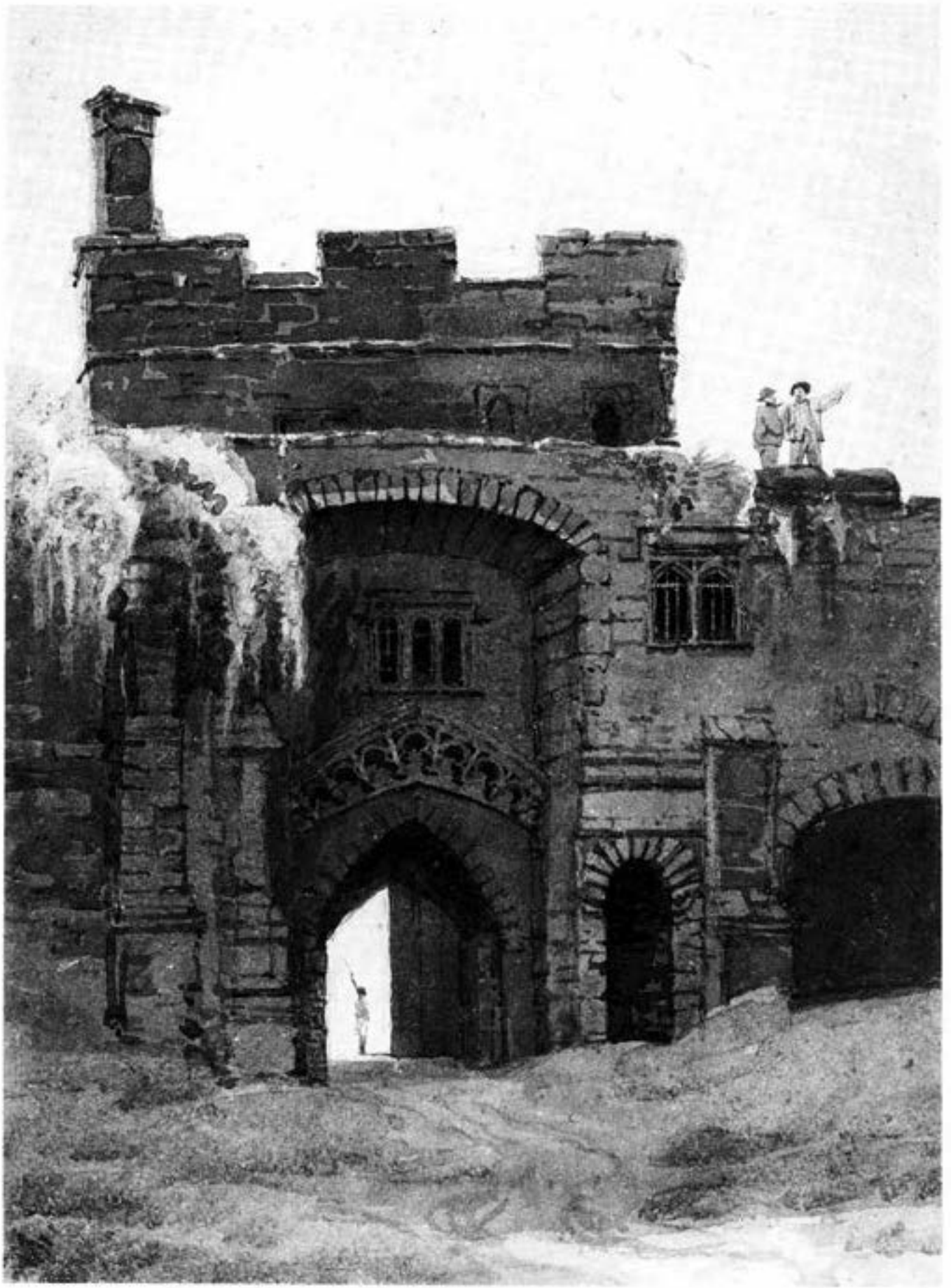

Fig 58 The inner gatehouse from the inner ward by Luke Clennel, c 1812 (photo: Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery)

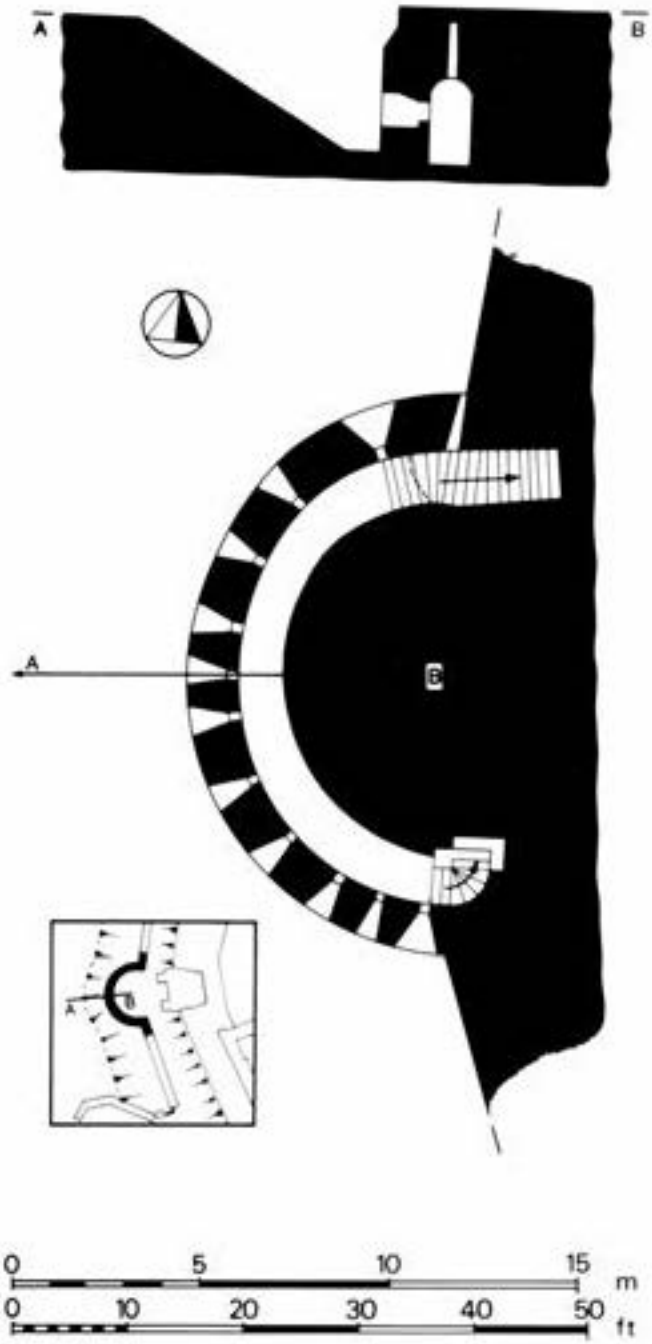

Fig 59 The half-moon battery; section and plan (before restoration)

may have lead to the resiting of the bridge between the outer and inner wards although a reference in 1661 (p 213) refers to the drawbridge in front of the Captains' Tower. The masonry of the present bridge responds abutting the south curtain wall (Fig 26, p 24) and the buttresses (Fig 60) is difficult to date; it may belong to the Haschenperg refortifications, but a date in the seventeenth or eighteenth century should not be ruled out.

Few features firmly attributable to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be identified, although the stone bridge, the voussoirs of which can be seen in the south face, probably belongs to the late eighteenth century. This dating, however, rests on the assumption that it replaced earlier wooden drawbridges at the same time as the construction of the stone bridge over the outer ditch (p 14 and Figs 11–12).

Fig 60 The north side of the inner bridge and buttresses from the inner ditch (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Period 5

The half-moon battery was reduced to its present size when the ditch was backfilled and the parade ground extended over it in 1826–7 (p 240). It is possible that at that time the breastwork was in a poor state of preservation as Clennel's view of 1813 (Fig 56) shows extensive vegetation over the walls. Trees and shrubs, such as those depicted by Clennel, would undoubtedly have had a serious effect on the masonry. The rebuilding seen today in the breastwork may be a result of reconstruction necessitated by previous neglect. The most likely time for such an operation would be between 1917 and 1919, when the ditch was re-excavated (although not to its original line or depth) and the half-moon battery and breastwork were re-exposed. This was directed by the late Sir Charles Peers on behalf of the Office of Works using labour provided by the military.

Table 9 Documentary references to the inner ditch and bridge in Period 3

Date	Source	References
1201–2	PR	repairs to ditches
1257	Shirley, 1866	bridges inside and out need repair
1308	PRO *E372/153*	repair of two bridges inside the castle
1367–8	PRO *E101/554/18*	raising the newly made outer and inner bridges
1370	PRO *E101/554/19*	rings, iron chains, spike nails and other necessaries for making a drawbridge inside the castle
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	repairs of the bridges of the inner and outer bailey, for ropes for raising those bridges
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	cleaning a ditch by the inner gate ... making a bridge over the castle ditch at the same gate

The city walls and the Tile Tower

The city walls are linked to the south curtain wall at its eastern and western ends (Figs 7–8, pp 10–11). The north-eastern wall formerly continued without a break as far as the Rickergate or Scotch Gate, which today lies at the junction of Scotch Street and Rickergate (Fig 2, p 2). This length of city wall is oriented very approximately east-west but is interrupted, about half way along its present length, by a dog-leg turn or re-entrant angle. The western wall consists of a straight length oriented north-south; it continued as far as the Irish Gate, the site of which lies beneath the modern Castle Way.

The north-east city walls

A section abutting Queen Mary's Tower consists of large red, mostly face-bedded, sandstone blocks, up to 1m in length. Many of the stones resemble those identified elsewhere as being of medieval date, such as those at the south end of the west curtain wall of the outer ward. The face-bedding has led to severe erosion and suggests that the stone may be re-used, or possibly re-set in later times.

Between this section and the re-entrant angle much of the walling is constructed from grey Kirklinton sandstone, regularly coursed and in relatively small blocks, although the lowest visible courses, especially those below a chamfered offset near to the angle are in larger red sandstones. The uppermost thirteen courses next to the re-entrant are certainly a repair. This is quite clear from the large red sandstones which have been inserted into the small, neat, grey stonework below. The corner of the angle is also made from slightly larger masonry. The masonry on the corner continues as far as, and is integral with, the round-headed arch of the postern gate (Fig 61).

The arch of the postern is 4m high above present ground level and is approximately 3m wide externally. It has been blocked with large red sandstone blocks. There is a slight offset above the arch, and this marks the junction with repairs in face-bedded red sandstones continuing up to parapet level. The junction of the southern jamb of the arch with the city wall is not clear, but it appears to be a straight joint.

From this point onwards the wall continues more or less in a straight line. It is interrupted on the external face by a turret. This length of wall is much less homogeneous. There is a length which is almost entirely grey sandstone in regular courses, close to the re-entrant angle. The size of stone employed in the rest, however, is varied, and is virtually uncoursed. Within this sector there are fragments of the grey sandstone walling preserved, but it is clear that there has been much rebuilding, some of which has been occasioned by cracking. A shallow buttress projects at one point, but the main feature is a turret which is corbelled out on four quarter-round corbels. The turret is splayed and projects nearly 1.5m in front of the wall. The southern face of the turret and the wall beyond have been partly reconstructed. A large buttress supports the wall. The masonry of the two buttresses is different from what can be seen elsewhere in the wall; it seems later in character than medieval masonry seen elsewhere.

The sector between Queen Mary's Tower and the re-entrant angle crosses the castle ditch. On the south-western face of the wall (Fig 62) this sector contains a great deal of grey Kirklinton sandstone, but it is generally less regularly coursed than on the external or north-eastern face. There are two slight offsets visible in the ditch sector.

The re-entrant angle contains a straight joint for the eastern reveal of the postern gate, together with a springer and two voussoirs for the arch. The western reveal does not survive and was presumably removed when the opening was blocked. The blocking consists of stonework of very varied size.

The re-entrant terminates in a shallow buttress before continuing south towards Castle Way. The wall here is almost entirely of grey sandstone ashlar, although the lowest 0.5m of rubble foundation is exposed in places. The only feature of note is a large ancient crack which exposes the rubble wall core.

The parapet walk is flagged close to Queen Mary's Tower and is nearly 1.5m wide. The walk is interrupted in two places by battered faces which would originally have been negotiated by means of planks placed across the gap (Fig 62). The stonework and quoins of the batter over the ditch are made of re-used blocks of carefully laid Kirklinton sandstone. South of the re-entrant angle the walk is again interrupted by another battered section. This is much less carefully laid and utilises blocks of red sandstones in very varied sizes. The parapet walk to the south of the ditch is very rough and consists only of exposed wall core. The parapet wall and the interior of the turret show signs of repair and is made from very small sandstones which are very roughly laid.

The western city walls and the Tile Tower (exterior)

This wall (Fig 7, p 10) is interrupted about half way along its length by the Tile Tower, which projects a distance of 5.8m in front (Fig 63). The wall between the south-west corner of the castle and the Tile Tower consists mostly of red St Bees sandstone, peppered with occasional blocks of grey sandstone. The stones are relatively uniform in size and evenly coursed. The base of the wall contains a chamfered offset above three stepped offsets below.

Much of the wall south of the Tile Tower is in grey Kirklinton sandstone, although patches of larger red St Bees sandstone can be clearly seen. The base of the wall contains a chamfered offset above a battered base. Two brick features abut the external face. Both features may have originally been parts of chimneys belonging to nineteenth-century buildings demolished in 1935 and 1952; one now serves as a buttress rising by four stages.

The chamfered offset course continues round all four sides of the tower whose lower third is stone as far as a second offset course at approximately 3.5m above pavement level. Above this the upper two-thirds of the tower is in brick.

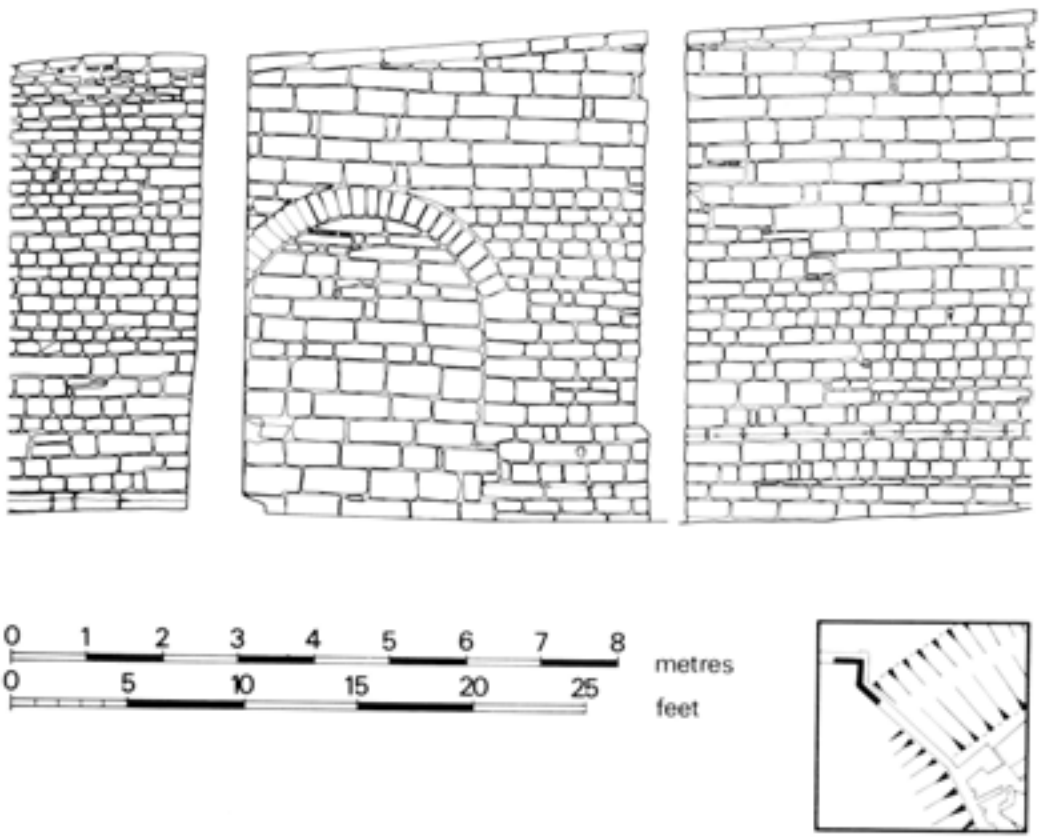

Fig 61 The north-eastern city walls showing the blocked postern gate

Fig 62 The south-western elevation of the north-eastern city walls crossing the outer ditch

The stonework of the tower includes both grey and red sandstone blocks and may be of one build with the curtain wall on either side. It is pierced by narrow loops on the external faces. Some variation is apparent in the brickwork in which there are two offsets on the western face. This elevation has been completely rebuilt in alternate courses of headers and stretchers. The reconstruction continues round on to the north and south faces where a certain amount of earlier brickwork can be seen. On both these elevations the early brickwork does not appear to be coursed according to any specific pattern.

The north face is entirely plain apart from two plain loops, one above the other, in the stonework. The loops are separated by the reset stonework of the chamfered offset course. The southern and western elevations also have a plain loop in the stonework. It is difficult to be certain of the relationship between the ground-floor loops and the masonry to either side. They are either insertions or else they are original features modified in later times. The two loops on the northern face certainly appear to be modified especially as the chamfered stonework has probably been reset.

The brickwork higher up the southern face also shows signs of modification. This includes suggestions of a blocking or reconstruction in the centre at first-floor level, as well as a blocked loop. In addition there are two open loops at first-floor level, the eastern one ventilating a small mural chamber. Variations in the condition of the bricks on this elevation are due to the former presence of buildings abutting the tower until recent times. Above the loops is a small heavily eroded panel said to have depicted a boar, the emblem of Richard III (Watson and Bradley 1937, 15).

On the eastern face of the western City Walls there are two areas of grey Kirklinton sandstone. One occurs at the extreme southern end of the wall, and the other forms the lowest courses where the wall crosses the

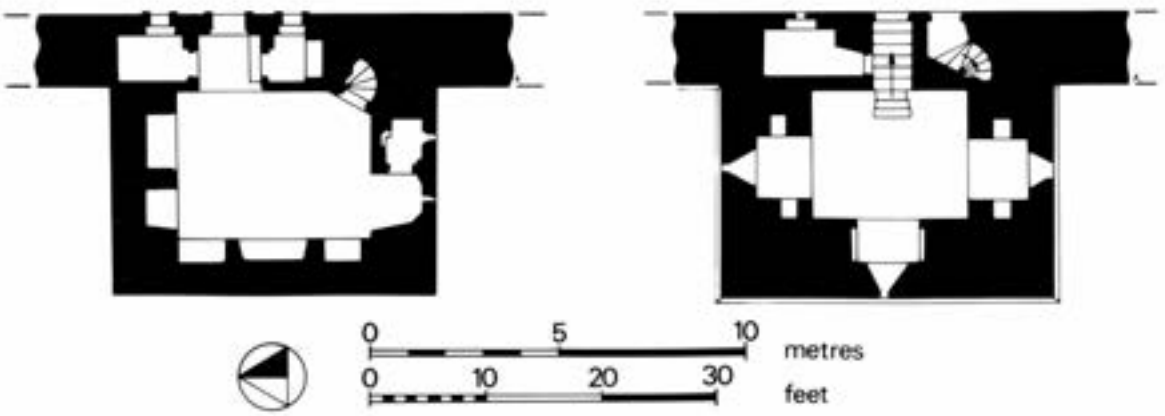

Fig 63 The Tile Tower; plans at ground (right) and first floor (left) levels

castle ditch. Offset courses are present in both areas. The curtain wall is otherwise built entirely of handmade brick which can be seen as of uniform construction. The exception is in a small area against the outer lip of the ditch. In this small patch the brickwork coursing has not been aligned with the rest, and the bricks are more heavily eroded. The bricks in the rest of the wall face are mostly laid as three courses of stretchers and one of headers, but some variation, which includes bricks pitched on their sides, can be seen where the wall cuts across the castle ditch.

In the centre of this face, there are two adjacent doors which give access to the Tile Tower at ground and first floors respectively. The quoins of the doors are turned in red sandstone, as are the windows which light mural chambers at first-floor level. The doors are of identical design, with lintels consisting of two pitched sandstone slabs with a semi-circular arch cut through the middle.

The parapet walk is 1.5 to 1.8m wide and is flagged along the whole of its length. The walk rises over the mural chambers in the Tile Tower to provide access to the tower parapet. The walls here are entirely plain.

The interior of the Tile Tower

The ground floor

The ground floor (Fig 63 and 64) is entered down a flight of steps. Immediately inside to the north there is a small mural chamber with sandstone and brick walls and a brick vault. It is lit by a single window.

The ground floor has a single room with a brick ceiling in the form of a four-centred arched vault. The north, south and west sides have deeply recessed straight-sided openings with splayed reveals and narrow lights, probably for hand guns. It is not clear whether these recesses are original, but the long red sandstone quoins are not characteristic of stonework which appears to be primary work of the twelfth century elsewhere in the castle. The visible masonry elsewhere in the ground-floor room is all of good quality but varied in size and appearance which may suggest that more than one building period is represented. The northern and southern embrasures have cupboards or recesses on either side up to 0.5m deep, with sills raised 0.4m above the floor. The recesses would have provided adequate space for a man to stand in to provide flanking fire along the face of the curtain walls. The western port differs in that the sill is 1.12m above the floor and the recesses on either side are much less deep. The recesses in all the embrasures may have been intended to house ammunition or equipment used when the guns were being fired.

The first floor

There is no internal access between the ground and first floor, which is reached by way of the southern external door, and thence up a short newel staircase lined with handmade brick. The first floor consists of a single main room with three mural chambers. Two of these are on the eastern wall and are below the parapet walk. Both are built of brick, are entered through narrow openings with four-centred arched heads and rebates for doors and are lit by windows with external sandstone quoins. The southern room also has a cupboard-like recess in one wall. The wall between these rooms also contains a large window.

The principal room contains recesses on the north, south and west sides. The north wall (Fig 64) has two recesses. One, with splayed reveals, may originally have contained a window, but this was blocked when the exterior was refaced. The other recess is a fireplace 0.75m deep. Moulded bricks, resembling those in the outer gatehouse solar (Fig 43, p 44), can be seen on either side but the top has been severely mutilated.

The south wall has a single embrasure with splayed reveals lit by a narrow loop. The third mural chamber, possibly a garderobe, leads off the eastern reveal. It is entered through a low door with a four-centred arch, rebated to take a door. There is a small plain window on one side and a cupboard on the other.

The western wall is equally divided between three deep recesses. The central recess is open to the floor and has splayed reveals, as though it formerly contained a window. Those on either side, however, may have served as cupboards.

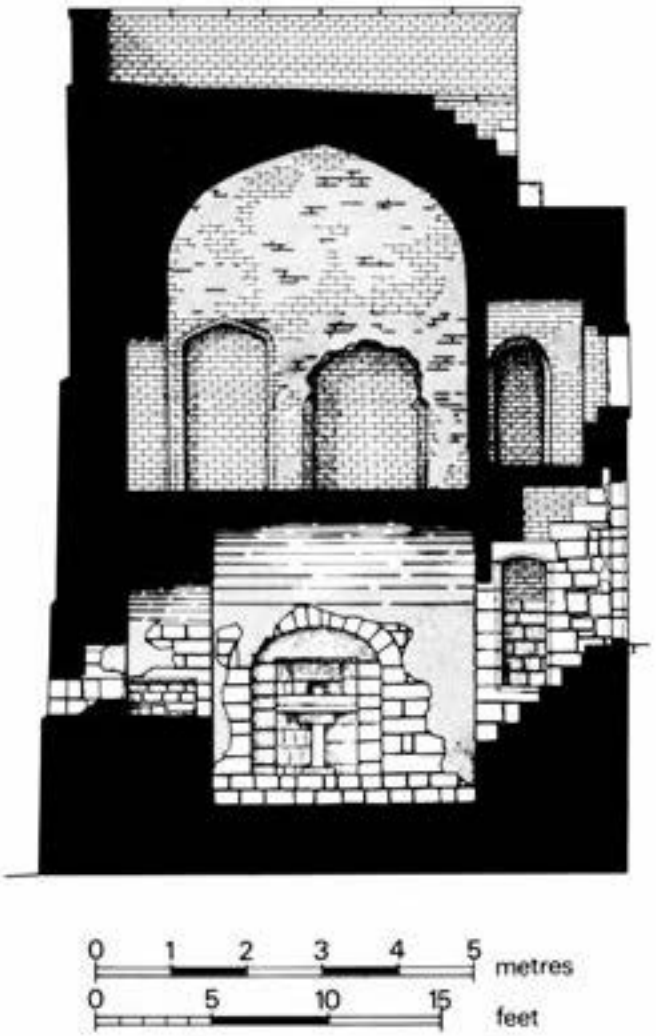

Fig 64 The Tile Tower; internal west-east elevation of the north wall

Discussion

Period 2

Both the north-eastern and the western city walls contain substantial lengths of walling made from relatively small, neatly coursed, grey Kirklinton sandstones. In the north-eastern wall much of the internal face (Fig 62), together with a length on the external face between the red sandstone area abutting Queen Mary's Tower and the re-entrant angle (Fig 61), has these characteristics. These sectors closely resemble masonry in the castle which is believed to date from the twelfth century and stonework associated with undoubted twelfth-century architectural details in the nave, transepts and crossing of Carlisle Cathedral. The western or internal face south of the re-entrant angle has probably been reconstructed in recent times.

The postern gate (Fig 61) occupies the re-entrant angle on the city wall. The function of this angle and the postern gate, which opened internally on to the outer lip of the ditch, is not clear. Although some of the quoins of the postern are larger than appears elsewhere in the wall immediately north, the postern can be regarded as a primary feature. A twelfth century date is also indicated by the round headed form of the arch.

The western city wall is very similar to that on the north-eastern side except in so far as a chamfered offset course is present along the entire length. The Tile Tower and the curtain wall are bonded together and are contemporary, a point emphasised by the continuous nature of the chamfered offset course.

It is not possible to assign accurate dates to the city walls because of their lack of architectural detail. It has been argued above in respect of the curtain walls and the form of the early castle (p 28, Fig 32) that they probably belong to the latter half of the twelfth century. Such a date is consistent with the provision of towers which suggests the greater use of archery firepower in the reign of Henry II.

Period 3

Very little masonry can be attributed to the period between the late thirteenth and late fifteenth century with any confidence. The outer face of the north-eastern city walls close to the junction with Queen Mary's Tower contains heavy red sandstones. These may belong to this period although the face-bedding – a characteristic of nineteenth-century work, as can be seen on Queen Mary's Tower and buildings in the inner ward – may suggest that they have been reset. The turret on the eastern wall was probably added at this time.

If the loops and embrasures on the ground floor of the Tile Tower were intended for guns they must be later insertions, or at least modifications of earlier slits. The masonry of the loops on the internal elevations (Fig 64) is closer in character to that of medieval or later work in the castle than it is of the twelfth century.

The Tile Tower (Figs 63–4), also known as Richard III's Tower, was rebuilt in brick probably in 1483 (p 162). This date receives confirmation from the eroded panel located high up on the south face of the tower which seems to have depicted a boar, the emblem of Richard III, and which may be the one referred to by Camden (1637, 778). None of the external brickwork can be attributed to this period, however, although the brickwork for the newel stair, together with much of that around the fireplace, doors and windows (Fig 64), appears to be largely contemporary, and may be of this date. If so, this is one of the earliest uses of brick in a military building in northern England.

Periods 4 and 5

The Tile Tower appears on maps of the castle and city from the 1540s onwards (Fig 10, p 13). Few show any details, although the map attributed to *c*1560 (Fig 126, p 181) shows the two doors. Documentary sources for the castle are also generally vague about the tower and its uses. The ground floor clearly performed a defensive function as is shown by the gun loops on all three sides. The first floor, however, not only had a separate entrance, but the evidence of the fireplace, the possible garderobe and other intramural chambers argue strongly for a residential function.

The western side of the city walls was described in 1739 as being in poor condition (p 212). The eastern face of the western curtain wall, together with the external faces of the Tile Tower, was refaced in brick. The bricks are not in themselves capable of close dating but a date in the eighteenth or nineteenth century is indicated by their size. Ferguson (p 59) commented in 1874 that he thought this work has taken place in the 1830s. Before that the wall may well have lain for a considerable period in a state of dangerous disrepair as shown by Gilpin's testimony at Lt Col Durand's court martial in 1746 (p 217). Other features, including the parapet and a large repair visible on the external face of the wall south of the Tile Tower, probably belong to the same period. Today the southern end of the parapet contains one of the boundary stones that formerly marked the division between the city and the castle. Further repairs were carried out before the First World War by the Office of Works who made the two massive doors into the Tile Tower, as well as re-roofing it and opening some of the windows.

In 1811 the Irish Gate (Fig 2, p 2) was pulled down, and six years later Devonshire Walk, the road encircling the castle on its west, north and east sides, was opened and planted with trees as a walk for the townspeople. Shortly afterwards, and certainly by 1821, houses began to be erected against the outer face of the city wall. In 1823, for example, part of the wall near the former Irish Gate was demolished to make way for 'a neat little house'. Other houses abutted the walls south of the Tile Tower, and two remnants of these remain as buttresses. Other traces can be seen in joist holes in the Tile Tower and city wall, and in the way in which the brick of the tower has weathered differentially.

The north-eastern city walls appears in a number of pictures from the late eighteenth century. The postern gate, for example, appears in Hooper's view of 1775, whilst Carlyle's watercolour of *c* 1791 (front cover) shows people standing in the turret. Changes in the masonry of the parapet attest repairs in the nineteenth century, and the nature of the masonry of the battered faces on the inner side over the ditch (Fig 62) and against the parapet indicates that these may have been inserted not in the Middle Ages, but either by Hartcup in 1804, or by Birch a few years later (pp 232f). On the external face the buttresses appear to date from the eighteenth or nineteenth century. Their purpose was, doubtless, to support the wall which had a very substantial accumulation of earth and buildings abutting its inner face. Indeed, the inner face of the north wall south of the ditch was concealed, apart from the parapet and turret, until it was landscaped when the new road, known as Castle Way, was built in 1973.

4 The buildings of the inner ward

Introduction

The inner ward lies in the south-east corner of the castle (Figs 7–8, pp 10–11, and Fig 65). It encloses an area of 0.17 hectares (0.43 acres). In its south-west corner stands the principal building, the keep, which dominates the castle's skyline. On its northern side is a ramp which provides access to the wall walk, and on the eastern side is the foundation of the forebuilding. The other buildings in the inner ward include the Magazine, the Militia Store and the Regimental Museum, all of which lie against the north-east curtain wall. The southern end of the Regimental Museum incorporates an octagonal stair turret which abuts the remains of Queen Mary's Tower in the south-east corner. Before demolition of this tower began in 1812 (p 228) an additional building, known as the Elizabethan or Governor's Range, of which no more than the south wall now survives, linked the keep with Queen Mary's Tower. A storekeeper's office abuts the south wall of the Elizabethan range.

Access into the inner ward

No evidence survives for the gatehouse of the earliest (Period 1) castle. It is suggested above (p 27) that the original site of the gatehouse for the castle of this period lay at the south-east corner of the inner ward, a position occupied today by Queen Mary's Tower (Fig 32, p 28). The evidence to suggest the presence of a stone gatehouse in this position in the twelfth century is treated in detail in the section dealing with Queen Mary's Tower (pp 97f); a round-headed archway appears in paintings and an account of its demolition published in 1838 (p 100) describes features consistent with a gate passage of twelfth century date. Despite this, there is no contemporary documentary evidence for this gatehouse and no archaeological investigations have been carried out. Charlton (1985, 29–30) clearly believed it to have been the main entrance and supposed that it was replaced by de Ireby's Tower (the outer gatehouse); this may have taken place in *c* 1168 (Table 6; p 45).

There is little evidence, too, which helps reveal the means of access between the inner and outer wards in the earliest castle. In the twelfth century, perhaps at the same time as de Ireby's Tower was built, a stone gatehouse (the Captain's Tower) was erected (p 50). This has formed the main entrance into the inner ward from the outer ward ever since.

Once inside the outer gate the visitor making for the inner ward was met by a substantial stone 'baffle' wall (Fig 65). This probably dates from the sixteenth century when the inner defences were reorganised and the bridge between the two wards was re-located close to its present position (p 63). From the evidence of maps, it appears that the western part of this wall had been demolished by the late eighteenth century. In 1988, the mutilated foundations of the wall were revealed (Fig 66). They consisted of well-faced red sandstone blocks set in a lime mortar. The lowest course appeared to be 1.6m wide but the upper courses, which were 1.25m wide, were offset on both faces. The wall had a gate, probably located on its western side, to allow access into the outer ward. The purpose of the wall was clearly to control hostile forces entering the castle through the outer gatehouse by deflecting them towards the inner ward curtain wall. Having crossed the bridge over the inner ditch, visitors would then have been funnelled between the inner ward curtain wall and the breastwork.

The keep and forebuilding

The keep (Fig 67) stands approximately 21m high and in plan is a rectangle measuring 17.9 × 20m. To the west and the south, this adjoins the curtain walls, to the north lies the ramp giving access to the wall-walk, while to the east lie the remains of the forebuilding and the storekeeper's office. As a result the external face of the ground floor is obscured apart from part of the east face and a very short length of the north side, but the presence of windows on all four sides of the ground floor shows that the keep was originally freestanding.

Immediately in front of the keep on the eastern side is a broad stone foundation which is part of its forebuilding. This was largely demolished in the medieval period, although at its southern end now stands a tall building of several periods, currently only accessible at first-floor level. For the purposes of this description, this is regarded as being part of the forebuilding, although it was later incorporated into a different range of buildings against the south curtain wall, independent of the keep.

Both the keep and the forebuilding are built of grey Kirklinton and red St Bees sandstone, with occasional patches of brick infilling. In general the grey Kirklinton stone is smaller in size than the red, and tends to be more heavily distributed towards the ground- and first-floor levels on the external face. The red St Bees sandstone is easily the most common building material, and other colours and stone types are unusual.

The keep has broad shallow buttresses clasping its corners, and additional buttresses to give support in the centre of the east and north elevations. On the eastern side the central buttress contains chimney flues from the first, second, and third floors. Otherwise the elevations are plain, with some offset courses but no decoration. There are two types of window: the small round-headed windows on the western elevation are largely original features; other round-headed windows on the northern and southern sides have been reconstructed. The remaining windows are either of sixteenth century or later date.

The keep: external elevations

The east elevation (Fig 68)

The only significant concentration of grey sandstone appears at ground-floor level between the central buttress and the forebuilding. These stones are all relatively short, as are the lowest courses at the base of the central and north-eastern buttresses. The grey sand-

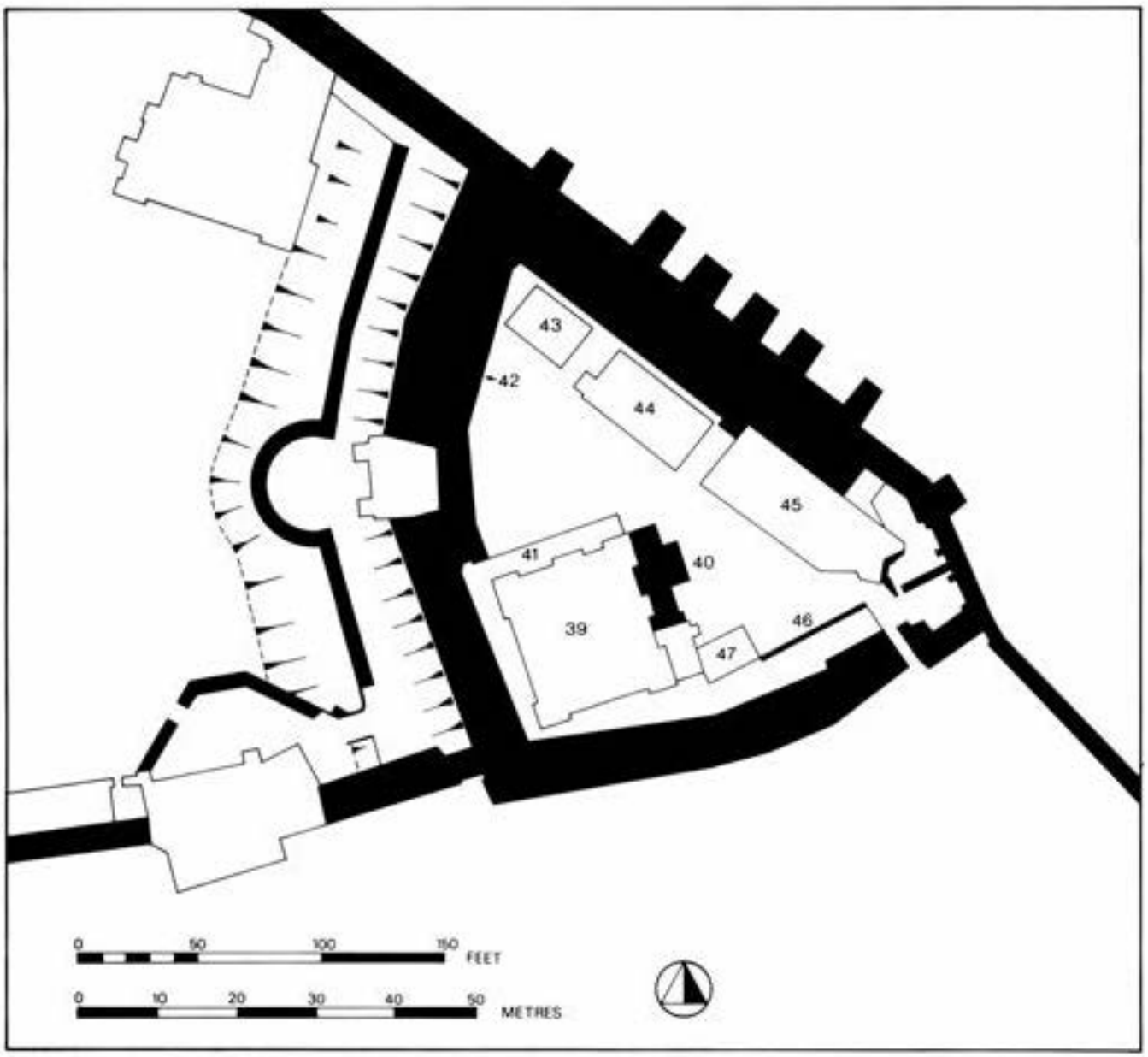

Fig 65 Location plan of features in the inner ward of the castle
39 the keep; 40 forebuilding; 41 ramp; 42 casemates (below wall-walk); 43 Magazine; 44 Militia store; 45 Regimental Museum; 46 Elizabethan range; 47 storekeeper's office

stone between the central buttress and the forebuilding occurs above a single chamfered offset, which lies above a battered plinth in red stone. Between the central buttress and the entrance there is a further short length of battered plinth below a double chamfered course. The offsets and plinths on either side of the central buttress are at different heights, and may therefore represent different constructional periods.

The entrance at ground-floor level is formed from two openings with four-centred arches separated by the portcullis groove. The soffit and the jambs of the arches are chamfered, and have a plain triangular stop just above the threshold. The inner arch is 1.3m wide and 2.1m high to the centre. The outer opening is 1.75m wide and 3.2m high. The portcullis housing stands proud of the wall immediately above the door and is of one build with north-east buttress.

Chamfered offsets can be seen between the first- and second-floor levels, while at third-floor level, from the central buttress to the north-east corner, the offsets continue those on the north elevation. Directly above the entrance at this level, there is a heavily weathered red sandstone panel 0.8 × 0.65m which is said to have contained the arms of Montagu and Monthermer quarterly impaled with those of Nevill (Jefferson 1838; Watson and Bradley 1937, 25) within a moulded border.

South of the central buttress, the only offset occurs at third-floor level, where it is lower than the one on the buttress itself. Substantial cracks, the upper one as much as 0.85m wide and made good with new stonework, have opened up in the same area The south buttress also shows signs of substantial repairs, with handmade brick infilling a former chimney between red sandstone quoins.

Fig 66 The 'baffle' wall foundations revealed in 1988 (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Fig 67 The north elevation of the keep showing the ramp (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

The north elevation (Figs 67 and 69)

Apart from concentrations of grey sandstone in the west buttress and in the wall between the central and south buttresses, and as the lining to the well, access to which is from from an opening towards the base of the central buttress, the building stone of this elevation is of red sandstone.

There are two chamfered offsets at the base of the wall on the east buttress. Another occurs between first- and second-floor level, but it is interrupted by a reconstructed round-headed window. This offset does not continue round to the west elevation. A third offset is to be seen at third-floor level where it forms part of the top of two small windows. The east and west buttresses continue round the corner on to the east and west elevations.

Just below the level of the first floor is a rectangular opening 0.95m wide and 1.45m high giving on to the well-shaft. There are traces of iron fittings and holes in the jambs, which appear to contain recesses for a door. The well is 1m wide (north–south) and is lined with grey sandstones cut to shape. The iron winding-drum and chain is still in place. A small wrought-iron gate blocks access to it. A little higher up the wall is a rectangular window, now barred, lighting rooms 11 and 8 on the first floor. The lintel bears the trace of an external chamfer, and appears to be similar in design to the two small windows at third-floor level.

The west elevation (Fig 70)

Grey sandstone is present at the base of the north and south buttresses, and is generally distributed in between them. The heaviest concentrations are seen below the junction of the first and second floors, and are separated by a 1.5m wide zone of red sandstone. At the bottom of this zone is the reconstructed first floor round-headed window.

Much of the wall from the third floor to parapet level has been rebuilt. The north buttress, which incorporates the third-floor offset continuing round from the north elevation, has been substantially reconstructed. A chamfered offset on the south buttress continues round on to the southern face. The buttresses and walls are completely plain except for windows, smoke vents, and a garderobe chute. All three second-floor windows and two slits in the staircase housed in the north buttress are original. The vents at third-floor level provide outlets for the smoke from the second-floor kitchen.

The south elevation

Grey sandstone is widely distributed across the face of this wall and is not concentrated in any one area. The wall is entirely plain save for a series of windows and a plinth, visible at the base, which rises by eight steps. There are no signs of the cracking apparent on the east face. There is a fine lead drainpipe decorated with a grotesque mask and bearing the date 1717, placed centrally in the wall. Two inscriptions contain the name John Hyde, one dated 1714.

The first-floor windows are constructed from red sandstone which is relatively fresh in appearance; they resemble the reconstructed round-headed window at first-floor level in the north wall. The second-floor windows are rectangular with plain square heads. Some of the quoins have been face-bedded. At third-floor level two windows have slightly arched openings with keystones, in contrast to the others which have flat lintels. Holes for the rafters of the demolished nineteenth-century brick-built Master Gunner's lean-to store, can be seen on the east buttress.

Part of the west and south walls of the Master Gunner's store, mainly built from re-used grey and red sandstone, though with some handmade brick in the west window reveals, still survive against the south

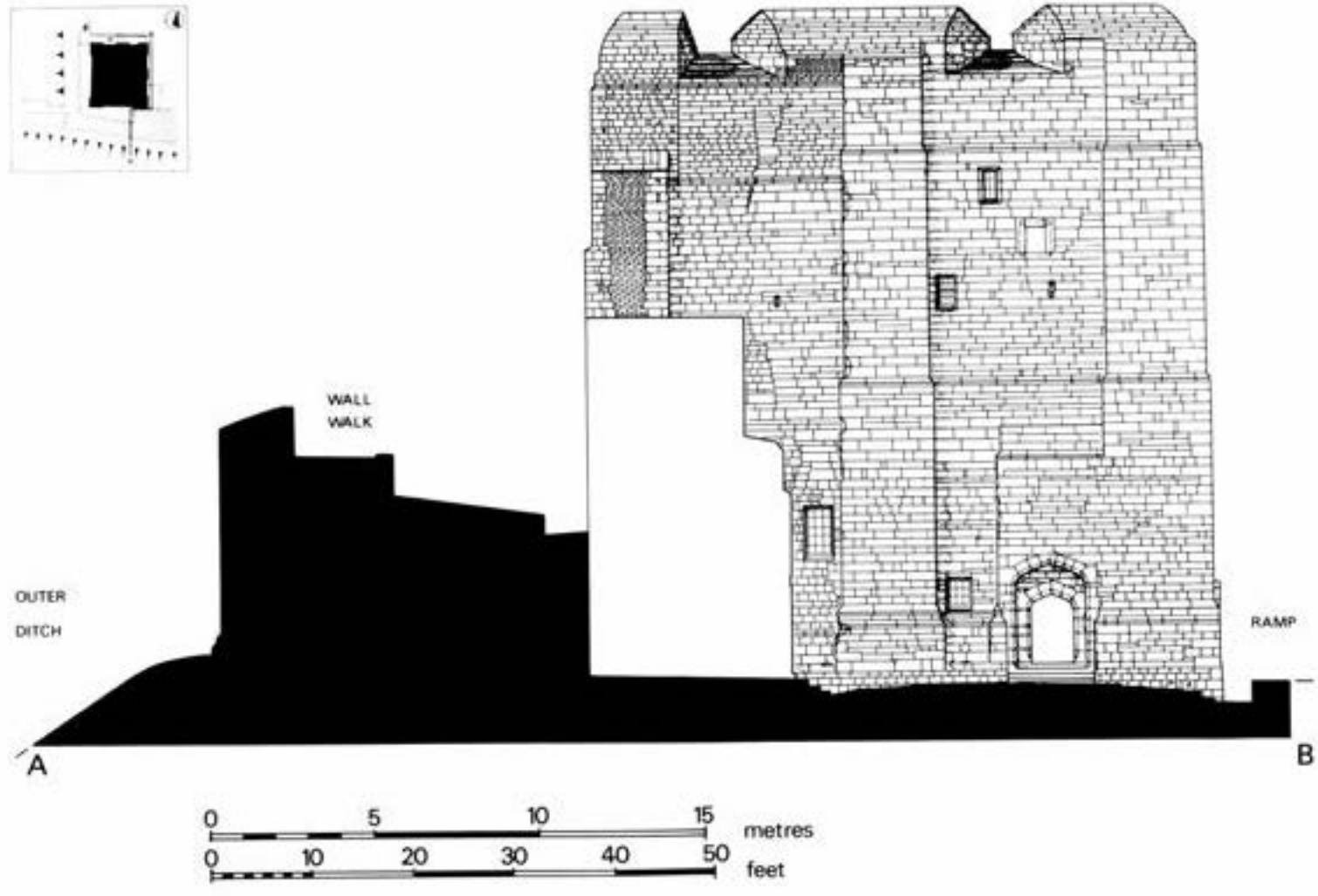

Fig 68 The keep; external elevation of the east wall showing the relationship with the south curtain wall

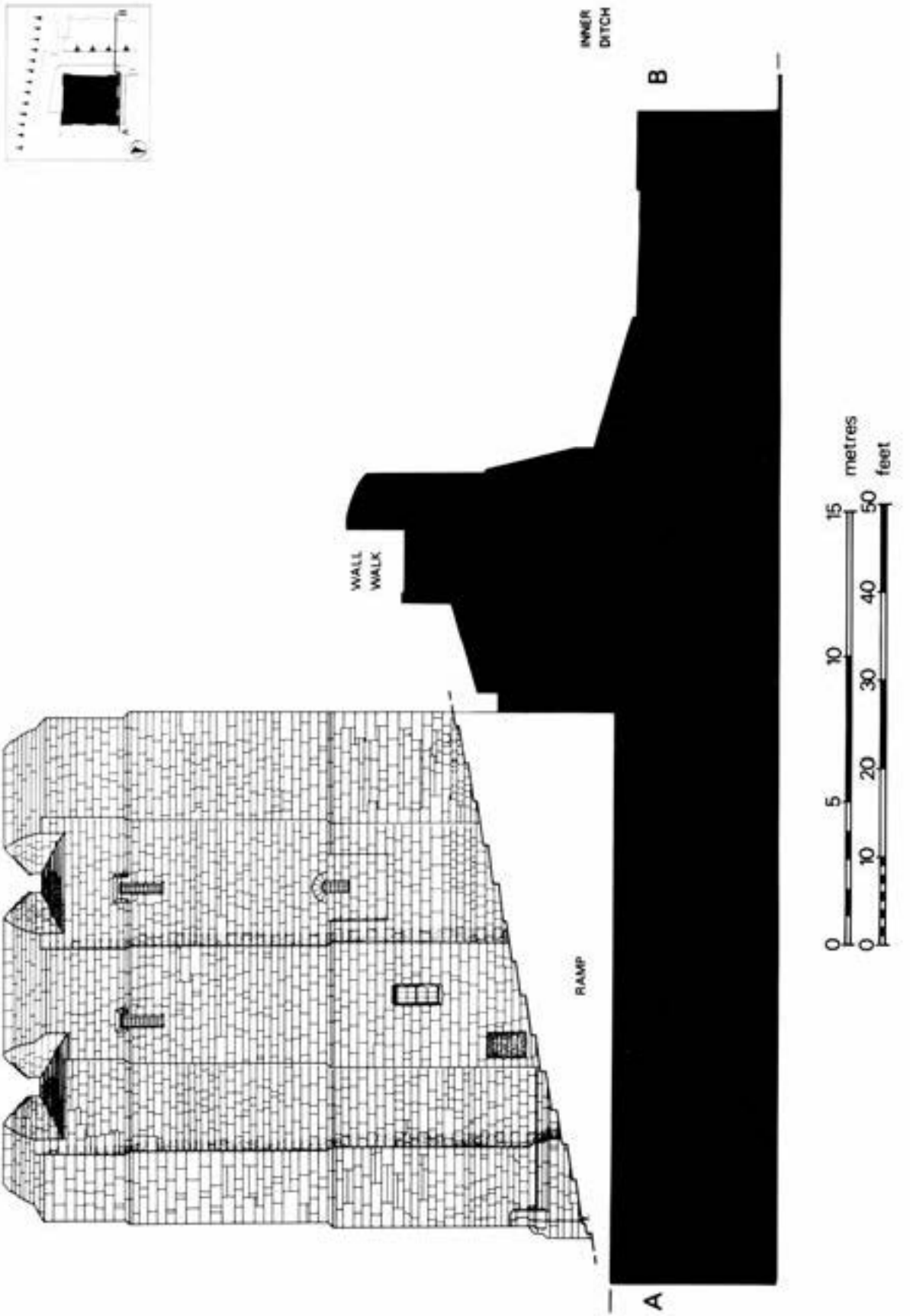

Fig 69 The keep: external elevation of the north wall showing the relationship with the west curtain wall of the inner ward

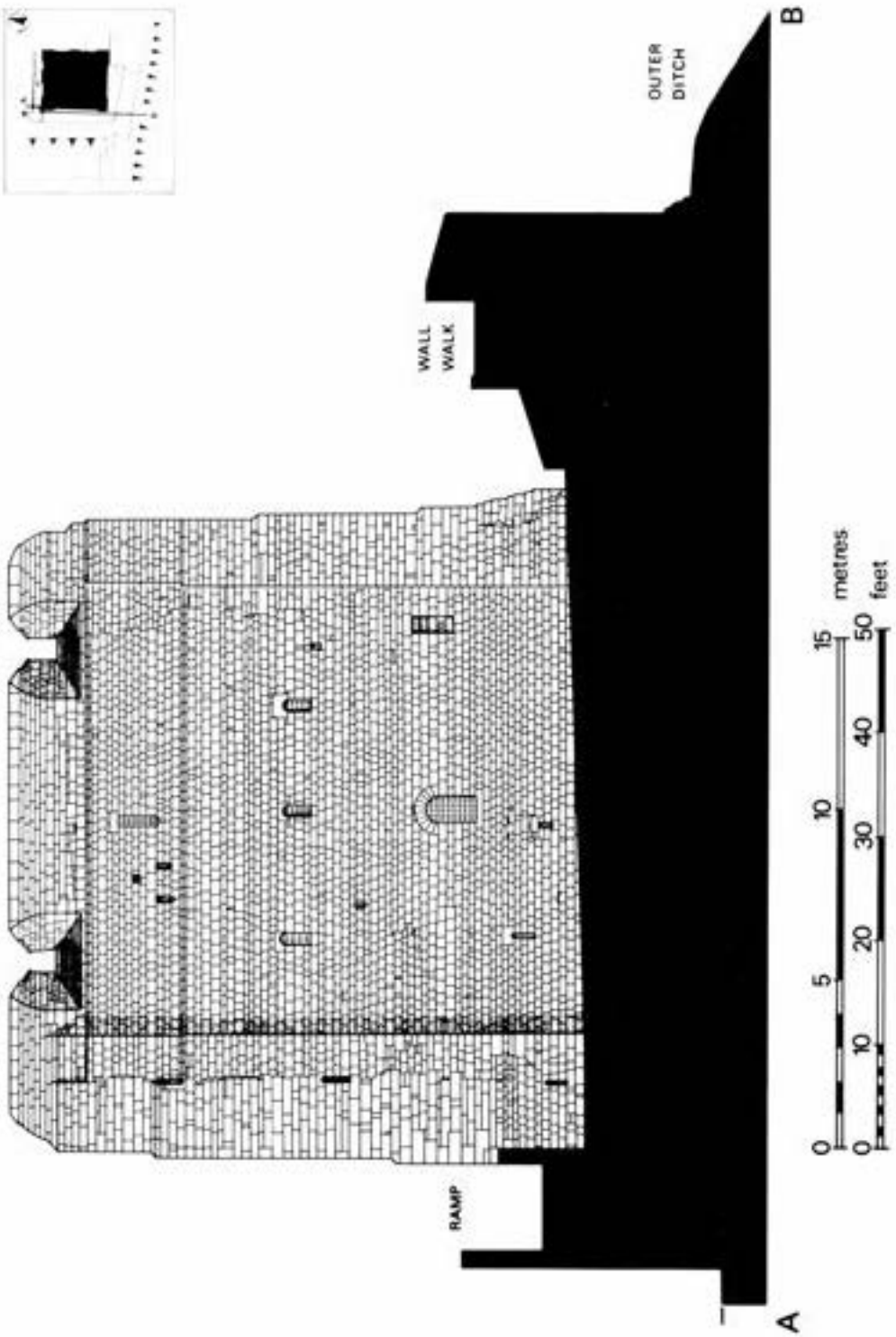

Fig 70 The keep: external elevation of the west wall showing the relationship with the ramp and the south curtain wall

wall. Access to this building was obtained from the south curtain wall walk.

The forebuilding: external elevations

A broad stone foundation (Fig 71) abuts the eastern face of the keep. Although it is mostly faced with grey sandstone, some red ashlar can be seen surviving up to three courses in height, and its foundation today has a cobble and rubble core, perhaps more the product of recent consolidation than evidence of its original materials. At its southern end, the foundation is up to 3m broad, but then almost opposite the present entrance to the keep, it expands to 4.20m. At the northern end a shallow projection may indicate a pilaster buttress adjacent to a step.

The foundation was cut at its southern end by the construction of another building (Fig 72) based on a chamfered offset course; this overlies at least three stepped offsets. This building adjoins, and thus conceals, the southern third of the eastern face of the keep. It is almost wholly constructed of red St Bees sandstone, with some very large blocks near the base. The eastern side, now visible only within the small nineteenth-century storekeeper's office, has a number of moulded offsets.

The building rises to the second floor level of the keep in several stages. The external walls bear traces of several constructional phases, including a blocking relatively high up on the eastern face. A cast of the armorial dated 1577 (p 104) can also be seen on the north face.

Fig 71 The forebuilding foundation

Fig 72 The east elevation of the keep and forebuilding

The keep: interior

The rectangular space within the keep (Figs 73–4) is divided at first, second and third floor-levels into two main rectangular rooms of similar size. At ground floor level there is an eastern room, a western room subdivided into two, and a passage. A spine wall of stone, rising from the ground to the third floors, forms the principal dividing wall between the main rooms at all levels. It is not bonded with the south wall of the keep. Spare space within the walls and in the corners on the first to third floors is used for staircases and a number of mural chambers.

This description will take each floor and the parapet separately, in terms both of its plan and the elevations of the masonry.

The ground floor

The keep is entered through a lobby (room 6), constructed of mixed grey and red sandstone with a transverse, vaulted ceiling made of thin, pitched sandstone slabs. Giving off this to the south is a two-centred arched opening with a simple chamfer leading to the straight mural staircase up to the first floor. To the west four steps lead down to the ground floor proper, which is approximately 1m below ground-level at the entrance.

The ground floor has a passage (room 4) on the north side and rooms 1–3 leading off to the south. From the bottom of the steps, the passage is 8.5m long and its width is 1.8m. The lower part of its south wall (Fig 75) is largely composed of mixed red and grey sandstone blocks, while the upper portion contains long red blocks of sandstone. Half-way down the steps from the lobby to the passage there is a straight joint in the wall where it abuts the former inner face of the east wall in room 1. The wall contains two doors of identical design but of different size. Each has a simple, two-centred, chamfered arch made from two flat-topped stones which meet in a truncated point, and the jambs have an external chamfer. The inner face of the door has a simple flat sandstone lintel. At the west end of the passage a door with a plain flat lintel cuts through a wall, mostly of grey sandstone, and provides access to a spiral staircase in the north-west angle.

The staircase leading from the lobby to the first floor is of mixed grey and red sandstone in both walls, although there is some rubble infilling at the base; this suggests that the treads have been reset. A scar at the top of the wall shows that the ceiling, now boarded, has been raised about 0.1m. There is clear evidence in the lobby (room 7) at first-floor level next to the main entrance into room 8, as well as in the two window embrasures, that the staircase has been narrowed. In its original form the staircase was 1.8m wide as against its present width of 0.9m.

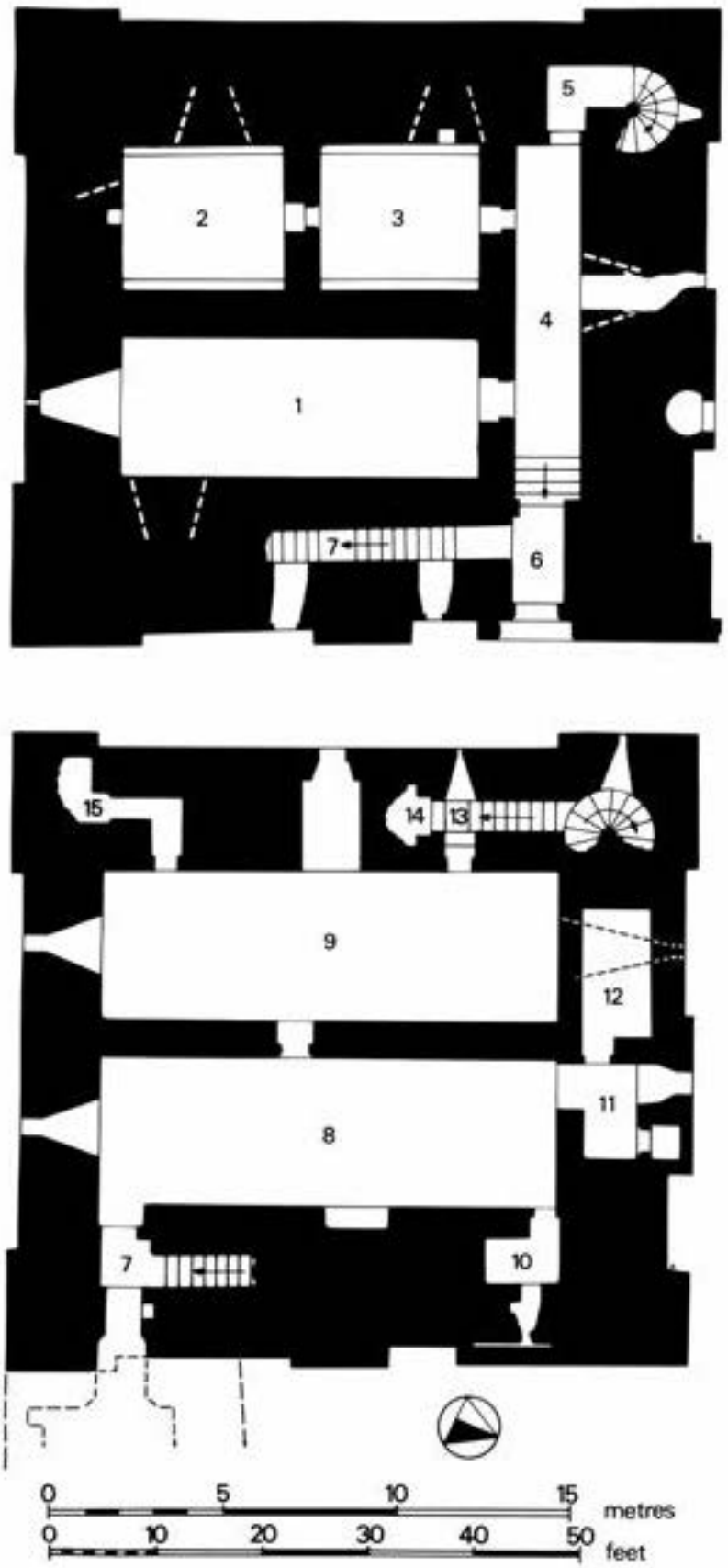

Fig 73 Plans of the keep: above ground floor; below first floor levels

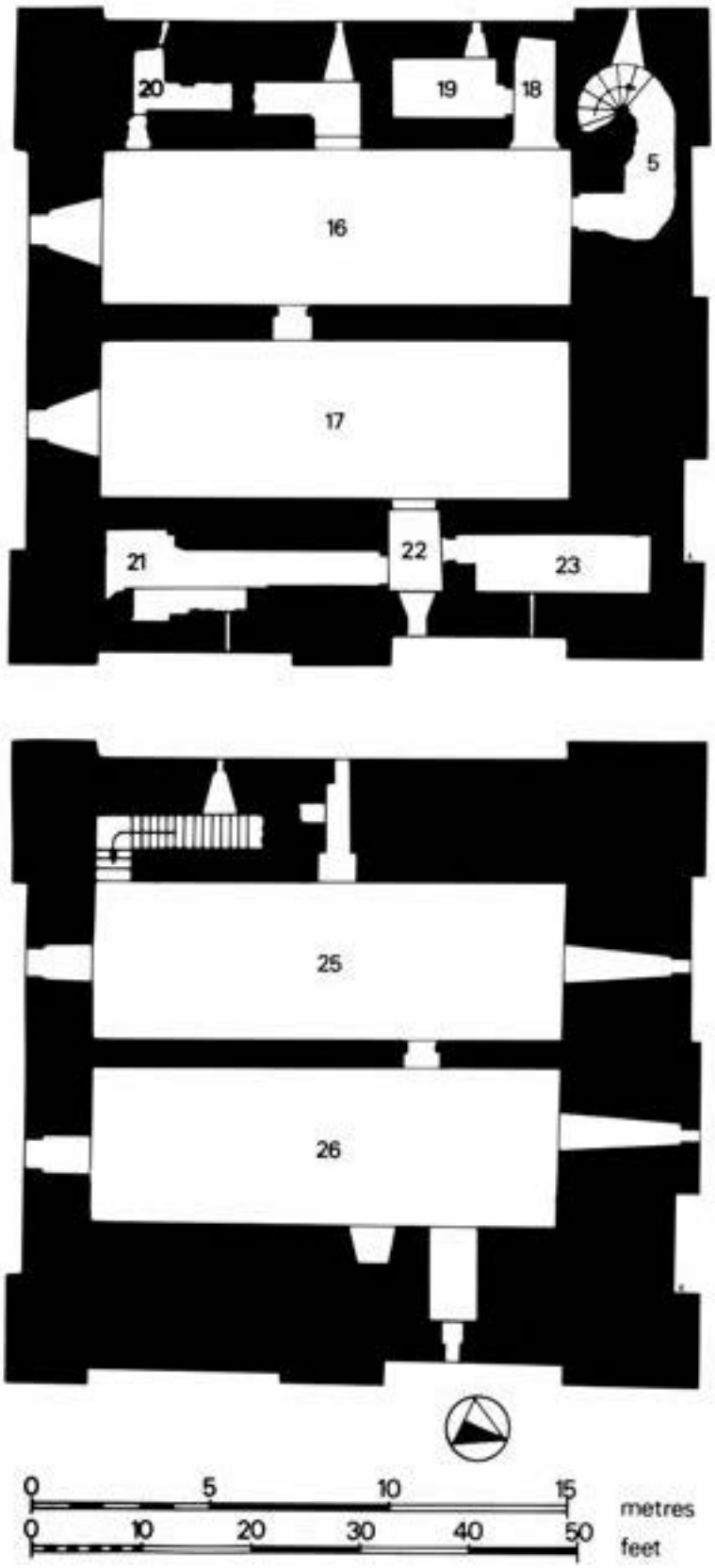

Fig 74 Plans of the keep: above second floor; below third floor levels

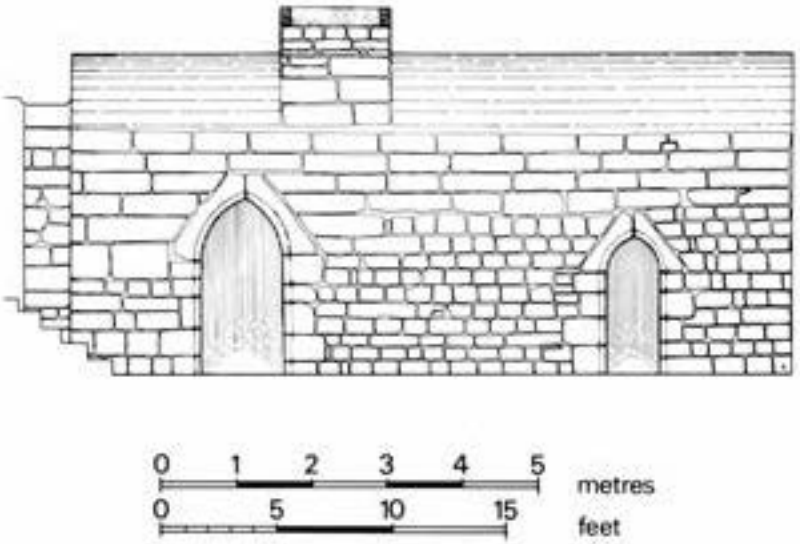

Fig 75 The keep; internal east-west elevation of the south wall of the ground floor passage (room 4)

The lower window in the staircase consists of a splayed embrasure with a sloping sill. Its reveals have been very roughly cut back, but sufficient survives to suggest an original internal width of about 0.9m. The lintel is made from a flat sandstone slab and a wooden beam. The upper window is better preserved: its north reveal is largely composed of grey sandstone and was splayed. Although it has been altered, there is sufficient to suggest that the embrasure was stepped. The quoins for the southern reveal have been cut back and partly patched with handmade brick. In its original form the window had an arched top formed of pitched sandstone, but this has also been cut back. This window, too, would have had an internal width of about 0.9m.

All three ground-floor rooms are barrel-vaulted. Room 1 on the eastern side is separated from rooms 2 and 3 by the keep's spine wall, and access to rooms 1 and 2 is from the passage. Room 1 is featureless apart from a Roman centurial stone (*RIB* 2032) which is incorporated into the north wall. Rooms 2 and 3 are divided by a wall 1m thick pierced by a doorway identical to those in the passage. The two rooms are the same in both size and character. A low sandstone bench, 0.30m wide and 0.23m wide, runs along the east and west walls of both rooms. A raised sandstone slab about 0.3m square lies against the centre of the south wall of room 2.

The east wall (room 1)

The wall (Fig 89, facing p 88) consists of roughly tooled grey and red sandstone. It contains the lower portion of a single blocked window very close to the south-east angle. The window is 2.6m wide and filled with neatly laid blocks similar to those used in the wall.

The north wall (room 4)

The north wall (Fig 76) is composed of blocks of grey and red sandstone, the even coursing of which breaks down at the east and west ends. The wall is featureless except for a window at its centre. Its embrasure has been partly re-modelled and narrowed, but can be seen to have been 2.1m wide with stepped and splayed sides and a barrel-vault. The opening now is 1.05m wide and 1.80m high; it has straight reveals and a flat roof, and leads into a long, low, narrow passage which passes beneath the external ramp outside the keep.

The west wall (rooms 2 and 3)

The walls are mostly built of grey stone, but with some red sandstone. There is a slight offset just above the 'bench' near the floor level. This may represent a pause in the building programme, for the wall is otherwise of one build, and closely resembles the north, east and south walls. The lower portions of two similar-sized blocked window embrasures can be seen, and they also appear to be identical to those in the other three walls. The northern window is partly obscured by the south wall of the passage (room 4), and the upper parts are hidden by the barrel-vaults. The outer faces of these windows are blocked by the defences of the inner ward.

The south wall (rooms 1 and 2)

The wall visible in rooms 1 and 2 is very similar. There are two narrow offsets, one close to floor level in room 2, and one much higher up. The walling above the lower offset is slightly skewed, but this, and the upper offset, are probably indicators of pauses in the construction programme.

There are two windows, 2.1m wide, visible to a height of 2.5m. The western window (room 2) is almost wholly blocked, except for a narrow slit, but the eastern window (in room 1) has had its internal blocking removed (Fig 77). This is the only large twelfth-century window surviving unblocked and in a more or less complete state. The embrasure is splayed internally, and has five very roughly tooled steps leading down to the innermost sill. The top is round-headed and constructed from sandstone. The external face is inaccessible owing to the presence of the bank which forms part of the inner ward defences.

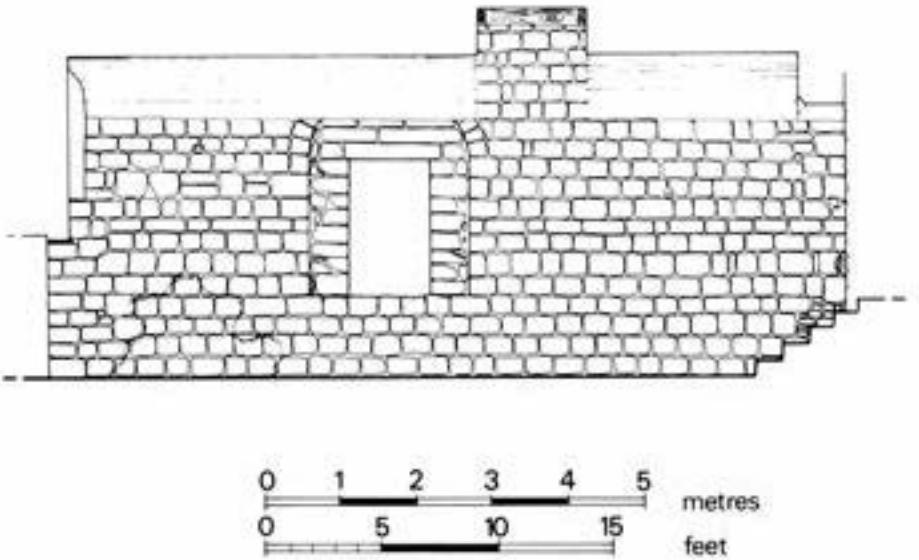

Fig 76 Elevation of the north wall of the ground floor passage (room 4)

The spine wall

At ground-floor level the masonry of the spine wall is of one build – the only point in its entire height at which it can be unequivocally stated to be so. It is built of long red sandstone blocks with a distinctive pecked tooling. The stonework and the tooling is identical to that in the uppermost courses visible in the south side of the passage wall (room 4; Fig 75). A low bench, 0.3m wide and 0.25m high, identical to the one against the west wall in rooms 2 and 3, is present in room 2. There are several holes indicating the presence of fittings in both the spine wall and the wall which divides rooms 2 and 3.

The first floor (Fig 73)

The two principal rooms are rectangular, and measure 12.9m by just over 4.1m wide, though the western room (room 9) is fractionally narrower than the eastern. The rooms are divided by the spine wall which contains a door just south of its central point. There are two entrances to the first floor. The main door, which lies at the southern end of the eastern wall in room 8, leads into a lobby (room 7) standing at the head of the straight mural staircase from the ground floor, and through which access would also have been gained to the forebuilding. Another door, at the northern end of the western wall in room 9, provides access to the vice which serves the ground and first floors. A number of mural chambers lead off the two rooms. One (room 10) housed the winding gear for a portcullis over the ground floor entrance. Room 11 originally contained the winding gear for the well and gave access to another chamber (room 12) of uncertain function. Room 15 in the south-west corner may have served as a garderobe.

The main access from the ground to the first floor is by way of the straight mural staircase in the east wall. The lobby at the top of the stairs (room 7) has a transverse barrel-vault. Its east end leading towards the forebuilding has a plain two-centred arch with reveals 1.5m deep. Like the intra-mural stair, an extra skin of masonry has been added to narrow the internal space: this is evident on the south side, where the walls are flush with the south jamb of the door into room 8, and partly on the north side where the original face is visible in a hole caused by the removal of a stone.

All that is now left of the forebuilding consists of a small chamber 4.3m north-south and 2.3m east-west, with a short passage leading into the keep. There is no evidence for what lies or originally lay below this chamber, and the masonry beneath it may be solid to ground level. The walls of the chamber are extremely varied in composition. The east wall, lit by a large nineteenth-century window, is mostly built of hand-made bricks. Much of the south wall is also of brick, and has been cut by vents for stovepipes. The north wall includes very large red sandstone blocks in the lower and brick in the upper portion. The west wall, which incorporates the door to the keep, is largely constructed from rubble. The room in its present form appears, therefore, to be multi-period in construction but, apart from noting that the bricks are likely to have been the latest repairs, it is not possible to identify the order of construction with any confidence. The exception to this is the entrance to the keep from the forebuilding. A plain round-headed arch, probably the earliest feature, was later replaced by a short two-centred arched passage.

There is a substantial gap where the forebuilding adjoins the keep. The external face of the keep, therefore, which would otherwise have been concealed, can be seen. On the northern side, the face of the keep consists of finely tooled sandstone for a distance of at least 2m. On the southern side, however, the walling is extremely rough immediately beyond the quoins to the keep door. The original face of the passage can also be seen.

A second point of access between the ground and first floors lies at the north-west angle (Fig 73). Here a newel staircase, which ultimately rises to the second floor, is reached from the first floor by way of a short length of straight mural stair in the west wall. At the

Fig 77 The twelfth century window embrasure in the south wall of the ground floor (room 1) (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

top of this straight staircase large holes in the masonry reveal that there was once a mural chamber in the west wall. No details of this chamber are available as it is very largely blocked up with rubble.

The east wall (Fig 89, facing p 88)

The east wall is dominated by a centrally placed fireplace which is set within a large two-centred relieving arch (Fig 78). The hearth simply consists of a rectangular recess, nearly 1m deep, at floor level. The fireplace quoins bear very clear scars which show that some of its decorative features have been removed, and which allow a reconstruction of them to be attempted (p 93; Fig 94). The arrises of the fireplace have also been trimmed back, but traces of nail-head decoration survive at the top on both sides, suggesting the possibility that there was a band of ornamentation running down each side of the hearth. The hearthstones are of very recent date but the fireback, a mixture of sandstone and brick patching, is older.

Apart from the topmost four courses, which indicate that the ceiling has been raised, the masonry of the wall bears traces of multiple reconstructions with at least four, and possibly five, patches. Half way up the wall at both ends, the mixed grey and red sandstones are a smaller version of those in the four walls on the ground floor, except that some of the masonry is open-jointed. This stonework is also very similar to masonry at the southern end of the east wall on the second and third floors. This contrasts with the larger, close-jointed, fine red sandstone blocks containing the fireplace and its relieving arch. This area of walling was inserted into the smaller earlier masonry on either side. Another patch of repair work can be seen at the north end, between the relieving arch and the door to the portcullis winding room. Here long red sandstone blocks, identical to those in the spine wall at ground level, have been inserted. A substantial crack can be seen at the corner above the door.

The main door into the keep is located at the southern end of the wall. It consists of a plain round-headed arch which is of one build with the adjacent smaller masonry. There are no chamfers or any other form of elaboration. The reveal of the northern jamb is intact, and can be seen to continue as a finely tooled external face in the crack next to the intra-mural staircase. The southern reveal is flush with the south wall of the room and entrance lobby (room 7) and shows signs of having been cut back.

Room 10

At the north end of the east wall a plain flat-topped door provides access to the portcullis winding room (Fig 73). Both the north and west walls of this room, as well as the door reveals, are similar in construction to the east and north walls in room 8. The east and south walls, on the other hand, consist of extremely rough, uncoursed stone of boulder size suggesting that they may have been cut back. A small opening and a circular hole in the east wall leads to the top of the portcullis groove.

The north wall; rooms 8–9 (Fig 79)

In room 8 the lowest twelve courses are of mixed red and grey sandstone, whilst the upper portion consists of long red sandstone blocks very similar in appearance to those used in the spine wall on the ground floor. The wall is pierced by a large two-centred arch which has chamfered voussoirs and a simple stop at springer level.

The north wall of room 9 (Fig 79), constructed from mixed red and grey sandstone, contains a round-headed window, restored in relatively recent times. Some of the wall, and parts of the vault of the mural chamber behind it (room 12), were rebuilt at the same time as this, but parts of the original wall survive to each side near the floor.

Rooms 11–12

The arched opening in room 8 (Fig 79) provides access to two mural chambers (Fig 73). Room 11 is essentially a vaulted recess the opening for which has a plain flat lintel, and which originally would have contained the winding gear for the well. The reveals have been cut back to take a door.

Room 12 is entered through room 11 by way of a square-headed door. It consists of a small barrel-vaulted chamber with the quoins of a western reveal for a splayed window embrasure in the north wall. The rest of the window is not visible and may have been removed; the wall itself has been covered with crude concrete pointing which obscures most of the stonework. The masonry of the south and west walls can be seen to consist of mixed short blocks of grey and red sandstone.

The west wall (Fig 90, facing p 89)

The red and grey sandstone wall is pierced by a centrally-placed window and a door at each end. There are

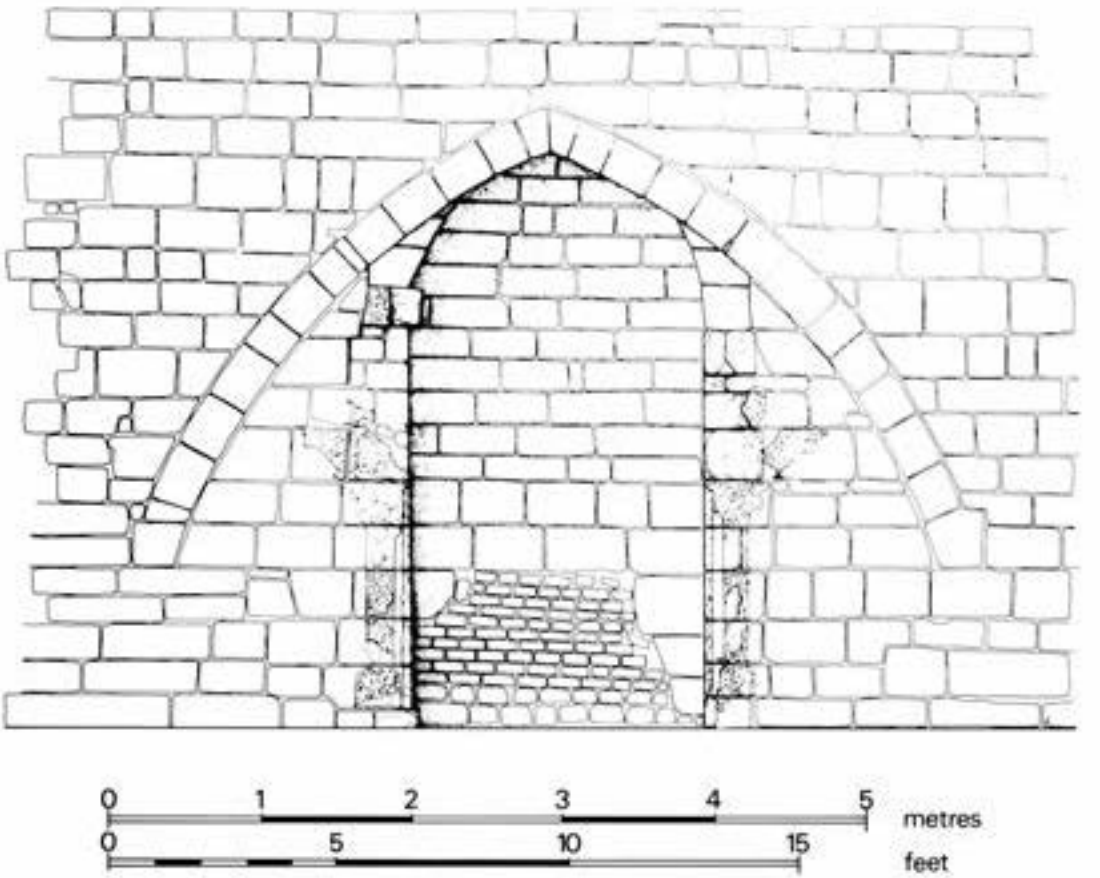

Fig 78 The keep; the fireplace in the east wall (room 8)

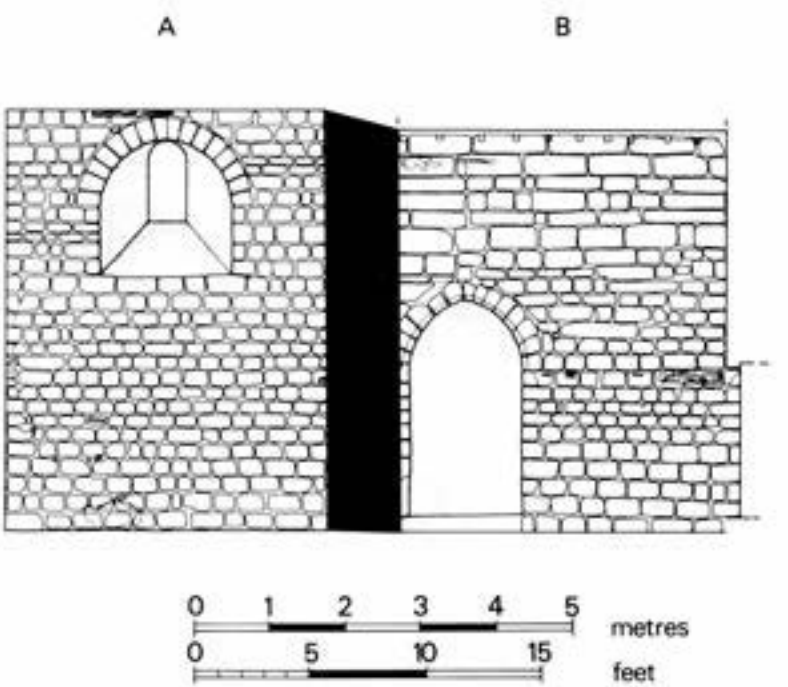

Fig 79 Elevation of the north wall of the first floor (A room 9; B room 8)

signs of repair work at the south end as well as above the northern door. At the north end the lowest five courses are probably bonded into the north wall, but above this there is a straight joint. Both the door openings are plain. The south door is of one build with the wall, except possibly for the lintel, and gives access to room 15, a garderobe. The north door, leading to the mural staircase in the north west corner, may have been remodelled. The window shows clear signs of reconstruction. Although some of the stonework is fresh and crisp in appearance, elsewhere stone also appears to have been reused. The embrasure has been rebuilt: for most of its length, its sides are parallel, but towards the outer face there is an inward splay.

Room 15

A short L-shaped passage leads into room 15 through a plain flat-headed door (Fig 73). This chamber has been remodelled in the past and now contains the rubble core of the south wall which is plainly visible. The room probably functioned as a garderobe.

The south wall

The walls of rooms 8 and 9 consist of mixed grey and red sandstone, with much plaster and limewash still in evidence. The two windows, recently rebuilt with very steeply sloping sills, incorporate earlier reused masonry. There are some indications that the wall itself may have been reconstructed: the south reveal of the main door into room 8, now flush with the south wall, almost certainly originally stood proud of it. A straight joint, close to the point where the spine and south walls meet in room 8, points to the presence of an earlier blocked door, and probably, therefore, mural chambers which are now inaccessible. The present spine wall overlaps this blocked door. There are a number of filled holes for former wall fittings.

The spine wall

The evenly coursed grey and red sandstone blocks from which the wall at this level is built are quite different in character from those on the ground floor. Close to the centre of the wall there is a door (Fig 80) providing access between the two main rooms (8 and 9). It has a square-headed archway and a leaf-stop at the base of the chamfers on the quoins. At the base of the door the quoins appear to be of one build with the surrounding walling, though higher up this is not the case, and the doorway may have been remodelled. Further evidence of this can be seen in the reveals as well as on the wall face in room 9. Here the voussoirs of a two-centred arch indicate the top of an earlier opening through which the square-headed doorway was cut. The south end of the spine wall overlaps a blocked door to a mural chamber in the south wall of the keep. Signs of repair work are visible at the south end in room 9, and a there is relieving arch at floor level at the north end, related to the passage (room 4) below.

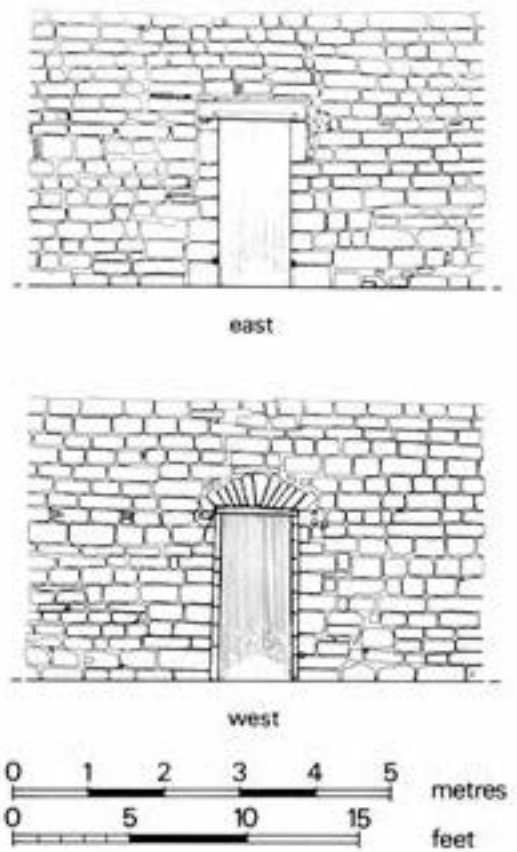

Fig 80 The keep; the east and west elevations of the doorway in the median wall on the first floor; room 8 (above) room 9 (below)

The second floor and other features (Fig 74)

The principal rooms (rooms 16 and 17) are 12.8m in length and 4.25m wide and are divided by the spine wall, which contains a doorway just south of the centre point. The entrance from the first floor is in the north wall of room 16, and an intra-mural staircase to the third floor is reached from room 24 which is at the midway point in the west wall of the same room. Mural chambers occupy most of the east and west walls. On the eastern side one chamber (room 21) was probably used as an oratory, at least in its earliest period, whilst the other (room 23) was used as a prison. On the western side room 19 was a small kitchen and room 20 was a garderobe.

Access from the first floor was by way of the spiral stair, which gives onto a passage cut through the wall core at second floor level. Although the walls of the spiral stair are of ashlar masonry, the walls of the passage have been cut through the wall core and consist of unfaced rubble. Neither the form, nor the precise location of the doorway into the second floor can be determined. The staircase is lit by small round-headed windows with splayed embrasures.

The ceilings of both rooms 16 and 17 consist of large oak beams oriented east-west supporting north-south joists. In room 16, three large cross-beams measuring up to 0.5 × 0.3m divide the room into four unequal bays. The beams rest in holes cut into the walls. The

joists for the third floor are supported in holes in the north and south walls as well as in the cross- beams. Additional beams in the south-east corner support the third-floor ladder to the parapet. The arrangement in room 17 is similar, except that the cross-beams define four equal-sized bays. Some of the beams and joists are clearly recent replacements, but most are of some antiquity. There are many visible joints on both the underside and the sides. These include shallow haunches, laps, and mortices, as well as single and double rows of holes for wattle panelling. There is no evidence to suggest that any of these features reflect identifiable room divisions, and many of the timbers are clearly reused in their present position.

The east, west, and spine walls all contain hints in the masonry of an earlier arrangement of cross beams and joists. This is especially evident in the east wall, where the coursing at ceiling level is interrupted by smaller stones set on top of each other. In the north and south walls, the spaces between the joists are filled with a mixture of brick, large stones, and rubble.

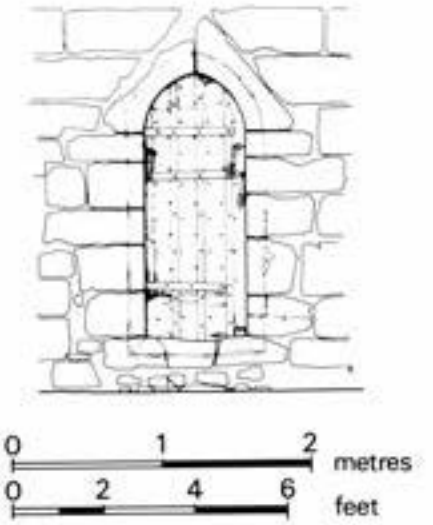

Fig 81 The keep; door to the prison, room 23

The east wall (room 17) (Fig 89, facing p 88)

The section of wall north of the door to room 22 is a repair carried out in long red sandstone blocks similar to those used in the spine wall at ground-floor level. To the south of the doorway the wall has been repaired on at least two occasions as can be clearly seen in the breaks in the masonry. At the southern end is an area of relatively small blocks of grey and red sandstone similar in appearance to masonry which can be seen in the same position on the first and third floors (pp 80 and 86). This stonework is separated from that immediately to its north by a vertical offset 0.05m wide. This continues the break in the masonry visible on the first floor (Fig 89).

A fireplace formerly occupied the centre of this wall. It is marked by the a scar for an attached column and the southern arris of the hearth recess. The arris appears to be plain apart from a slightly concave chamfer. The scar for the end of a lintel can be seen, but later modifications to the wall have removed all other traces. Although these features resemble the first-floor fireplace, there is no relieving arch on this face. Instead a relieving arch, identical to that on the first floor, can be seen on the opposite side of the east wall in the intramural chamber (room 21; Fig 83).

Room 22

A door provides access to a small, plain rectangular room with a vaulted ceiling and a window, which leads to two mural chambers known as the 'Prison Rooms' (rooms 21 and 23; Fig 74).

The north wall is pierced by a narrow two-centred arched door 0.65m wide leading into room 23. The door is identical in design to those in the passage on the ground floor (Fig 81). The door in the south wall has a plain monolithic lintel. The sides of both doors, the north and south walls and part of the window embrasure in the east wall are covered in large numbers of relief carvings and graffiti (Figs 82 and 95–100); the motifs include both religious and secular motifs

Fig 82 The door to the oratory (room 21) showing some prisoners' carvings (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

such as crosses, armed knights and heraldic features. The significance of these is discussed by Summerson (p 169).

Room 23

The plain walls are built from long red sandstone slabs identical to those in the adjacent room 17. There is a small rectangular loop (Fig 74), slightly splayed internally, and a sandstone barrel-vault. The floor is made of brick. The rooms has a substantial door of oak boards, clenched with large iron rivets and strengthened on the outside with iron strips let into the surface (Fig 81). Three of the original four iron hasps which locked the door to staples set in the jambs are still in place.

Room 21

This is a mural chamber 7.8m in length, slightly less than 1m wide at the entrance (Fig 82) and approximately 2.5m wide at the south end. The walls show signs of multiple building phases.

At the south end of the passage the east and west walls are built of relatively short rectangular or almost square blocks of grey Kirklinton sandstone (Figs 83 and 93). About 1.75m from the south end there is a transverse round-headed arch the reveals of which are bonded into the east and west walls. The east wall also contains one side of a blocked window embrasure about 1.27m high. The stonework of the window quoins is similar to that of the arch and the two side walls. At the south end, abutting the east wall, is a substantial relieving arch formed of larger red St Bees sandstones. This stands in front of the transverse arch reveals and is a later addition which was probably inserted when the passage received its present ceiling.

The west wall (Fig 83) contains the remains of a two-centred relieving arch in large red sandstone blocks. Only the northern voussoirs survive, although the position of those at the southern end can be seen from the masonry used as infill after their removal. The construction of the arch resulted in the narrowing of the original passage leading off room 22. This can be seen especially clearly at the southern end where the relieving arch was built in front of the western face of the transverse arch. It belongs with the fireplace in the adjacent room (room 17) and is very similar to that in the east wall of the first floor (Fig 78, p 81).

Several building phases can also be distinguished at the north end of the passage. On the east side the earlier phase consists of evenly coursed, short rectangular to square blocks in both red and grey sandstone. The stonework is very similar to masonry at the southern end which is associated with the transverse arch. A repair to the east wall was subsequently effected by the insertion of long red sandstone blocks next to the door leading into room 22.

The north wall

The red sandstone is of poor but variable quality, with much of it eaten away by salts. The door from the newel staircase into room 16 is not original.

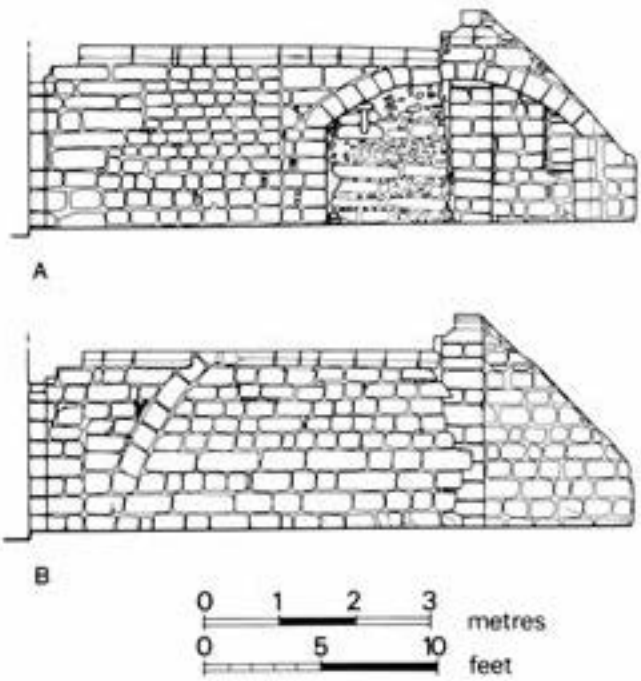

Fig 83 Elevation of the oratory (room 21): A east wall; B west wall

The west wall (room 16) (Fig 90, facing p 89)

There are two large openings, one at the south end and the other in the centre of the wall. Between these the walling shows signs of patching and repair work which is almost certainly related to features in the mural kitchen (room 19; pp 85–6). A smaller opening at the north end leads into rooms 18 and 19.

The opening in the centre of the wall has plain reveals and a timber ceiling. It originally provided access to the garderobe (room 20, p 86), but is now the entrance to the mural stair (room 24) leading to the third floor. A straight joint, which may have been part of the door to the garderobe, can be seen immmediately south of the present opening. At the south end of room 16 a hole has been knocked through the wall to reveal the lower part of the garderobe and the door which connected it to the larger mural chamber. The chute of this garderobe is visible on the outside wall (Fig 70).

Room 18

The northern opening in the west wall leads into room 18. It has a shallow arch turned in handmade brick, and slightly splayed but otherwise plain reveals. The function of this room is not certain because of later building work. Today it appears as a recess 3m deep and 1.2m wide. The north and south walls are patched with sandstone, rubble, and hand-made brick. In the south wall is the square-headed door to the kitchen (room 19). The door leading into the mural kitchen (room 19), and its associated stonework, is cut by the reveal for the door into room 18, and the brickwork at the west end. The kitchen door is the earliest feature in this wall and may be contemporary with some of the red sandstone masonry in the north wall.

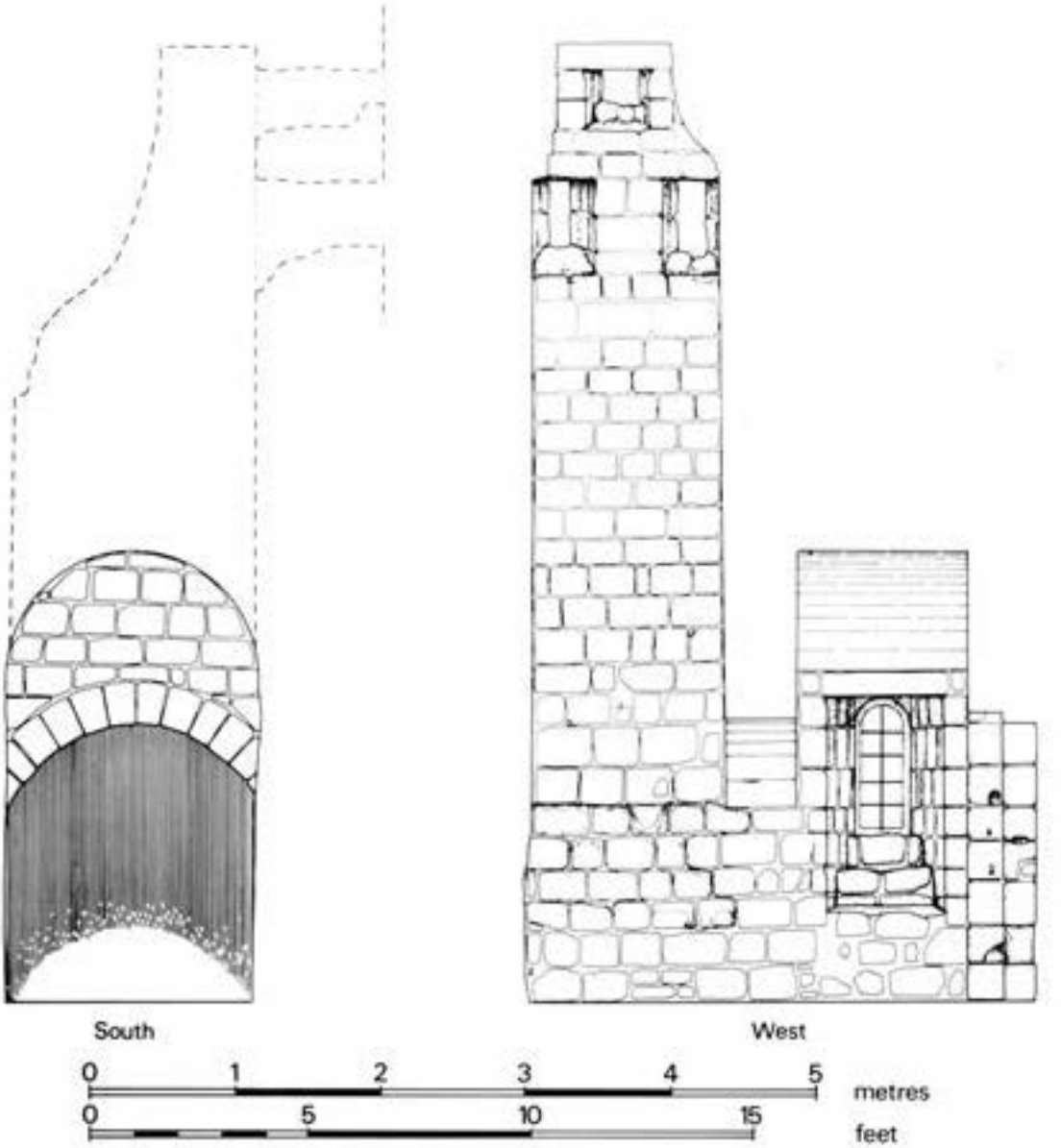

Fig 84 The keep; elevations in the second floor kitchen (room 19)

Room 19 (Figs 74 and 84)

This is a mural chamber 2.8m long and 1.8m wide, divided into two parts. The southern part was used as a fireplace, with a chimney which rises up in the thickness of the wall, opening to the outside by way of three vents at third-floor level. There is a small niche in the east wall with recent brick repairs at the back and on the south side. The fireplace, which otherwise lacks diagnostic architectural features, is separated from the rest of the chamber by a round-headed arch with red sandstone voussoirs. The arch is of one build with the walling above, although there are signs of repair in the chimney itself. A later flue has been cut through the wall from the top of the chimney to the parapet, where it is now covered by a slab. The room is lit by a small round-headed window set in a stepped and splayed embrasure.

Room 20

This is a very small, rectangular chamber 2.15m in length and 1.15m wide in the south-west corner. Access to this chamber was formerly by way of a door situated near the foot of the stairs (room 24) which now leads up to the third floor. When this staircase was constructed the chamber was effectively blocked up. Access now is only by way of a very small hole cut through the lower part of the west wall of room 16 (Fig 90).

The walls are built of both red and grey sandstone blocks, but repairs in the form of uncoursed masonry is apparent in places. The room was a garderobe with a chute which can be seen in the west wall (Figs 70, 74, and 85).

The south wall

The stonework is a mixture of grey and red sandstone. There are two identical windows (Fig 86) with slightly

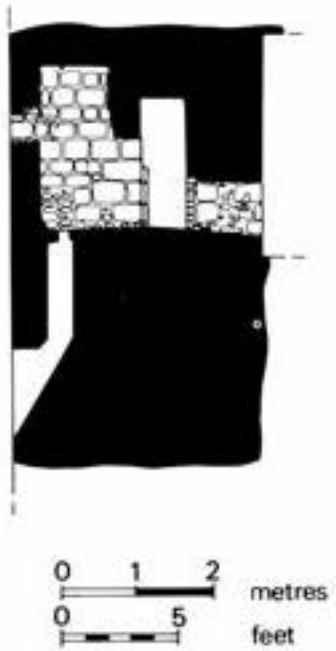

Fig 85 Section through the west wall showing the garderobe (room 20) and the chute through the wall

arched shouldered heads, sloping sills and very roughly cut back splayed embrasures. The external lights have modern wooden frames.

The spine wall

The wall is pierced by a doorway just south of its central point. The door itself has a plain four-centred arch with chamfers terminating in a leaf stop on the quoins. The reveals are plain apart from bar holes.

The joints in the red sandstone are wider than those on the first floor, and the walling has traces of both ancient and modern repairs north of the doorway. There is a slight sag to the wall south of the door, but the reasons for this are not clear. A number of filled holes testify to the presence of fitments.

The third floor (Fig 74B)

As with the first and second floors, there are two principal rooms (rooms 25 and 26); they are 12.85m in length and 4.3m wide. Access via the mural staircase from the second floor is in the south-west corner of room 25. A wooden staircase of recent date provides access to the parapet from the south-west corner of room 25. The rooms are divided by a spine wall which has a doorway to the north of the centre point. There are no mural chambers, unlike the floors below, but there is a fireplace in room 26 and deep window embrasures in the east and west walls.

The east wall (room 26) (Fig 89, facing p 88)

Much of this wall consists of long red sandstone blocks similar to those noted elsewhere, especially in the spine wall at ground-floor level. At the south end two substantial breaks in the masonry continue those noted on floors below to a height of nine courses. The top of the break is slightly offset, a feature which continues to the north for a short distance.

There are openings for a fireplace and a window. The fireplace, which has been inserted, has a damaged, slightly arched, chamfered monolithic head with splayed sides and a mutilated base. There is a small sooted niche to one side. The window has straight reveals and rectangular niches, measuring 0.25 × 0.28m and 0.28 × 0.35m, on either side. The window itself is of very recent date.

The north wall (Fig 87)

The poor stone noted on the second floor is also present at third-floor level. There are two identical windows with splayed embrasures, sloping sills and flat monolithic heads and modern lights. The east reveal of a mural feature, possibly a door with straight reveals at least 1.3m deep, is present in the north-east corner of room 26 (Fig 87). The door head was in the form of an arch of indeterminate shape. This clearly antedates all the other masonry in this wall as well as the adjacent east wall. The ceiling in rooms 25 and 26 is a substantial brick vault.

The west wall (Fig 90, facing p 89)

The lowest eleven courses are evenly laid red sandstone blocks, and are of one build from end to end. The uppermost courses appear to be of different construction. They consist of red sandstone blocks varying in length. The voussoirs of two relieving arches can be seen at floor level; these overlie the two openings on the floor below.

In the centre of the wall, immediately below the ceiling, a rectangular opening gives access to a small, rectangular modern light. The straight reveals are plain except for a deep, square opening in the south side. The door providing access from the second floor is modern, as is the staircase leading to the parapet.

The south wall

Apart from the uppermost courses immediately below the brick vault, the wall appears to be of one build. There is an offset high up in the wall in room 26. There are two windows with straight embrasures and shallow arched heads. Immediately above each there are two additional windows, the sills of which are formed from the voussoirs of the windows below.

The spine wall

The masonry includes many stones that are shorter than at second-floor level, especially in the centre and towards the south. Although it is generally of an even quality, the masonry shows signs of a number of interruptions suggesting, perhaps, more than one phase of construction. The door between rooms 25 and 26 is identical to that on the second floor and has been inserted. As elsewhere, there are a number of filled holes testifying to the former presence of fittings.

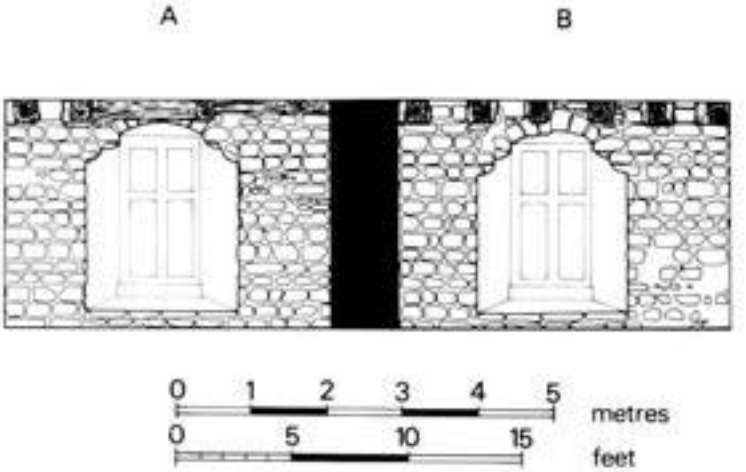

Fig 86 Elevation of the south wall on the second floor (room 16 A; room 17 B)

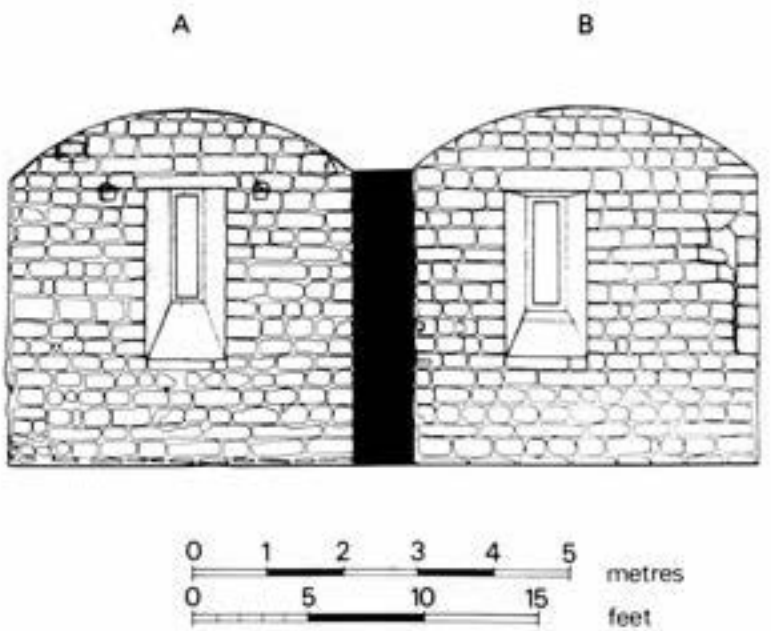

Fig 87 Elevation of the of the north wall on the third floor (room 25 A; room 26 B)

The parapet

The parapet is reached by a steep ladder from the third floor. There are eight crenels, two in each wall, with slight differences in size and shape. The crenels on the north (Fig 88) and west sides, together with one on the east, have double-splayed reveals, with sills that are stepped and slope both inwards and outwards. The remaining eastern crenel is asymmetrical, with one double- and one single-splayed reveal. On the south wall (Fig 88), they are both taller and single-splayed. The top of the merlons on the north, east, and west sides also slope inside and outwards, whilst the southern one slopes outwards only.

Discussion

Period 2

Many areas of masonry attributable to the twelfth century can be seen at each floor level of the keep; figures 91 and 92 illustrate the extent of surviving stonework present in the north, east and west sides. Dating is suggested by the form of the windows and the doors, together with a consideration of the characteristics of the associated masonry.

On the ground floor the internal faces of all four walls are almost entirely of twelfth-century build. The round-headed, splayed, stepped window embrasures, a type which can be seen especially clearly in the east window in the south wall (Fig 77), are characteristic of

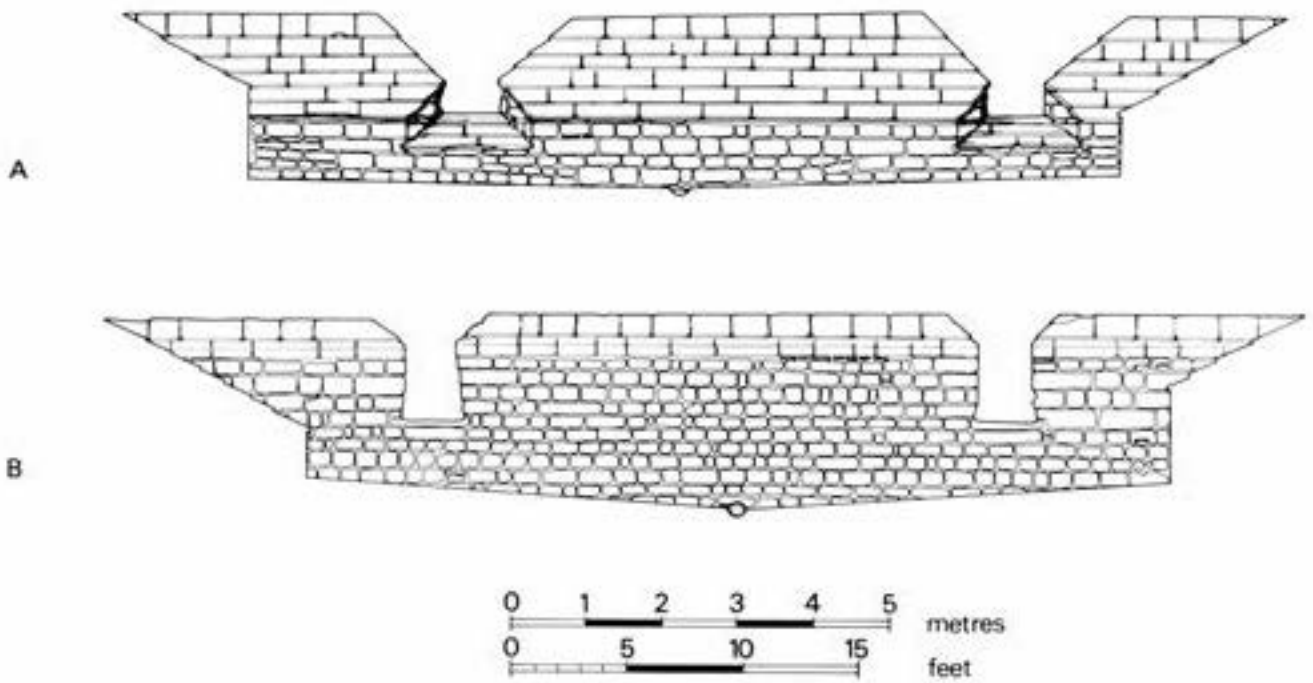

Fig 88 Elevations of the parapet: A north side; B south side

this date. The relatively short blocks of grey and red sandstone used also resemble stonework in the curtain walls attributed to Period 2. All the present internal walls are of a later date as can be seen both by the form of the doors, and the relationship between the west end of the south wall of the passage (room 4) with the west wall of the keep (Fig 90).

At first, second, and third floor levels later rebuilding has reduced the amount of early masonry. Although the east wall has been substantially altered, the character of the masonry at both ends (Figs 89 and 92) is consistent with a relatively early date. It may not belong to the primary phase, however, as it lacks the fine tooling and close jointing seen at ground-floor level. At the southern end this stonework seems to be integral with the main entrance. The large central fireplace has been attributed by earlier scholars to the twelfth century (Clark 1884, 354; Ferguson 1875, 19; Watson and Bradley 1937, 27) but it is clear that in its present form it is unlikely to be older than the 1180s, and is probably of thirteenth or fourteenth century date.

The west wall may also contain early masonry *in situ* although it is difficult to be sure (Figs 90 and 91). Part of a blocked mural chamber (room 14) behind the wall next to the north door may belong to this period. Much reconstruction of more recent date has taken place in the centre of the wall.

The north wall (Fig 79) contains a mural chamber with the remains of a splayed embrasure; this chamber, together with part of the wall dividing it from room 9, is probably essentially twelfth century in date, although it has been mutilated in later times. The north wall also incorporates a well which provided the water supply for the keep. In later times water was drawn from the ramp outside, but originally it would have been accessible only from the first floor. Nothing survives of the original well-head. Several writers have noted that since the well is integral with the keep wall, it may predate the castle. Dates ranging from Roman (Clark 1884, 354; Hutchinson 1794, 586) to the reign of William II (Watson and Bradley 1937, 30) have been suggested. Whilst some of these are possible, the simplest explanation is that it belongs with the primary phase of the stone castle, and is contemporary with the first few seasons of construction during the 1120s.

In the west wall there are three small round-headed windows with monolithic heads and internal stepped and splayed embrasures. The northern window lights room 19, a small mural kitchen lacking architectural detail. Apart from minor repairs the walls of the fireplace appear to be of one build, and are integral with the low round-headed arch which divides the hearth area from the rest of the chamber. The form of the fireplace arch and the window is consistent with a twelfth-century date. The fireplace walls rise 4.15m as a rectangular vertical shaft before narrowing to a circle; smoke eventually escaped through three holes in the western wall some 5.50m above the floor. The height of the chimney and the walls thus demonstrate that the early keep was little different in height to that of the present day. Access into the kitchen must have been in the area of the present entrance, but its position has been destroyed.

The remaining windows in the north wall are located in room 24, a mural passage which today leads to the third floor. The present entry to room 24 was cut through when access was obtained to the second floor from the wall walk of the inner ward curtain wall in the nineteenth century. When this entrance was closed up in the 1930s, the window at the north end of room 24 was reconstructed to match the original window at the south. This alteration, and the subsequent insertion of a staircase in this room, conceal the original form of the chamber; but its position and size suggest a mural chamber like those in the north and east walls. At the

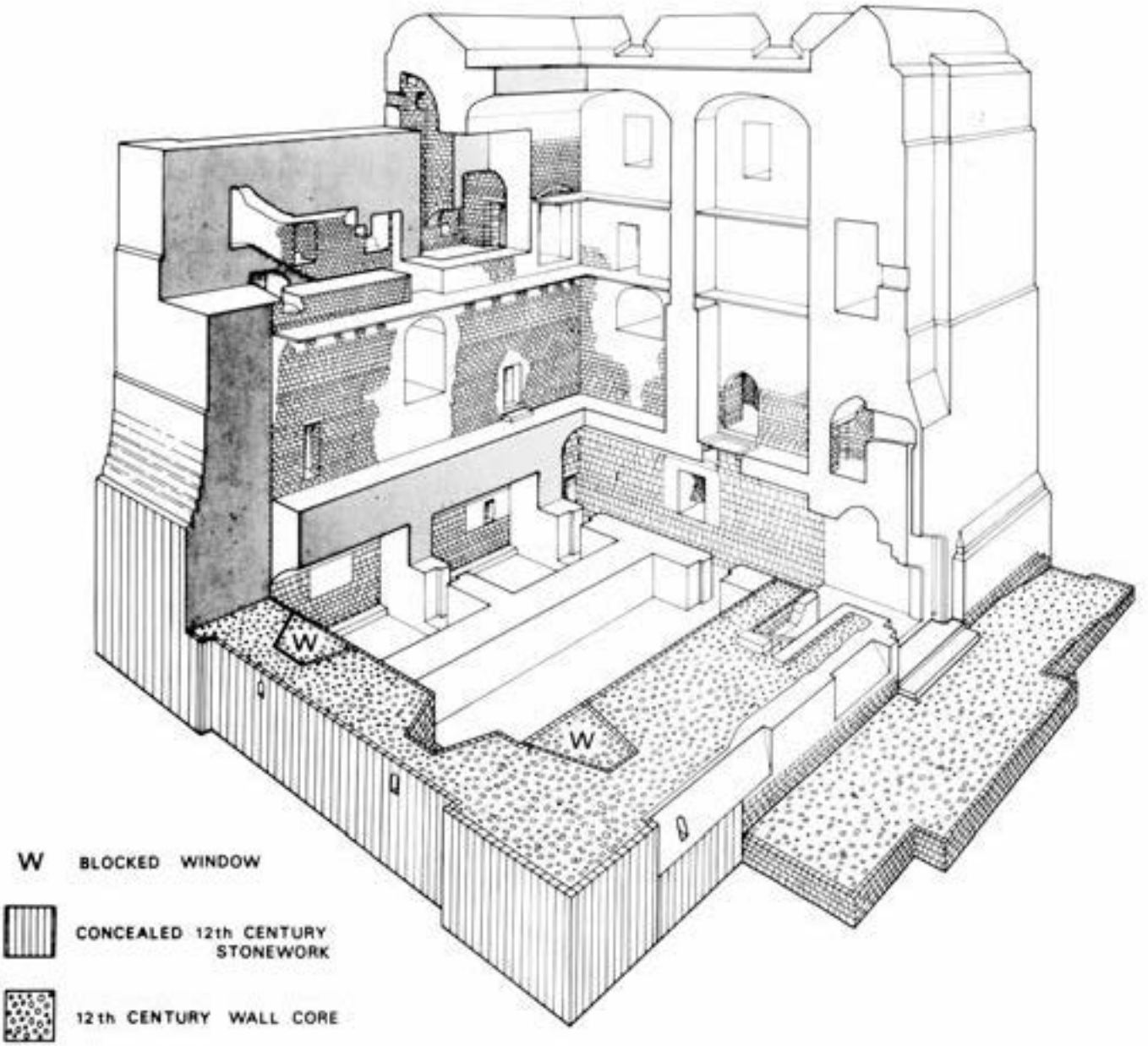

Fig 91 Cut-away view of the keep from the south-east showing surviving twelfth century masonry

south end of the room was a door to a garderobe (room 20) in the angle of the keep. The lower part of this door and the chamber beyond it survive beneath the modern stair. The chute is visible in the west wall of the keep. In the east wall, mural chambers also contain twelfth-century work. This is evident in room 21, a long narrow room containing signs of multiple reconstructions. The southernmost section contains a transverse round-headed arch with reveals bonded into its east and west walls (Figs 83 and 93). This room was lit by a small window, of which part of a blocked embrasure can be seen in the east wall (Fig 83a). Although the walls show many signs of later reconstruction, there is sufficient to enable the twelfth-century chamber to be identified as a two-cell structure. It measured 2.5m east-west by a minimum of 4.5m north-south; the two cells are divided by the transverse arch which is 3m in height. The shape of the ceiling, together with the door which was probably at the north end, and the south wall have either been removed by or concealed in later modifications.

The function of this room poses a particular problem. It is unlikely to have been either a kitchen or a garderobe, as the location of these is known. Charlton (1985, 17) suggested that it may have been a chapel and accommodation for a priest. An alternative suggestion is that room 21 was an oratory, perhaps the one to which King David was taken on his deathbed (p 121), and referred to by Ailred of Rievaulx. The location of chapels and oratories in other castle keeps is not standardised, but a favoured position is at first- or second-floor level in one of the corners.

At the level of the present third floor the west wall contains masonry associated with the chimney flue of the second floor kitchen (Fig 91) and is as a consequence here assigned to the twelfth century. Apart

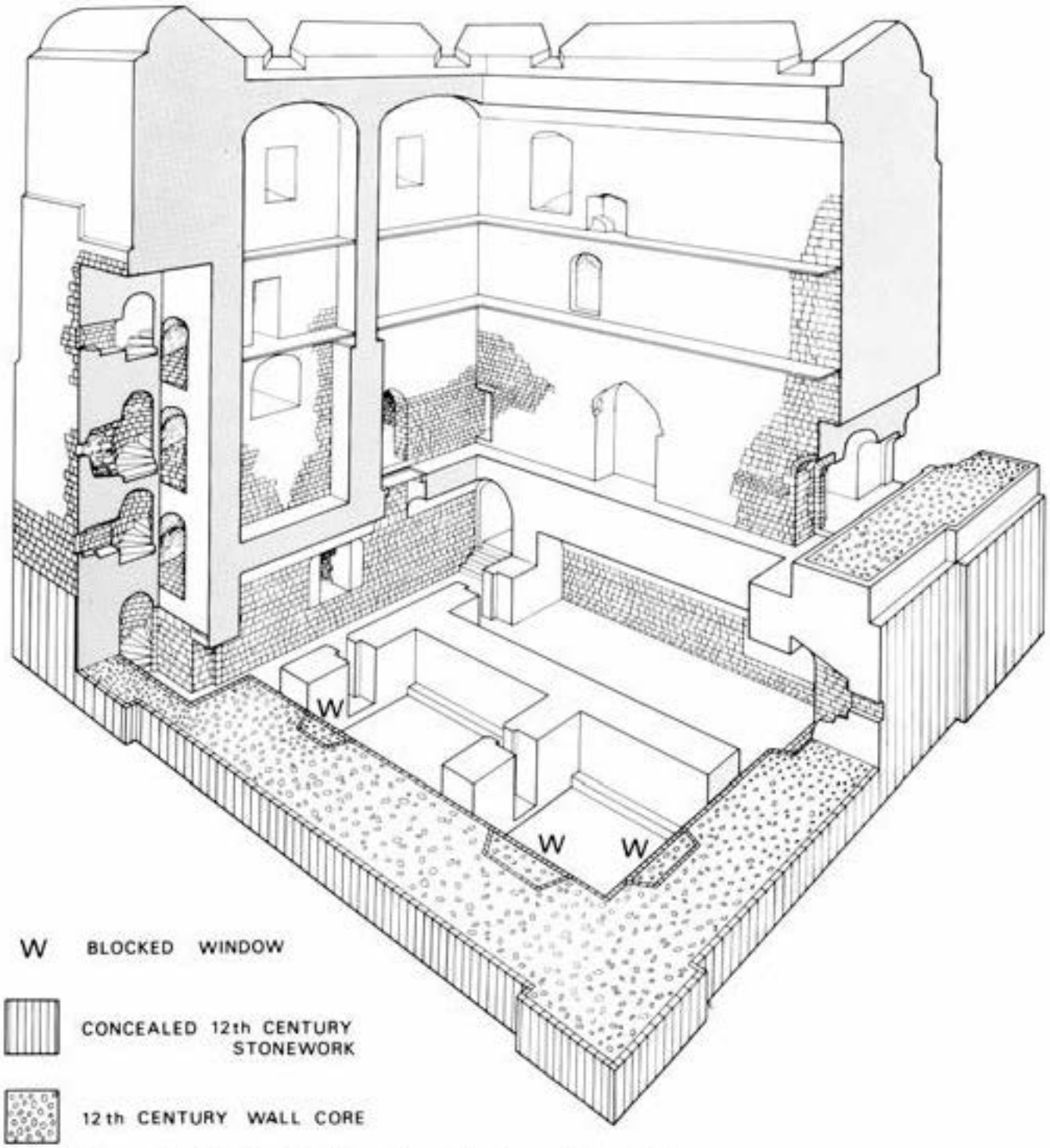

Fig 92 Cut-away view of the keep from the south-west showing surviving twelfth century masonry

from a small area at the southern end of the east wall which links in with stonework at lower levels (Fig 92), all the visible masonry is probably later.

For the most part, the external elevations are relatively plain and contain little of interest for the earliest period. On the ground floor much is concealed by the defences and the ramp, and very little of the visible stonework can be attributed with any confidence to the twelfth century. Small areas of mixed grey and red sandstone on the eastern elevation, close to the windows lighting the mural stair, may belong to this period. The west elevation probably contains much early stonework, including the small round-headed windows at second floor level.

Access to the keep

It is not at all clear how access to the twelfth-century keep was gained. Two methods of access appear to have been possible, and each needs to take into account the blocked window in the east wall at ground floor level, the presence of an intramural staircase in the east wall with traces of splayed and stepped em-

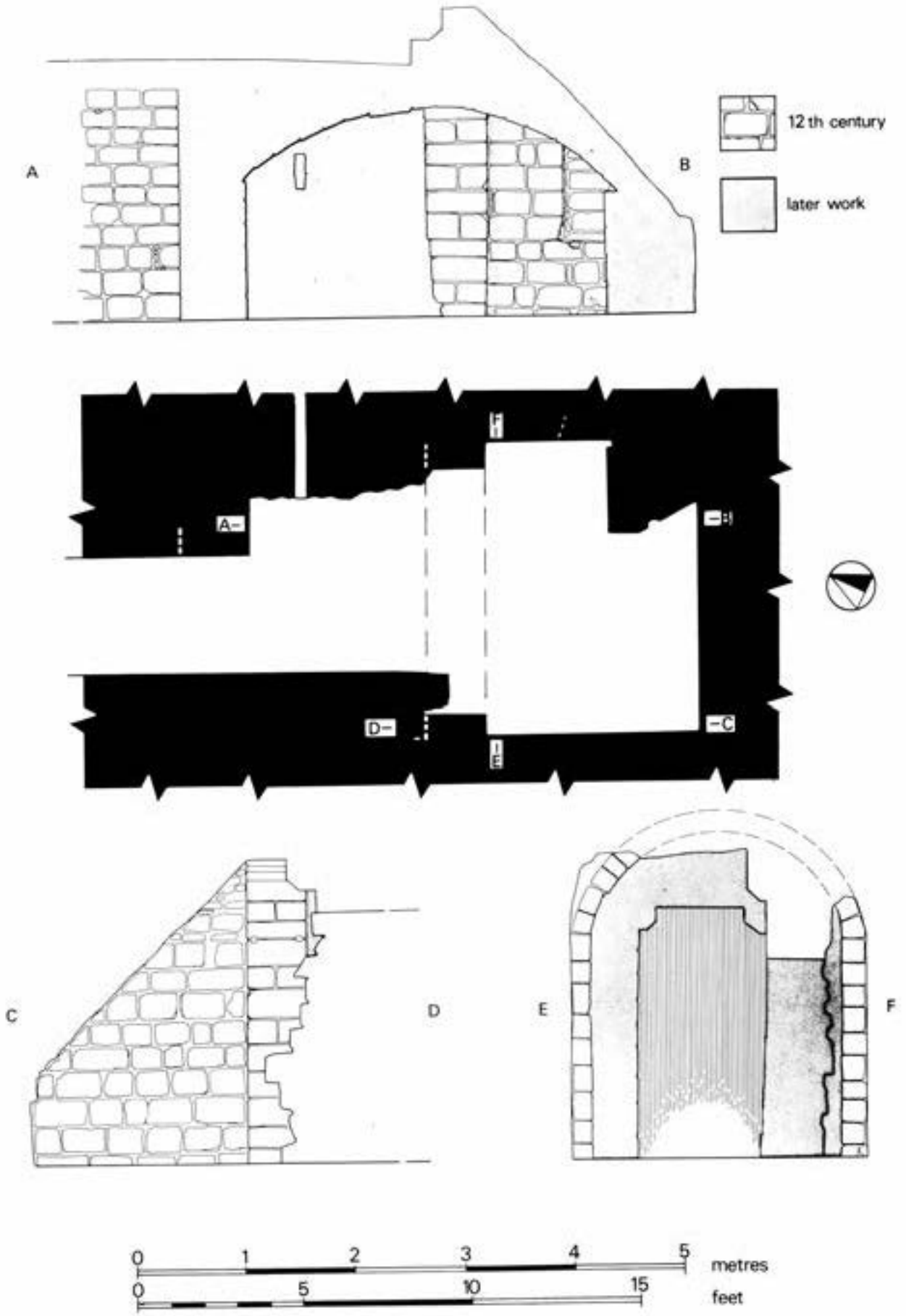

Fig 93 The keep; plan and elevations of the oratory (room 21) in Period 2

brasures of Norman type, and the foundation of a stone forebuilding abutting the east wall.

In the simpler solution, there would have been an entrance to the ground floor in the position of the present door. Access to the main door on the first floor (room 7) was by way of the intramural stair lit by two windows in the east wall. The ground floor room (1) was lit by a window located at the south-east corner of the east wall. Only later in the twelfth century was a stone forebuilding containing a staircase erected against the east wall to provide an additional defence against attackers. The effect of its construction would have been to make redundant both the intramural staircase windows and the ground floor window in the east wall. The latter was certainly blocked and the staircase windows may have been similarly treated. Later still, almost all the forebuilding was itself demolished and the main entrance restored to its original position.

Alternatively, the only means of entry into the keep from the inner ward may originally have been by way of an external timber staircase. This would have allowed the ground-floor window in the east wall to function, but the replacement of the wooden staircase by the stone forebuilding would have later made it redundant.

Whichever of these suggestions is correct, on the first floor the main access into the keep seems to have been through an ante-chamber or lobby somewhat larger than the present lobby (room 7). The dimensions are not known but its existence can be clearly inferred from the way in which it was later narrowed.

Apart from the mural stair in the east wall from ground to first floor, access to the various levels within the keep was by way of a newel stair in the north-west angle. This ran from the ground to the second floor and was an original feature, as can be seen from the form of the small, splayed, stepped, round-headed windows. A short, straight, length of mural staircase in the west wall provided a link between the newel stair and the first floor.

The date at which building of the keep commenced is difficult to determine. Documentary sources for the twelfth century keep – including Symeon of Durham who appears to refer to the keep by implication – are listed in Table 10. If one assumes that the work was put in hand at more or less the same time as other key elements such as the defences, a start may have been made towards the end of the first quarter of the twelfth century. This view is consistent with the form of the windows and other architectural elements such as the basic plan. It is also the consensus view of most earlier commentators who attribute the work to David I (Neilson 1895, 321–3; Armitage 1912, 123; Charlton 1985, 4; Brown 1963). Bradley (1937, 14), however, believed it to be later, attributing it to Henry II, but before 1175. Summerson has argued (p 119) that the castle and the city walls were probably built at the same time starting in the reign of Henry I.

Table 10 Documentary references to the keep in period 2

Date	*Source*	*References*
1122	Symeon of Durham (Arnold 1885)	ordered the city to be defended with a castle and towers
1138/9	Skene 1867	David I built a strong keep and heightened the walls
1153	Skene 1872	David I's death in the oratory
1173	Jordan Fantosme (Johnstone 1981)	'the great ancient keep'
1186/7	PR	repairs to the keep timberwork

Summary

Despite many later alterations the basic form of the early stone keep can be recognised in the existing structure. It is a rectangular building with clasping pilaster buttresses at the corners, and a stone forebuilding. It contained a ground floor and two upper storeys. With the exception of the stairs there is no evidence at ground level for any intramural chambers. The first and second floors contained the principal domestic apartments. At first floor level the main rooms were approached through a lobby (room 7). A garderobe was located in the south-west corner (room 13) and a mural chamber (room 12) was located close to the well-head in the north wall. On the second floor there is evidence for a small kitchen (room 19) in the west wall, an oratory (room 21) in the east wall and a garderobe (room 20) in the south-west corner. Rooms 22–3 on the second floor may also have existed in some form at this date although there is no evidence in the stonework.

Many keeps were divided internally by a spine wall rising from the ground upwards through all floors. The spine wall at Carlisle contains masonry quite unlike that associated with demonstrably early features such as the four internal faces on the ground floor. For this reason, it is here regarded as being of later date. This raises the problem of whether or not the keep was divided internally in the twelfth century. Spine walls were not necessarily to be found in all twelfth-century keeps, but the lack of one in a keep as large and important as that at Carlisle would be unusual. Such walls provided two important functions: they gave additional structural support for ceilings and the roof, and, as exemplified at Rochester in the reign of King John, (p 120; Brown, 1976, 74) they provided an additional line of defence. At the very least, support at ground-floor level would have been required, and either a barrel vault springing from a spine wall or groined vaults springing from columns can be postulated. At Carlisle there is no masonry at any point in the spine wall which is recognisably as early as the other twelfth century features. Similarly, there is no evidence for the roof in the form of creases or timber holes or of the early parapet. All trace of the twelfth-century roof and parapet was probably removed during the extensive renovations carried out in the sixteenth century, a time when the present third floor was also inserted.

Period 3

On the ground floor there are three two-centred arched doorways providing access to rooms 1, 2 and 3. The doors are clearly contemporary with the lower parts of

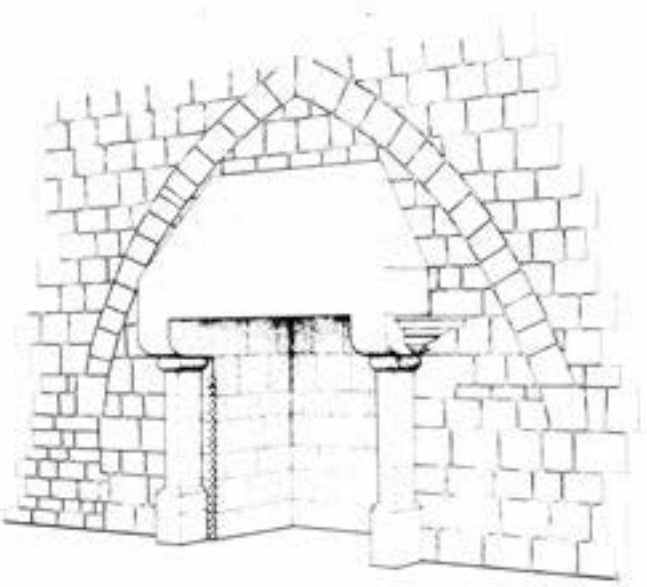

Fig 94 The keep; reconstruction of the fireplace on the first floor (room 8)

the wall dividing the passage from the rooms (Fig 75). The masonry forming the upper parts of this wall and the spine wall is quite different and is probably a later reconstruction. The two-centred arched openings at the foot and head of the mural staircase in the east wall are also similar to those on the ground floor.

On the first floor the east wall was substantially modified by the insertion of a fireplace within a large relieving arch. In its original form the fireplace had a substantial projecting hood supported on short projecting attached shafts, and with an angle bracket to either side; all projecting features have been cut back, but the evidence, including some detail, can be seen in the scars on the stonework (Figs 78 and 94).

The massive reconstruction of the east wall may well have been the occasion for a general strengthening of the walls, a process which probably included narrowing the mural staircase between the ground and first floors. The only other features that can be attributed to this period include the opening to the room (11) containing the well-head.

The east room (17) on the second floor was provided with a fireplace – probably a smaller version of the one on the first floor – though this, together with its northern side and hood, has all now been replaced. Above the fireplace was a relieving arch which can only now be seen in the west wall of the mural chamber behind (room 21; Fig 83B). Its insertion resulted in the partial blocking of the transverse arch dividing the two cells of the oratory in room 21. The insertion of the smaller relieving arch in the east wall of this room (Fig 83A) may have taken place at the same time. These structural modifications probably meant the conversion of the oratory to a different function.

Other modifications were undertaken during period 3 in rooms 22 and 23. The former, essentially a very small lobby providing access to rooms 21 and 23, incorporates a two-centred arched opening. Room 23 was

Table 11 Documentary references to the keep in period 3

Date	*Source*	*References*
1223	*RLC* I	repairs to the tower
1226	*RLC* I	leading, joists and unspecified repairs
1239	PR	roofing repairs
1257	Shirley 1866	decay of gutters, joists, doors, windows, planks, walls
1269	*CLR*	unspecified repairs to the tower
1271	*CLR*	unspecified repairs
1301	PRO *E101/482/18*	roofing the tower; prisoners from Turnberry in the tower
1303	PRO *E101/482/22*	repairs to the lead
1308	PRO *E372/153*	Wetheral stone for stairs to two turrets on the high tower; four wooden 'houses' to contain springalds for each corner of the high tower
1318	PRO *C145/82*	storm damage affecting two little turrets 'above' the great tower, windows and joists
1319	PRO *E159/93*	repairs to the great brattice 'by the great tower'
1321	PRO *C145/86*	replacement of four great joists, and twenty great planks 'in the upper room of the house of the great tower'; repair and roofing of four wooden turrets.
1335	PRO *C145/134*	the walls of the high tower need repair
1344	PRO *C145/152*	miscellaneous repairs including re-leading the roof
1363	PRO *E101/482/29*	repairs to the roof, walls, windows and gutters
1367–8	PRO *E101/554/18*	cleaning the great tower; repair of a clothes-press in the great tower
1379	PRO *E364/13*	90 stones of lead for the roof
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	making and repairing a 'watchtower in the great tower with gangways, and hanging windows in various places; making gates for the great tower; woodwork for the 'two great guns placed over the great tower'; iron plates, a bolt, and great spike nails for the gate of the great tower; repairs to an old turret

entered through a doorway (Fig 81) identical to those on the ground floor at the entrances to rooms 1 to 3 (Fig 75). The very substantial nature of the wooden doors into rooms 22 and 23, together with the carvings, attributed by Summerson to *c* 1480 (p 169) which can be seen all over room 22 (Figs 82 and 95–100) imply that it was used as a prison.

Documentary sources make frequent reference to the 'great tower' or the 'high tower' in period 3 (Table 11), and though its is likely that these refer to the keep, it is not always possible to be certain. The most frequent references concern repairs to the roof, including leading and turrets and the placement of springalds, as well as gutters, doors, windows, joists, planks, walls, the removal of damaged stones and the replacement of coping as well as unspecified repairs (pp 138–145). Four 'great joists' 27 feet long, and twenty boards 12 feet in length and 4 inches thick, were required for somewhere above the 'upper room' in 1321. This was almost certainly the second floor, and the description of the beams as being 'above' might indicate ceiling or roof timbers. The length of the great joists cannot, however, be reconciled with any dimensions in the keep identifiable today.

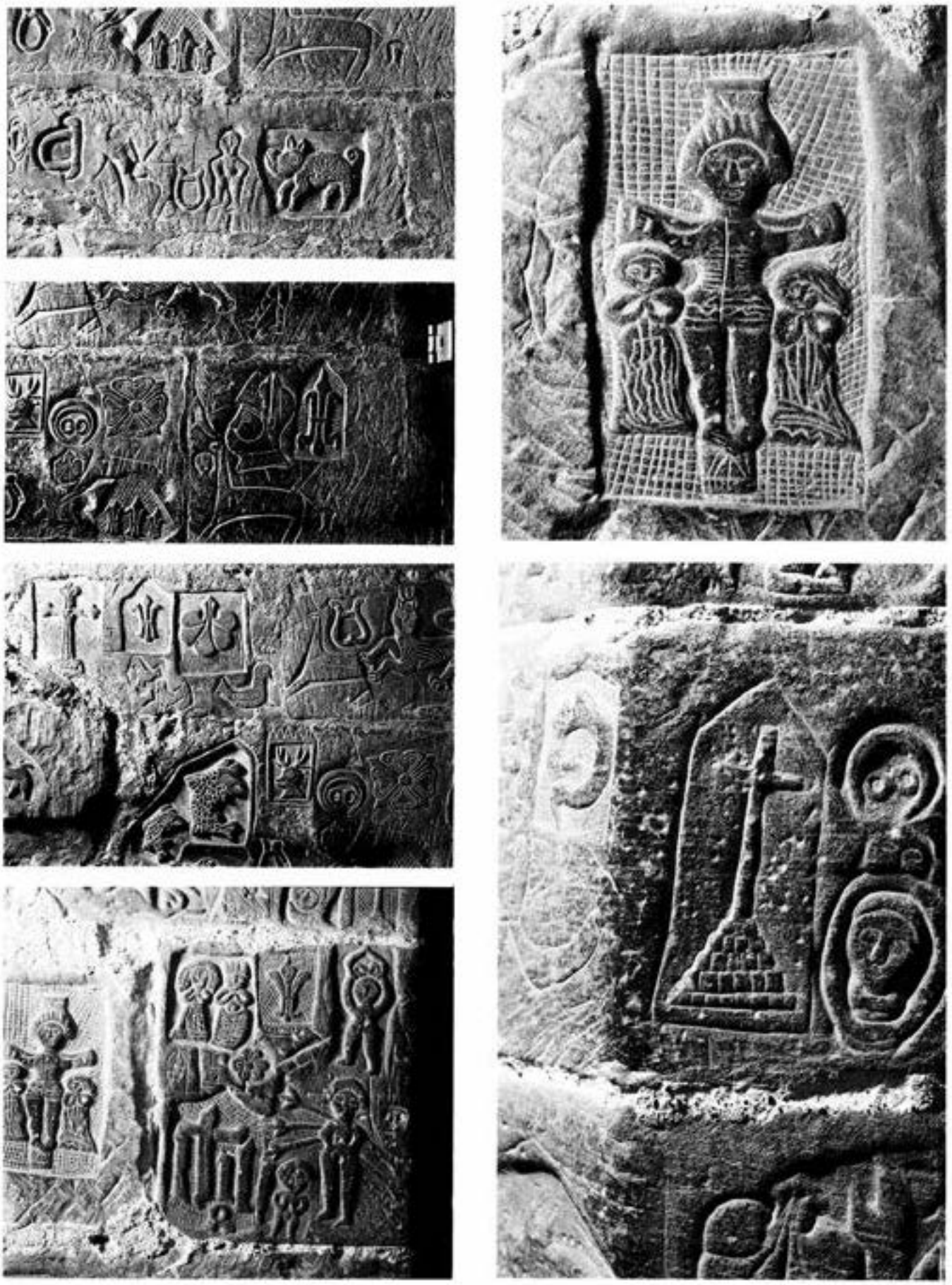

Fig 95–100 Prisoner's carvings in room 22 (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Summary

It is clear both from the visible masonry and the written sources, that a substantial amount of work was undertaken in the keep during period 3. Although major problems in the castle generally can be identified in 1257, 1335, 1363 and 1385, the sum total of the work described in the documentary sources does not amount to much more than keeping the castle weatherproof and in good repair (Table 11). The masonry, on the other hand, tells a slightly different story: there are indications of rather more substantial building operations. The ground floor was subdivided and the present arrangement of three rooms and the passage was created. At first and second floor levels the insertion of two new fireplaces was a major building operation. This entailed, for example, the demolition and reconstruction of at least 50% of the internal face of the east wall at first floor level and probably a much greater proportion between the second floor and the roof. At the same time the oratory was converted to another use and room 23 was converted to a prison.

It seems likely that a great deal of this was undertaken as part of a single operation. The fireplaces on the first and second floors appear to be of the same design, and the breaks in the stonework visible at both floor levels are continuous (Fig 89). Similarly, a link may be postulated between the division of the ground floor and the creation of the door to the prison room (23) on the second floor, as they too are of the same type.

Parallels for the doors in rooms 1, 2, 3, and 23 can be seen at Aydon Castle, Northumberland, largely built within the reign of Edward I. Charlton (1985, 15) attributed the first floor fireplace to the Norman period, a tradition which seems to originate with Ferguson (1875, 19). Projecting hoods, angle brackets and the other features which are represented here at both first and second floor level, however, are typical of the thirteenth and fourteenth century (Wood, 1965, 261–76).

Although the style of the doors and the fireplaces had a relatively long life, a late thirteenth or early fourteenth-century date is acceptable for these works at Carlisle Castle. It is the time at which both city and castle were the subject of an unusual degree of royal attention as a result of the Anglo-Scottish wars (pp 135–5). If these building operations did take place in the reign of Edward I it is especially unfortunate that the building accounts, unlike those for many other Edwardian castles, do not survive.

Period 4

There are few positive traces of sixteenth-century work in the fabric of the keep. The main entrance from the inner ward was remodelled with a four-centred arch on top of the earlier door jambs. The spine wall on the second and third floors has Tudor-style doorways. Among other, smaller, changes are the renewal of the upper portion of the south wall in the ground floor passage (room 4), the construction, or renewal of the spine wall on the ground floor, patching to the east wall on the first floor next to the portcullis room door

Table 12 Documentary references to the keep in period 4

Date	*Source*	*References*
1529	PRO *C47/2/51*	roof leading broken and much rot to timber work and gutters in the 'grete toure called the dongeon'; gunpowder in the 'dongeon'; wine kept in the basement
1557	*APC*	repairs needed
1557	PRO *E101/483/17*	lime and stone for the repair of the 'dongion' tower
1563	BL *Titus F XIII*	the dungeon tower is decayed and is in danger of collapse
pre-1576	*CSPD*	in Lord Wharton's time the keep was 'marvellously cracked with gunpowder', later repaired, but the crack remains and increases
1580	PRO *SP15/27*	repairs cannot be made without some demolition; strong buttress placed against the crack
1597	PRO *LR9/83*	stone stairs on the high tower made

(10), and repairs to the east wall on the second and third floors.

It was probably during the sixteenth century that the third floor was inserted and the parapet constructed with cannon ports. The addition of a new floor also entailed the construction of a new mural staircase from the second to third floor. This was inserted in the former entrance to the garderobe (room 20) which was effectively put out of commission. The lower parts of the staircase walls are those of the garderobe, but at the top the stairs were cut through the wall core. The third floor features, including the fireplace in the east wall and the deep window recesses in the east and west walls, were added now or a little later.

Although they are here attributed to the sixteenth century, these alterations cannot be dated except in relative terms. The long St Bees sandstones in the upper part of the south wall of the ground floor passage (room 4; Fig 75), were inserted after the doors and other masonry in the lower parts of the wall and therefore post-date the repairs of the late thirteenth or fourteenth century. This distinctive masonry occurs also at first and second floor levels and is probably of one build with one of the window recesses in the east wall on the third floor (Fig 89). Its use may therefore represent a single programme of repair work, which could date from the fourteenth or even fifteenth century. Serious structural problems, however, were identified in the 1529 survey and in other documents in the 1560s, 70s and 80s (Table 12), and it seems preferable to link these repairs with this documented work.

Summary

The principal building work undertaken in the keep in the sixteenth century was the addition of a third floor and the rebuilding of the parapets and battlements (p 172). Although these events cannot be dated precisely because of the lack of architectural detail, the written sources make it clear that the keep was in a very dangerous state of repair by the 1580s. A later reference, dated 1640 (p 196), lists the size and the suitability for storing gunpowder of each floor in the keep.

It is clear from this description that the third floor was in place by that date.

The repairs put in hand during the sixteenth century, and the reference to cracks caused by an explosion being made good, and then widening (Table 12), suggest at least two phases of work. These cannot now be distinguished in the stonework, although the part of the existing forebuilding, which is difficult to date, may be what is referred to as a 'strong buttress' placed against the crack in the dungeon tower about 1580 (Table 12).

Period 5

Most of the features that can be regarded as of post-medieval date are of very minor significance. The south wall was reduced in thickness and new windows inserted at second and third floor levels. Brick repairs can be seen in places, such as in the windows of the staircase in the east wall, the arch over the entrance to room 18 on the second floor, the brick barrel vaulted ceiling to room 25 and 26 on the third floor. The fireplace on the third floor is an insertion and may be seventeenth century in date. The coping for the parapet is also relatively recent. Extensive modern repairs and restoration are apparent especially in the first-floor windows.

The date at which these events took place is unclear and the written sources are not always helpful. The barrel vaulted ceiling on the third floor may be the work identified in documents of 1810 and 1811 (p 227; Table 13). The breach made in the west wall, documented in 1876 (Table 13), was blocked up and the walls made good by the Ministry of Works, although no documents survive to provide a date. The point at which the south wall was reduced in thickness is equally uncertain. There are two inscribed stones on the outer face: one bears the name of John Hyde, the other is dated 1714. These may, however, refer to other unrecorded works.

Table 13 Documentary references to the keep in Periods 4–5

Date	*Source*	*References*
1605	CRO *D/Lons/L MP*	rifts in the great tower
1640	PRO *SP/16/444*	floor by floor description; only first and ground floors usable without repair
1792	CRO *Jackson Coll 2BC 728*	powder store
1803	CRO *D/WM/7/184/5*	3,000 arms in store
1803	PRO *WO 55/714*	estimates for repairs
1808	PRO *WO 55/714*	suggested alterations for an enlarged powder store
1810	PRO *WO 55/714*	new leading needed for roof
1811	PRO *WO 55/715*	roof covered with 'patent tessera'
1820	PRO *WO 55/2456*	Master Gunner's wooden store built beside keep
1823	PRO *WO 55/1578(11)*	in use as a magazine and powder store
1829	*Parsons Directory*	used as an armoury
1834	PRO *WO 55/717*	armoury to be moved upstairs and 32 men to be accomodated in barracks on first floor
1868	Mary Smith	contained lumber from hospital
1876	*Carl Journ*	conversion to armoury; floor lowered and stands for arms built; entry through west wall to second floor and stone staircase built; windows widened
1883	*Carl Journ*	public access to ground floor; arms and clothing stored on upper floors
1889–91	R S Ferguson	chimney stack against east wall pulled down and new one erected to serve tailors and armourers shops
1911	PRO *WORK 31/983*	handed to care of Ministry of Works with other castle buildings
1925	PRO *WORK14/267*	still used for storage; later opened to public
1932	*BROCNS* No **10**	Regimental Museum opened in keep (remained there until 1970)
pre-1937	Watson/Bradley	excavations revealed forebuilding
1940	PRO *WORK 14/1524*	anti-aircraft gun placed on sleepers on roof of keep

Summary

With the exception of the south wall, which was reduced in thickness at an uncertain date, and the piercing of the west wall by a new door at second floor level, no architectural changes of note can be identified in the post-medieval and modern periods. The written sources clearly demonstrate the keep's primary function as a store for powder, arms and lumber generally, although it served as a barrack for a short period in the nineteenth century. These functions, together with the presence of the Regimental Museum between 1932 and 1970, appear to have left few traces in the fabric of the building. It is possible that the fireplace in the east wall of the first floor was vandalised when the rooms were used as barracks after 1834, but there is no evidence for this. The rows of filled-in holes which can be seen in various places, such as on both faces of the spine wall on the first, second and third floors, or the east and west walls on the second floor may be connected with the need for wooden stands or shelving used for storage purposes. In some cases, such as on the east wall of the second floor, these holes pierce the scar of the former fireplace, and the masonry which fills the position of the fireplace, thereby showing that the holes are relatively recent.

Queen Mary's Tower and the passage to the Dacre postern gate

Queen Mary's Tower formerly occupied the south-eastern corner of the inner ward, and formed the link between the Regimental Museum and the Elizabethan range. The south and east walls of the Tower also formed part of the curtain walls (Fig 65). The south-western end of the southern wall of the tower is pierced by the Dacre postern gate, described in Chapter 3 (p 20).

The external elevations

The south and east elevations have already been described as they are integral with the curtain walls (pp 20–1). The tower's walls project forwards slightly from the curtain walls: the point of junction on the

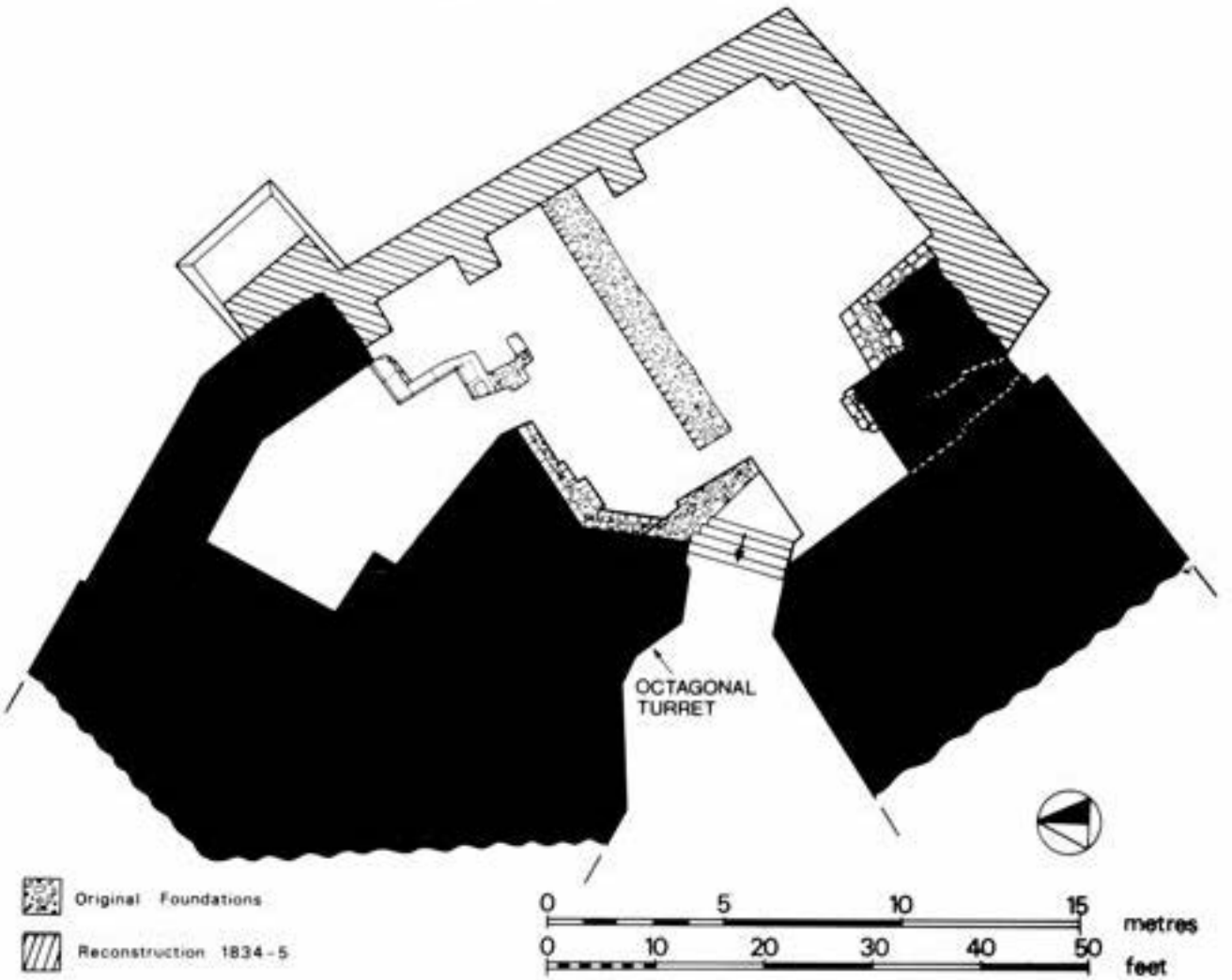

Fig 101 Queen Mary's Tower; plan of existing features

eastern wall is marked by a massive buttress, while on the southern side the junction occurs just east of the Dacre postern gate (Fig 101). The walls are featureless except for the parapet which is pierced by narrow musket loops.

The internal elevation lacks the neat appearance presented by the external face. The stonework, which is probably entirely re-used, is uncoursed. About 2m above ground level the wall is cut by a roof-crease and a series of rectangular sockets for the timber roofing members of a lean-to. The wall is supported by two buttresses rising in three stages, as well as a plain corner buttress. At the north end the wall is thicker and incorporates large sandstone blocks similar to those employed in the south curtain wall between the re-entrant and the outer gatehouse. A number of rectangular sockets for timbers can be seen at a high level.

The internal layout of the tower (Fig 101)

The ground floor

The basic layout of the ground floor can be identified today by wall foundations. These show that at ground-floor level, the tower contained two rooms of which the largest was to the south, and measured about 4.6m north-south by 8m east-west. The west wall, which gave access into the passage leading to the Dacre postern, was pierced by a arch, which was probably two-centred, and of which only the south jamb and the springer for the arch (Fig 102) remain. The jamb has a plain chamfer above a chamfered plinth, and contains a portcullis groove, draw-bar holes, and door hinges. Near the base of a surviving remnant of the south wall and resting on an inverted chamfered string course there is an attached octagonal pilaster, similar to that on the angles of the turret (p 108). This appears to be *in situ* but the string course is probably not in its original position.

The northern room was much smaller and was probably divided internally (Fig 101). Access between the two rooms was through a doorway, the position of which can be recognised at the south-west end of the dividing wall. Access to the upper storeys was obtained through a door in the north-west corner of the northern room. Fragments of the north wall, together with the position of the steps into the octagonal stair-turret, still survive as part of the south wall of the Regimental Museum (p 107).

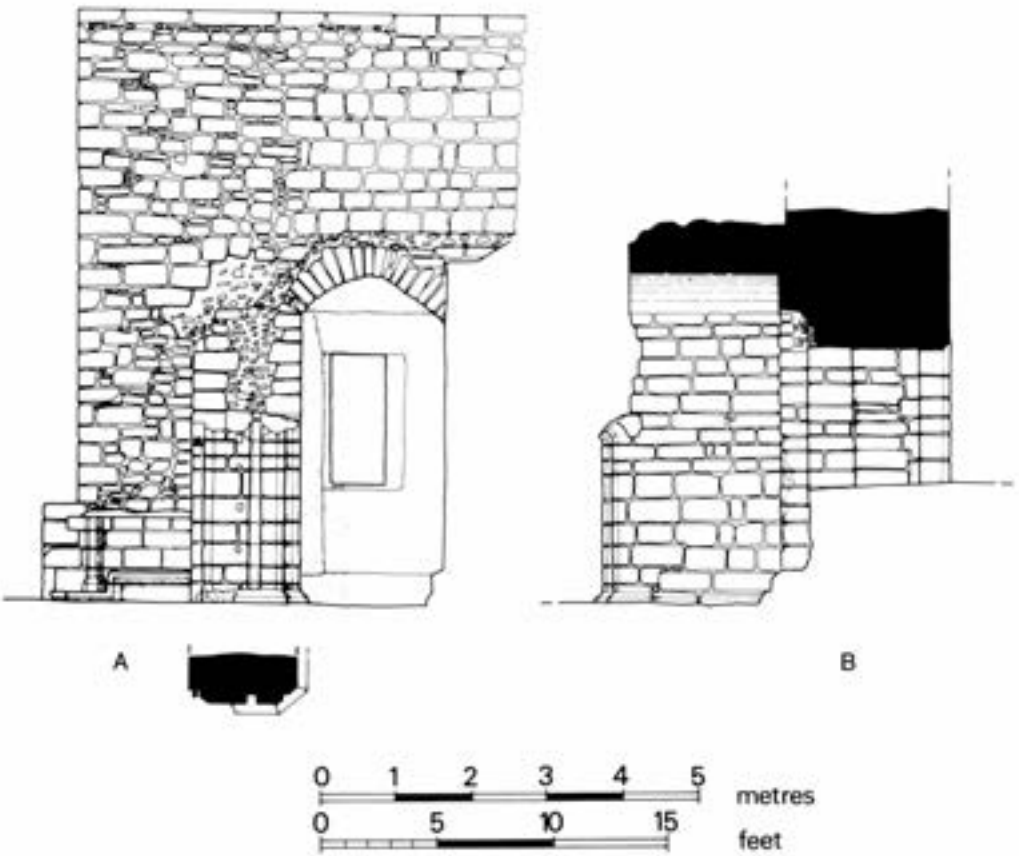

Fig 102 Elevations of Queen Mary's Tower: right the passage to the Dacre postern; left the east wall of the Dacre postern and the arch into Queen Mary's Tower

The passage to the Dacre postern gate

The postern gate has already been described (pp 20–1). Access to it from within the castle was by way of a passage at ground level 1.5m wide between Queen Mary's Tower and the defences to the west. The west wall of the passage cuts through the south curtain wall (Fig 21, p 21), and continues northwards where it forms a revetment for the bank which lies between the Elizabethan range and the curtain wall. The west wall (Fig 21) is composed of relatively short, rectangular blocks of red St Bees sandstone. Apart from the uppermost courses, in which the stones are thinner and more widely-jointed, and the north end which contains the scar for the north entrance to the passage, the wall is of one build. The eastern wall of the passage survives beneath the curtain wall and as far as the arched entrance to Queen Mary's Tower. It is of one build with the archway and is composed of large rectangular blocks of red sandstone (Fig 102).

Discussion

Although very little of Queen Mary's Tower survives today, there are a number of pictorial sources, which together with descriptions by Jefferson (1838), and Major Emmett in 1834 (pp 241f), provide the basis for a reconstruction.

Period 2

Several pictorial sources and Jefferson's description in 1838 combine to show that substantial remains dating to the twelfth century survived into the early nineteenth century. Illustrations, such as that by Robert Carlyle (front cover), depict a blocked round-headed arch; this was cut through by a similar but smaller arch close to a pilaster buttress of Norman type. The earlier arch is almost certainly the original gatehouse to the first stone castle of early twelfth-century date. It was probably blocked when the main outer gate was erected in the late twelfth century.

Jefferson's account (1838, p 100) refers to decoration typical of the Norman period, including capitals and 'zig-zag or chevron ornaments' on the main gate. The smaller opening was a postern gate, and was probably that referred to in Knolly's letter to Cecil in 1568. Jefferson described this gate as having a round arch. He also refers to a 'massive round pillar' on the first floor of the tower, hinting at the possibility of twelfth-century masonry at this level.

Period 3

The only surviving feature to which a date within Period 3 can be attributed is the arch (Fig 102) which provides access between the ground floor of Queen Mary's Tower and the passage leading towards the Dacre postern gate. The south quoins and springers indicate a pointed arch with a portcullis, confirmed by

Table 14 Documentary references to Queen Mary's Tower in Period 3

Date	*Source*	*Reference*
1308	PRO *E372/153*	'a new stone tower...in the corner of the castle towards the east inside its inner bailey'; height 28 feet when the Sheriff was removed from office; stone from Wetheral quarry; ironwork needed
1318	PRO *C145/82*	springald on new tower in need of repair
1319	PRO *E159/93*	roofing the new tower with lead
1321	PRO *C145/86*	roofing lead, timber and masonry in need of repair; turrets on roof were 'begun when the new tower was made and not yet finished, which need to be finished, the stone and woodwork of which cannot be done for less than £4'
1335	PRO *C145/134*	the walls decayed, the top has fallen down
1345	PRO *E372/190*	a lock without a key
1363	PRO *E101/482/29*	'two lead gutters ...to put on the wall under the wooden roof'
1383	PRO *E199/7/11*	'in the chamber...two great tables, with two pairs of trestles, and three locks on the three doors of the new tower'
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	repairs to 'part of the wall between the royal hall and the new tower of the inner bailey'

Jefferson in his description (p 100), which is indicative of date in the thirteenth or fourteenth century rather than later.

Queen Mary's Tower, which may equated with the 'new' tower, is relatively well documented. Table 14 lists the references which are otherwise discussed more fully by Summerson (p 134). These seem to imply that the tower was built in 1308. This was clearly not the case: the 'new tower' as described in 1308, must have been a reconstruction and enlargement of the original gate built following the partial demolition of its Norman predecessor.

Period 4

None of the extant masonry can be attributed to the sixteenth century. Only pictorial and documentary sources, the latter described in detail by Summerson (p 134), can be used to reconstruct the Tower.

By 1529 the 'new' tower had become known as 'the Warden's Tower', almost certainly because it was the residence of the Lord Warden of the West March. The survey (p 168) recorded that the roof leading and some timberwork was rotten. In addition there is a record of some little closets, and a 'little wardroom' on the side of the tower, all in a state of considerable disrepair. This 'wardroom' may be the turret which is so prominent a feature on watercolours and engravings. Queen Mary's Tower is also alluded to in a letter of 1568 which describes the 'Queen's chamber...had a window looking to Scotland...another window of her chamber looked into an orchard within the town wall'. It is clear from this that Mary Queen of Scots's chamber occupied a corner position in the tower allowing a view in two directions. In 1838 Jefferson referred to the second floor being known as 'the queen's bedchamber' (p 101).

Period 5

The tower was demolished in 1834 and the gap in the defences made good (p 242) though its foundations were later exposed to view. The tower appears in a number of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century pictures. In 1797 Turner painted a watercolour (Fig 103), which shows the south windows, the corner turret, and the rather shabby state of the curtain wall at that time. Carlyle's view (front cover) of 1791 also shows a corner turret which is corbelled out in Emmett's elevation drawn in 1834 (Fig 104). This turret may be the 'little wardroom' mentioned in 1529. Other illustrations by Hooper in 1775, Glover in 1821, Westall in 1829 and Goodwin in 1834 show the corbelling with vertical lines below the turret, possibly indicating narrow pilasters. Other features shown include square-headed windows.

The most detailed account of Queen Mary's Tower was published by Jefferson in 1838. To this can be added the comments and drawings of Major Emmett, who was responsible for its demolition in 1834–5. Emmett's contribution mainly concerns the structural instability of the tower and the need for extra barrack accomodation and this is discussed by Summerson (p 241). Jefferson's account clearly describes a multi-period building; it is based on an eye-witness account, and is quoted here, rather than under Periods 2, 3 or 4, because it is an account of what the interior looked like at the time of demolition.

> 'It was in a richer style of architecture than the other parts of the castle, and was probably used as the state apartments for royal and distinguished visitors. The lower part of this tower was evidently of Norman architecture, from a large circular arched gateway with plain mouldings which sprung from capitals ornamented with zig-zag or chevron ornaments: it likewise contained a groove for the portcullis. To the right of the gateway was a small postern, with a circular arch: both these arches had been walled up. The entrance to this tower from the inner ward was by an octagonal turret ornamented with sculpture which contained a circular flight of stairs from the base to the top of the tower. The lower apartment had a beautiful stone roof arched with ribs, which rested on pilasters with moulded capitals. At one end was the Norman gateway already mentioned, and immediately opposite was another but of the pointed style; in this gateway was also a place for a portcullis. Near to the latter mentioned archway was a passage leading to the lady's walk, [i e through the Dacre postern gate] the door of which was walled up. The first flight of the stairs led to an archway, one side of which rested on a massive round pillar. Through this arch was a gallery lighted by a large window, the roof of this gallery was ribbed, and contained a fine arched doorway leading into an apartment which must originally have been considered very elegant; it was lighted by three windows in deep

Fig 103 Queen Mary's Tower by J M W Turner, 1797 (photo: Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery)

recesses, the beams of the roof were supported by very handsome pendants. In one corner was a narrow doorway ascended by three steps which led to a small chapel or oratory with a groined roof: in the boss or centre piece the crook for suspending a lamp remained until the tower was taken down.

On the opposite side of the apartment was another doorway leading to a small recess which contained a closet of stone work; on the same side but at the other end of the room, was also a doorway leading to another small closet where there was a doorway walled up but in pulling down the tower, it was found to have had communication with an arched passage in the north wall of the castle and no doubt had led to other apartments of which no vestiges are now to be seen. Ascending to the upper room, the entrance of which was a pointed arch, from this door was a descent of five or six steps which led into a spacious room called the queen's bed chamber lighted by two windows facing to the south and one to the north. This room was formerly partitioned by a carved screen into two apartments each having a fireplace. The tower which was the only building about the castle that had escaped modern alterations, in consequence of its insecure state, was taken down in 1834–5. The workmen employed in this undertaking discovered several Roman coins, foundations and old pavement have repeatedly been found in digging or excavating the castle.'

The Elizabethan or Governor's range

The southern side of the inner ward was occupied by the Elizabethan range (Figs 65 and 125–6), so named from an armorial stone dated 1577, the original of which is now located in the Regimental Museum (Fig 113). The range was gradually demolished from 1812 and all that now survives is most of the inner face of the south wall, and part of the west wall. It formerly linked the keep with Queen Mary's Tower and the Regimental Museum, the west wall of which contains a scar showing the point of junction. The western end of the range now overlies the keep forebuilding. The range is over 20m in length and just over 7m wide internally; it is built in red St Bees sandstone.

The south elevation

This wall abuts the bank which lies next to the curtain wall parapet. The wall is of double thickness: the outer-

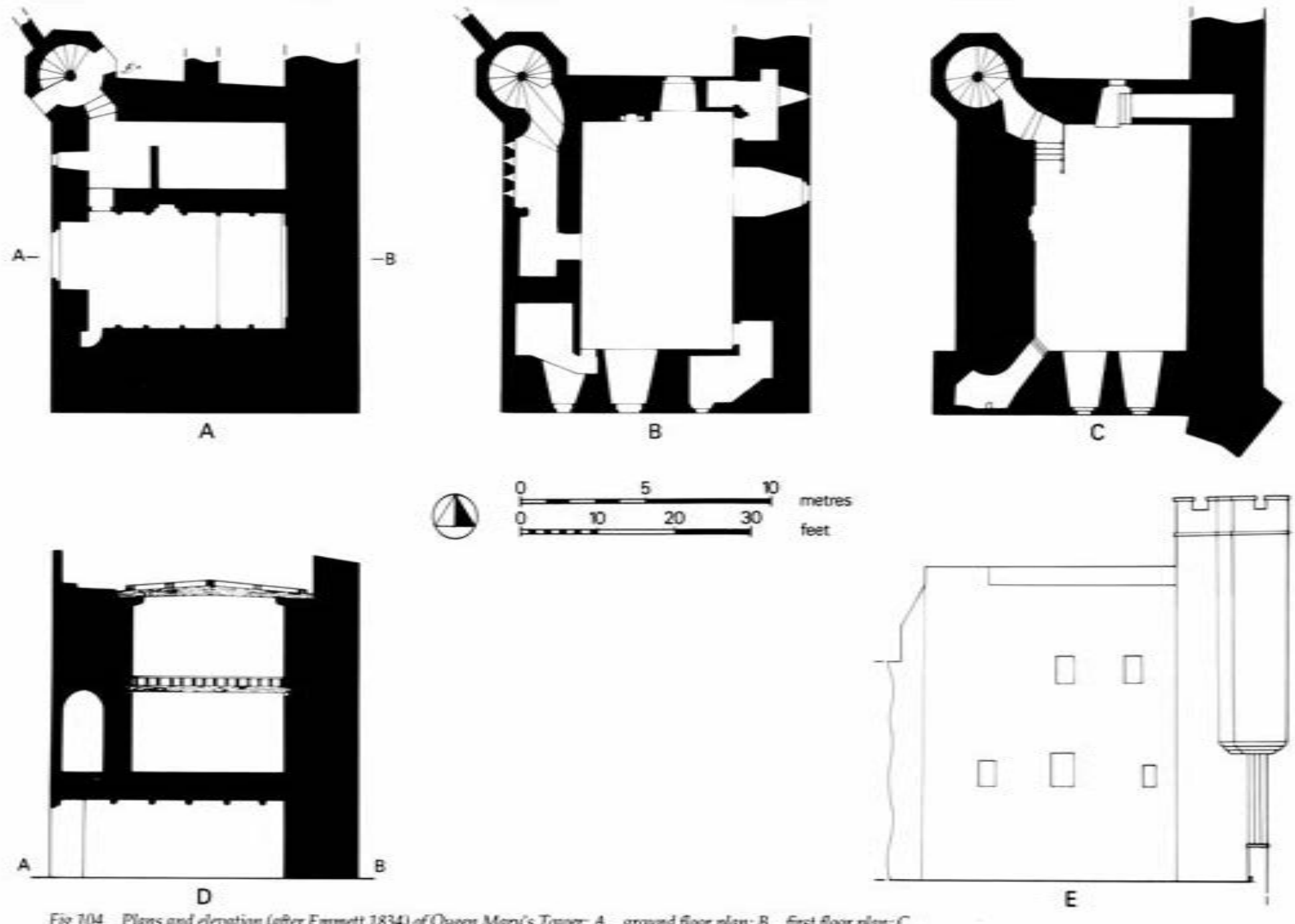

Fig 104 Plans and elevation (after Emmett 1834) of Queen Mary's Tower: A ground floor plan; B first floor plan; C second floor plan; D east-west section; E south elevation

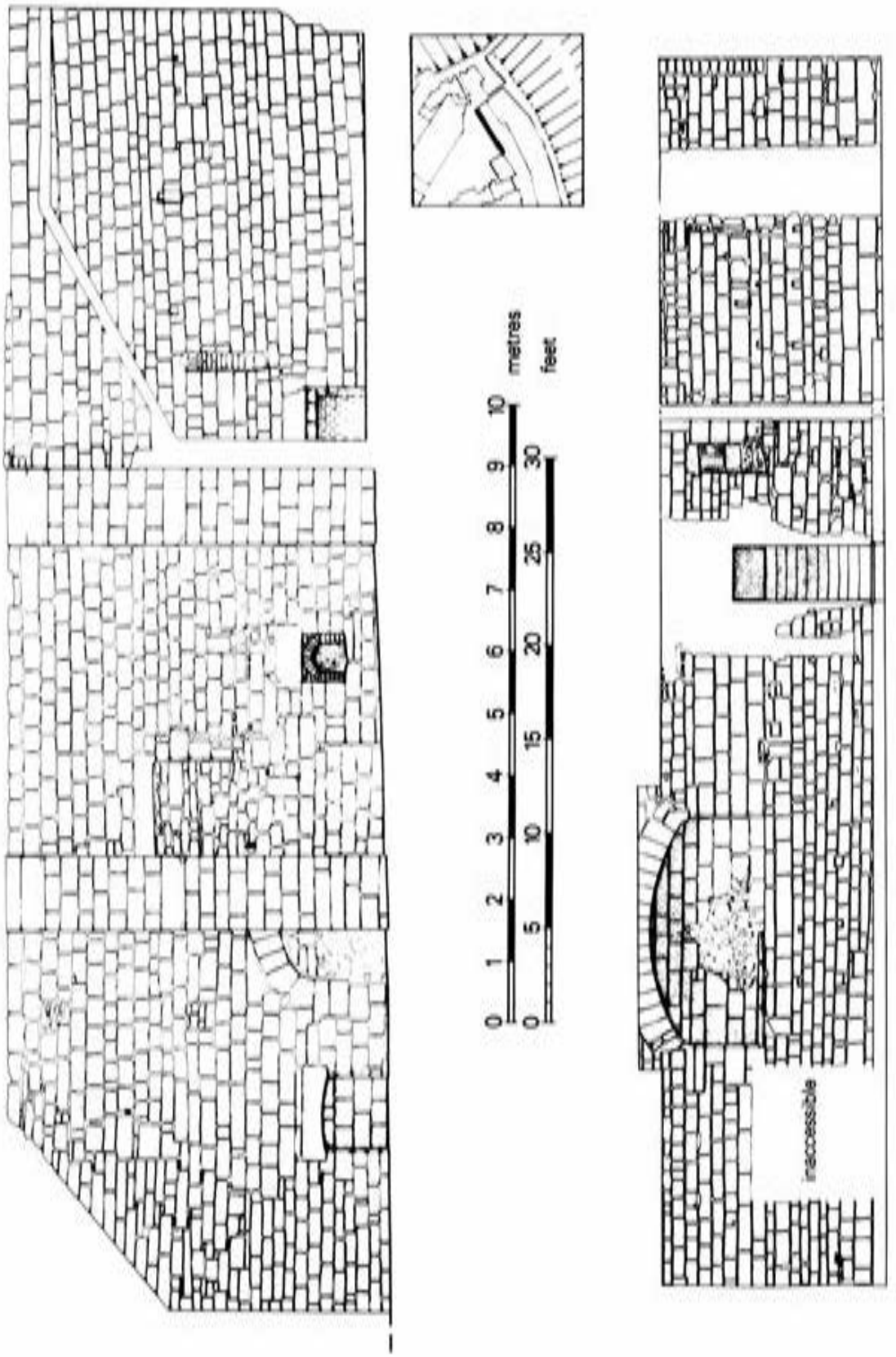

Fig 105 (above) *Elevation of the south range of the Elizabethan range*
Fig 106 (below) *Regimental Museum; elevation of east wall, ground floor*

most wall, which is the elevation visible from the inner ward, is 0.65m thick. It is supported by two orange-coloured sandstone buttresses which rise in two stages. The inner wall, adjacent to the bank itself (Fig 21, p 21), is 0.87m thick. At one point towards its east end the inner wall projects ir.to the bank for a distance of 0.5m. The projection is 3m in length and almost certainly formed part of a chimney stack.

The western end of the outermost wall, which lies within the nineteenth-century storekeeper's office (Fig 65), is built of large evenly coursed blocks of red sandstone, and probably belongs to a single period (Fig 105). Further east, outside the office, variations in the size of the stones and coursing indicate modifications to the structure.

Three fireplaces and an oven are visible at ground level and one fireplace at first-floor level. In addition there are two vertical scars which may be the signs of internal subdivisions. At the east end there is a square-headed fireplace with chamfered quoins and a slightly arched lintel 1.28m wide. In the centre there is a large fireplace with a three-centred arch; the relationship of the fireplace quoins to the stonework in which they are set suggests that this fireplace may have been inserted into the wall. The large fireplace is now blocked up, and has had most of its voussoirs removed; it is partly obscured by a nineteenth-century buttress. The quoins on the western side are chamfered. Although the eastern side has been removed, the fireplace was probably identical with that in the east wall of the Regimental Museum on the ground floor (p 102; Fig 110), as well as in the south wall of the kitchen in the outer gatehouse p 43; Fig 42).

Immediately west of this fireplace is an oven with an external, flat monolithic lintel, and a smaller brick-arched door opening 0.53m square. The oven is oval, 1.85m deep, and lined with brick. At the west end, within the storekeeper's office, there is a plain fireplace 1.28m wide and 0.85m deep, with a flat monolithic lintel. It is partly obscured by the east wall of the store. It contains a brick feature of uncertain function.

Above the large central fireplace the western chamfered quoins of another square-headed fireplace can be seen. This was blocked up with masonry which differs from that in the large earlier fireplace below. To the east of this there is a blocked hole, perhaps for an internal partition or joist. A second blocked hole can be seen above, close to the present top of the wall. Above the oven there is a complex scar in the masonry which indicates the former presence of internal features. There is a second similar scar inside the nineteenth-century store.

The west elevation

This is also the east wall of the structure overlying the keep forebuilding. Most of the wall is contained within the nineteenth-century storekeeper's office (Fig 65). It is constructed from very large blocks, and the lower part has two offset courses. The lower course is chamfered and the upper contains a concave moulding; where the wall of the store joins the wall-face, these offsets have been trimmed back. Seven large blocked holes, presumably for the first floor joists, are visible; above them a hole for a flue has been cut through the wall.

Discussion

Only the south wall of the Elizabethan range survives today. No remains earlier than Period 3 are recognisable. The fireplaces and ovens probably belong to Periods 3 and 4, the thirteenth to sixteenth century, but they cannot be closely dated. For this reason the two periods are amalgamated in the discussion below. Written sources for this building are also relatively scarce, although it can be seen on maps dating from the mid sixteenth century (Figs 125–6, p 181), and in pictures dating from the late eighteenth century. The paintings, although clearly showing earlier features, are discussed under Period 5 since they represent a record of the structure at the time they were executed.

Periods 3–4

The small eastern fireplace on the ground floor, with its chamfered quoins and monolithic lintel with a slightly curved top, is one of the earliest in the south wall, and appears to be of one build with the stonework around it. Immediately west is a larger, different type of fireplace, of which only the eastern side survives. As the quoins of this fireplace do not marry in very well with the masonry and fireplace immediately east, it may have been inserted at a later date. At the west end, within the storekeeper's office, a third fireplace with plain quoins and a flat monolithic lintel is of one build with the walling to the west. The characteristics of the masonry, coupled with the fact that these all closely resemble fireplaces in the outer gatehouse, considered to belong to the late fourteenth-century rebuilding, suggest that they are medieval rather than Tudor in date. The small oven between the central and western fireplaces may be somewhat later, probably not earlier than the late fifteenth century, as it is built of hand-made brick.

A fourth fireplace positioned halfway up the wall almost certainly postdates the large central fireplace at ground level. The base is almost at the same height as the uppermost voussoirs of the large ground level fireplace; indeed the construction of the former must have rendered the fireplace at ground level unusable. From its masonry, this fireplace too is difficult to date, although its overall proportions and its chamfer are reminiscent of sixteenth century work.

Summerson has argued (p 182) that the rebuilding undertaken by Lord Scrope in the 1570s represented not so much the construction of a wholly new building, but a reconstruction of one which already existed. This seems to be borne out by consideration of the fireplaces at ground level. Fireplaces in roughly this position are depicted on Garforth's map dated to *c* 1545 (Fig 125, p 181). Lord Scrope's work was recorded on an inscription, the original armorial of which is now within the Regimental Museum. It was formerly attached to the wall of the Elizabethan range and a cast is now incorporated in the north wall of the forebuilding. It reads:

Fig 107 The inner ward showing the Great Hall (Regimental Museum) centre and the Elizabethan range (right), by Robert Carlyle c 1791 (photo: Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery)

Sumptibus hoc fecit propriis opus Elizabetha
Regina occiduas Scroop dum regit oras

[Queen Elizabeth erected this work at her own expense while Lord Scrope was Warden of the Western Marches.]

Period 5

Apart from the easternmost patch of walling, inserted after the range was demolished (Fig 105), there are virtually no features that can be attributed to the period following the sixteenth century. It is possible, however, to draw general conclusions about the external appearance from paintings.

Robert Carlyle's painting of the inner ward dating to *c* 1791 (Fig 107), shows the eastern end of the Elizabethan range. The ground and first floors have mullioned and square-headed windows with hood-moulds of sixteenth-century type. They appear to be separated from the second and third floors by a string-course or other feature which marks a break in the masonry. There is one sash window visible at first floor level, and all those at second and third floor levels are of this type. One of two conclusions can be drawn from this: either the Elizabethan range, also known by the seventeenth century as the Governor's range, was increased in height in Period 5, or else the upper storeys were remodelled and new windows inserted. The written sources, which include the 1650 survey describing the Governor's House and the inventory taken during Sir Philip Musgrave's Governorship (pp 206f), do not provide sufficient information to be certain which interpretation is correct. Views of the castle by Buck in 1739 (Fig 108) and Clennel in 1812 (Fig 12, p 16) together with Carlyle's painting dated to about 1791 (front cover) show three very tall chimney stacks protruding from the Elizabethan range.

Demolition of the Elizabethan range began in 1812 (p 229; fn 13), but it is uncertain how quickly it progressed. In 1826 a drawing was published in *The Mirror* which shows that much of the north wall was still in existence. This was later demolished, though the south wall was retained as a revetment for the bank of the defences. Subsequent consolidation work included the erection of two buttresses (Fig 105). Two small buildings were added later; one in 1827 was described as a storekeeper's office.

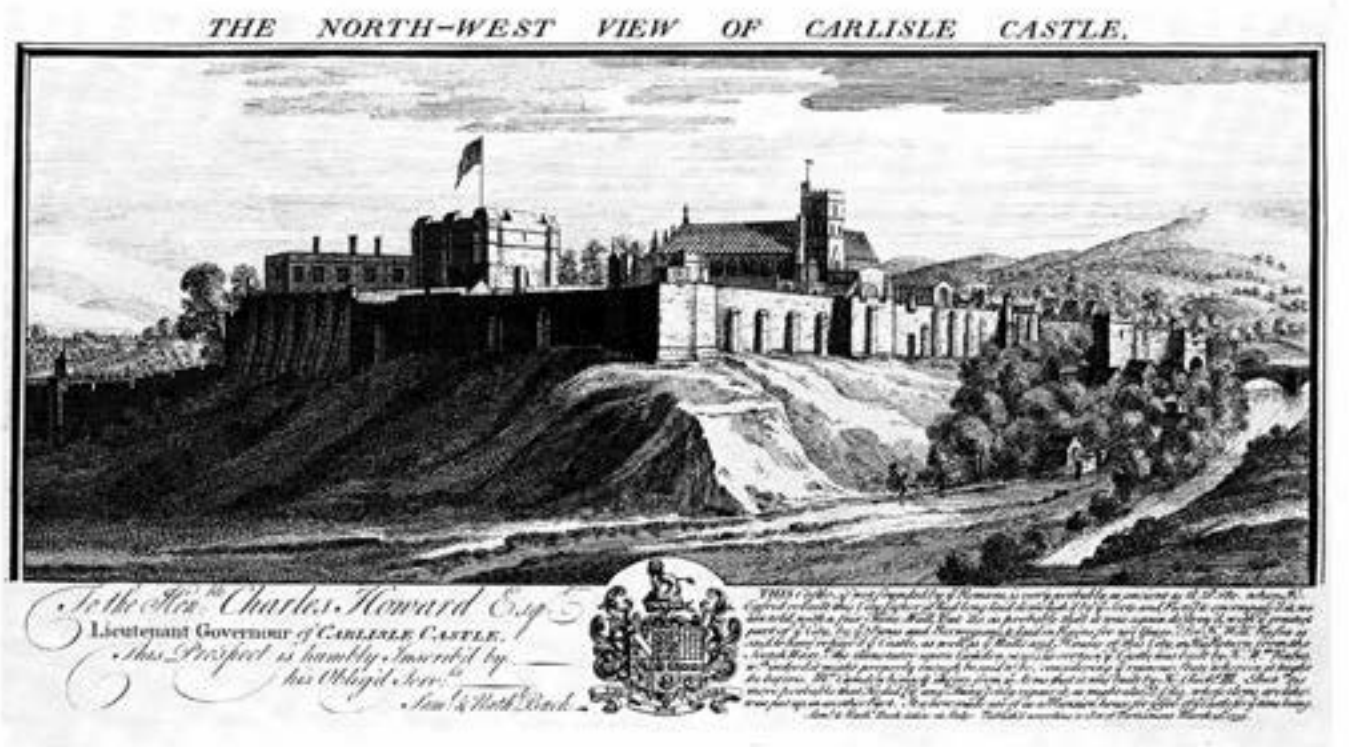

Fig 108 The castle from the north-west, from a drawing by Nathanial Buck, 1739 (photo: Cumbria County Library)

The Regimental Museum

The building now known as the Regimental Museum abuts the north-east curtain wall towards the south-eastern end of the inner ward (Fig 109). Before extensive building works in the early nineteenth century it also abutted Queen Mary's Tower and the Elizabethan range to the south, and formed part of a continuous range of buildings against the curtain wall as far as the north-west corner. The demolition of Queen Mary's Tower and the Elizabethan range resulted in the creation of an odd-shaped southern end (Figs 65 and 110), partly occasioned by the incorporation of an octagonal stair turret, which formerly provided access between the Museum block and Queen Mary's Tower.

External elevations

The north-west gable wall

This wall is built of red sandstone, and has undergone many alterations. At the north-east corner is the present entrance to the Museum which has a face-bedded monolithic lintel and is of very recent date. Immediately above it is a fine square-headed window, with moulded jambs and lintel, surmounted by a hood-mould (Fig 111). The other openings are of face-bedded, machine-cut red sandstone and are of more recent date. The eastern of these windows has splayed embrasures. Immediately east of the entrance, in what is now a roofed niche, in the curtain wall, there is a blocked door.

Above the uppermost windows two parallel grooves indicate the presence of a former roof-line. Immediately above is a moulded cornice. Above the cornice the roof gable itself is built of face-bedded sandstone different in appearance to the masonry lower down the wall. At the south-west end of the gable, a blocked opening can be seen above a square blocked hatch or window with a wooden lintel. This corresponds with a door still visible inside the building.

The south-west elevation

This wall (Fig 109) is also built of red sandstone, with only two areas of properly coursed stonework. These are at the top and bottom of the wall. The uppermost courses resemble the stonework above the cornice on the north-west gable. Most of the masonry consists of large red sandstone blocks, but some areas of patching have concentrations of smaller stone. The wall is broken by four modern windows at ground- and at first-floor levels.

At ground level, the quoins of two blocked doors can be seen, as well as two, and possibly three, small square blocked openings, the size of hatches but more probably small windows. Between the ground and first floors other blocked openings can be seen. These include the roll-mouldings of two arched windows, and at the north-west end the quoins for a square-headed door which is identical to one on the ground floor. There is one rectangular blocked opening near the north-west corner.

Between the south-west elevation and the octagonal turret is a short length of angled wall. It incorporates a substantial scar, rising to about the level of the first floor, where the Elizabethan range formerly joined the Museum building. South of the scar there is a short

Fig 109 The Regimental Museum with the south end of the Militia Store (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

length of uncoursed red sandstone containing a large modern, wooden fire-door with a face-bedded sandstone lintel and a square window above. The window is probably of one build with the wall and its lintel makes use of the voussoirs of an earlier shallow arch, which extends to the north-west and is on a different plane from that of the window and the walling beneath. Close to the top of the wall there are two deeply recessed square windows similar in size to the blocked hatches on the ground floor.

The octagonal turret and the south wall

The turret projects from the southern end of the Regimental Museum building (Fig 110). It was formerly octagonal in shape but today only two complete sides are visible externally; parts of at least two other sides can be seen at first-floor level internally. At the level of the original eaves there is a moulded cornice (Fig 112); below this, polygonal pilasters run down at the angles and terminate in human faces at about 1.5m above the present ground level. On each face of the turret, immediately below the moulded coping, there are shorter lengths of more elaborately moulded pilaster, which also terminate in human heads. At the south angle there is a carved figure on the coping; above this level there is a later crenellated wall of large sandstone blocks. The turret is built of evenly coursed red sandstone and is largely of one build below coping level.

The south wall of the Museum is uncoursed and contains sandstone blocks of all sizes. It is linked with the turret and obscures its original octagonal shape. At eaves level the cornice of the turret continues as a string-course, but with a different moulding. Two window slits are formed from large red sandstone blocks and the large barred window has a new monolithic lintel. At ground level, the wall's foundations as well as a blocked step leading from Queen Mary's Tower into the turret are exposed.

The north-east wall

This wall, of fairly evenly coursed mixed red and smaller grey sandstone, abuts the south wall in a straight

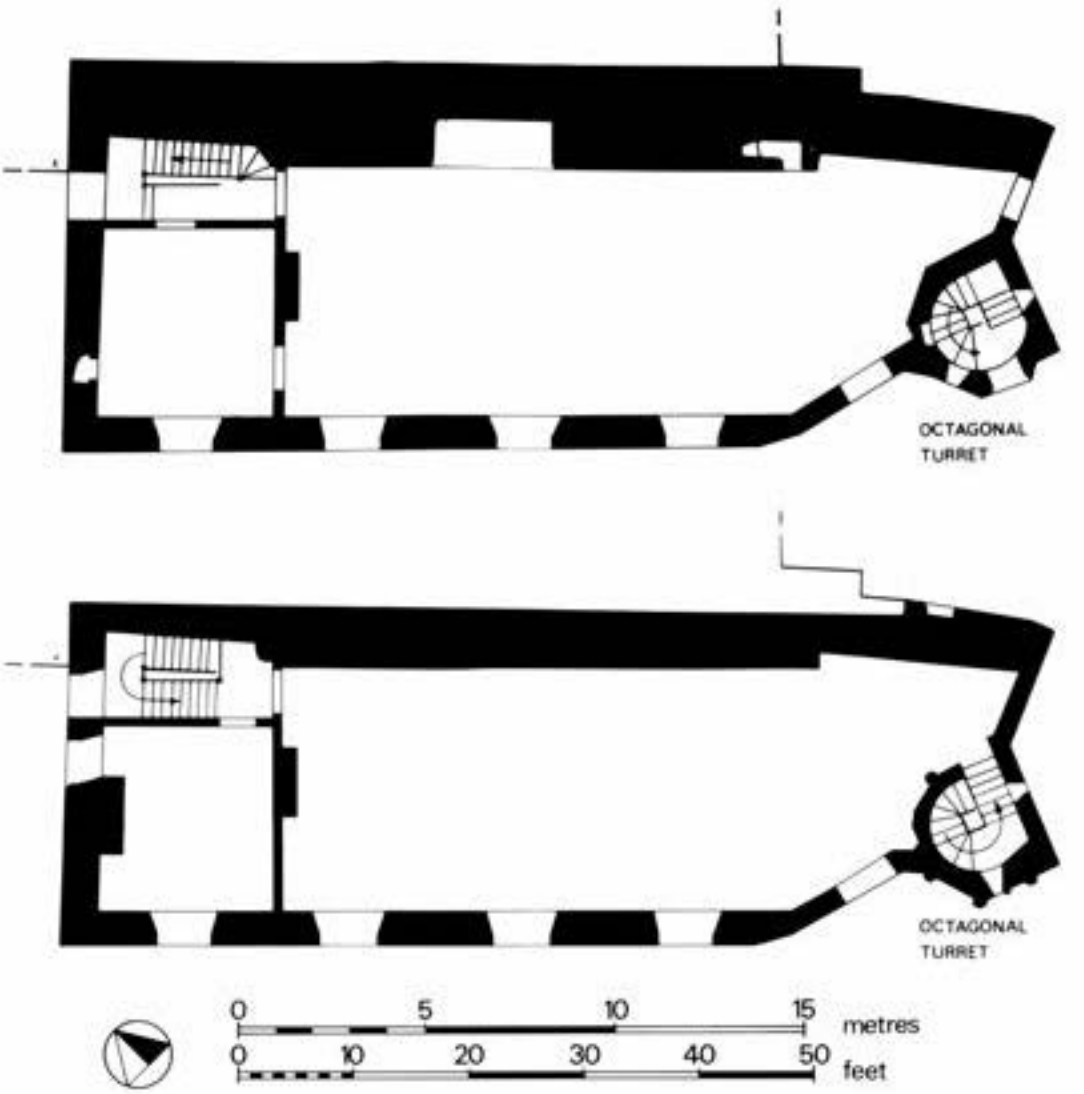

Fig 110 Plans of the Regimental Museum: above ground floor; below first floor

joint. Minor irregularities in the coursing probably indicate repairs. A door with a four-centred arch at first-floor level has been inserted into the wall. This originally gave access to a room between the present building and the curtain wall which has been demolished. Above this door, and a little to the north, is another blocked recess with splayed reveals.

In the open space between the south-east corner and the curtain wall, there are chamfered offset foundations and traces of a door (Fig 101) belonging to Queen Mary's Tower.

The internal elevations

The east wall ground floor

At ground floor level the stonework consists of evenly coursed red St Bees sandstone (Fig 106, p 102). The lowest seven to eight courses are formed of relatively short rectangular blocks, while those immediately below and to either side of the main fireplace are longer. At least two constructional phases are probably indicated by these variations.

The walling is interupted by a large fireplace, 3.75m wide and 1.35m deep, with a three-centred arch. Its quoins and voussoirs are chamfered, as are the undersides of the surviving hearth stones, probably re-used in their present positions. The quoins are of one build with the long sandstone blocks to either side of the fireplace and with the two courses immediately below.

Towards the south end of the ground floor the masonry has been interrupted by the insertion of a modern door and stair to a rear mezzanine store, and is partly obscured by render. The chamfered quoins of a second fireplace, now mainly blocked, can be seen just south of the modern stair. Below the main fireplace, and to the south, there are blocked joist-holes for the former floor.

The northern and southernmost lengths of the east wall are set back a little from the longer central stretch, and are on a slightly different alignment. At the northern end the red sandstone shows signs of reconstruction, but, apart from a possible blocked corbel hole, it is featureless.

The southernmost length of the east wall forms part of the pointed end of the present building. There is a

Fig 111 The window in the north-west wall of the Regimental Museum (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

vertical scar, 1.2m wide, which is filled with modern render; this may mark the position of a former cross-wall. On either side of this scar the stonework is of irregularly coursed grey and red sandstone in which the spaces between some of the larger blocks are filled with small undressed stones in the two lowest courses. There is a straight joint and an adjacent area filled with small stones, high up in the corner.

The east wall first floor

At first-floor level the masonry consists of long red sandstone blocks similar to the stonework on either side of the main fireplace on the ground floor. There are two, or possibly three, broken corbels about 0.3m wide, set at about 2.5m intervals. A number of filled-in holes are visible.

The west wall ground and first floors

The red sandstone wall is interrupted by four large modern windows at both ground- and first-floor levels. Otherwise, the dominant features consist of parts of two large window embrasures. These have shallow arches and plastered heads; the reveals and arches are slightly splayed, and have plain chamfers. The windows were at least 3m wide internally, and at least 0.3m deep. At the south end of this wall there are two straight joints for a splayed opening. The northern joint utilises the same quoins as one of the two arched windows. These joints probably represent a large window, 3.25m wide internally. No details of the window lintel can be seen, but it was probably flat and about 3.5m in height. The stonework above the original windows is uncoursed and very variable in size and

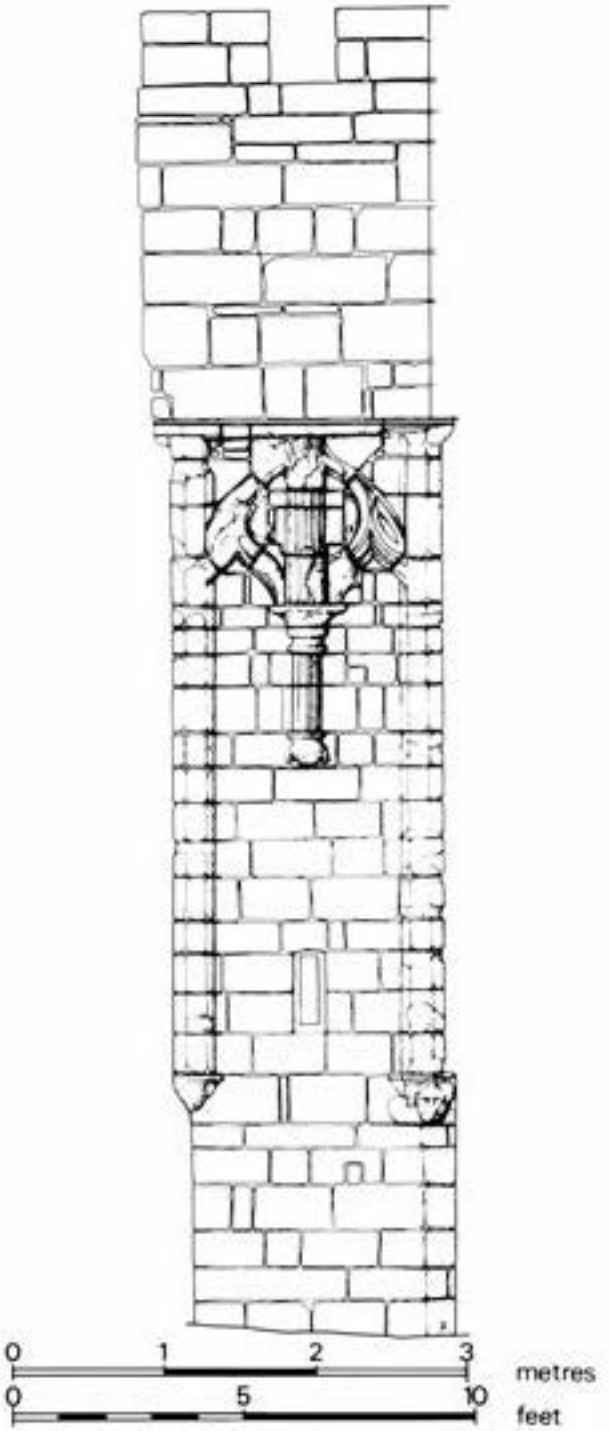

Fig 112 Octagonal turret; elevation

quality. At ground-floor level, however, the masonry is evenly coursed. At the north end on the ground floor there is the splay of an opening which is now otherwise wholly obscured. In addition there are a number of creases and sockets for internal fittings.

The octagonal turret and the south-west wall

The principal feature is the octagonal stair turret, with its mutilated pilasters and tracery. The pilasters survive more completely on the first floor; but even where details have been completely removed, the scars re-

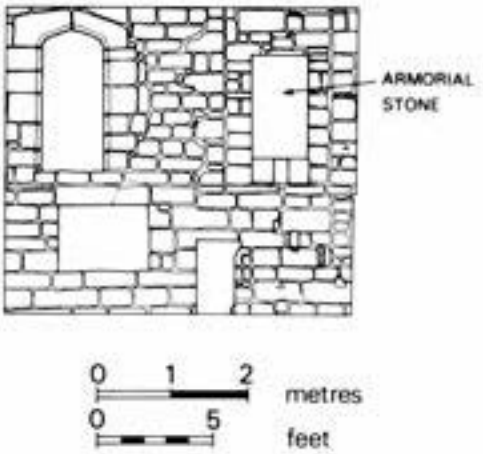

Fig 113 Internal elevation of the north wall of the Regimental Museum, ground floor

main and demonstrate the continuity of the decoration of this turret on all sides. Above the mutilated cornice the walling is continued in large red sandstone blocks. The even masonry of the turret has been stripped from the south side, and replaced with poorer quality rubble walling.

Between the turret and the south-west elevation is an angled wall. On the ground floor it is dominated by a modern fire-door, but there is sufficient masonry exposed to allow the definition of at least two periods. The earliest joins the turret and consists of relatively large blocks of red sandstone. This lies next to the remaining later section of walling through which the fire-door has been inserted. It is untidy and uncoursed stonework and abuts the south-west elevation.

On the first floor the same two periods are also evident. The earliest begins next to a moulded pilaster on the turret, and continues along the top of the wall. The later walling, which is even more irregular in appearance than that on the ground floor, was cut through first by an arched opening whose voussoirs are today composed of a mixture of original chamfered stones to the north, rubble and recent bricks, and secondly by a sash window.

The north-west gable wall

On the ground floor (Fig 113), a door with a four-centred arch and plain chamfers is located above a small square hatch; it has been inserted into stonework which is varied in size. To the east, supported on modern corbels, is the original armorial stone recording Lord Scrope's rebuilding during the 1570s. It is set within an area of masonry defined by two straight joints. Towards the base of the wall at the east end are stair-riser sockets and a rectangular, hatch-like blocked opening. To the east, and closer to the corner, there is a straight joint and a blocked opening. Near the centre of the wall is an area of staining from a flue. In the stairwell is a large square-headed window of Tudor date, with a modern window above it. The remainder of the north wall on the ground and first floors is obscured by modern plaster work. The first floor, currently in use as an office, is entirely plastered.

Discussion

Period 2

The eastern interior wall of the Museum divides into northern, southern and central sectors (Fig 110). The north and the south ends are similarly aligned, but are offset from the longer central section which is oriented differently, and which projects westwards a distance of about 0.3m. The south and central sections are butt-jointed, but the relationship of the north to the central section cannot be determined. The external face of the south section contains mixed grey and red sandstone blocks, closely resembling Period 2 work in the keep and the Captain's Tower. The stonework on the internal face of this wall is not the same as the external face and represents a re-facing.

Only the inner face of the north section is visible, and here the distinctively pecked stonework differs from that in the other sections. This too may represent the re-facing of a wall, which was contemporary with, and similarly oriented to, the southern sector. It is not possible to establish whether the two ends are earlier or later than the central section, although it seems likely, from the characteristics of the masonry, that they are earlier; the alignments of the two end sectors suggest that they probably belonged to two separate buildings.

Although Table 15 includes references to buildings supposed to have existed on this site in the twelfth century, these do not locate the chamber, the little tower or the chapel, and the assumption that they were situated on a site which was later to contain royal apartments in the fourteenth century (p 134), may be unfounded.

Period 3

The only feature which can be attributed without question to this period is the staircase turret, the tracery on which can be assigned to the early fourteenth century, and perhaps more specifically the latter part of the reign of Edward I and that of Edward II. The stair formed a turret which provided access at first-floor level to both Queen Mary's Tower and the royal apartments. The doors and relationships with other buildings have subsequently been removed or obscured by later work but it is clear that the external ground level is higher than was the case when the turret was built. This is especially apparent on the first floor of the Regimental Museum where the cornice of the turret and the tracery appear half-way up the wall.

The works attested in the fourteenth century may also have involved modifying, if not rebuilding, the two earlier buildings tentatively identified as having existed in Period 2. In the east wall, the central section may have been inserted as early as the fourteenth century, while the large fireplace in the east wall was an insertion of the later fourteenth century. There is a vary similar fireplace in the kitchen of the outer gatehouse (p 43; Fig 42), which is not earlier than 1378–9, and another identical one in the Elizabethan range (p 103; Fig 105). The second fireplace in the east wall may also belong to this period, but its remains contain insufficient detail to assign it a date.

Table 15 Documentary references to buildings against the north-east curtain wall in Periods 2–3

Date	*Source*	*Reference*
1186–7	PR	£66 spent on a chamber for the king
1187–8	PR	work on the King's chamber
1197–8	PR	works to the chapel
1204	PR	King's houses referred to
1239	PR	King's chamber re-roofed and glazed windows inserted
1240	*CLR*	repairs to the stairs of the King's chamber
1244	*CLR*	repairs to panelling in the chapel; glass windows made for the chapel
1257	*Rolls Ser*	repairs to lead roof of Queen's chamber
1297–8	PRO *E372/147*	glass for the kings chamber and chapel; works on the great hall
1302	PRO *E101/482/22*	repairs to the roof of the Queen's chamber
1306	PRO *E101/369/11*	a wooden chapel built for the Queen
1318	PRO *C145/82*	repairs to the pantry, buttery, hall, garderobe and porch of the Queen's chamber; details of materials including shingles, nails included
1319	PRO *E159/93*	repairs to window frames and gutters
1321	PRO *C145/86*	repairs to gutter of Queen's chamber
1383	E199/7/11	inventory referring to hall, cellars at end of hall, a door to brewery at the end of the hall; references also to furniture and locks
1385	PRO *E101/40/6*	'part of the (curtain wall) between the royal hall and the new (Queen Mary's) tower'

As the west wall is parallel with the central portion of the east wall, it may belong to the same period. Although it contains no dateable features, the lowest three courses of the west wall, where they are not interrupted by later insertions, would not be out of place in a fourteenth-century context. The north wall has been very heavily disturbed and contains nothing distinctive which is as early as Period 3.

The indenture of 1383 (Table 15) describes the contents of the inner ward, and although the precise locations of the hall, brewery and cellars are not mentioned, they are described next to the comments on the 'new' tower. In view of this, and the relative locations of buildings described in the 1529 Survey (pp 165f), these references are believed to concern buildings located against the north-east curtain wall in a position now occupied by the Regimental Museum and, possibly, the Militia Store and Magazine.

Period 4

A number of changes were made in the sixteenth century. They included the insertion of windows (Fig 111) and doors in the north-west as well as the insertion of windows in the south-west elevation. In the north-west gable a door with a four-centred arch formerly led from the first floor to another building, now demolished, which may be represented by the building with square-headed windows in the paintings by Robert Carlyle and Nutter. Today the architectural features in the south-west elevation are mostly too mutilated to allow close dating on their own. It is apparent from late eighteenth and nineteenth century pictorial sources, however, that much of this elevation was remodelled, probably in the sixteenth century.

A watercolour painting by Robert Carlyle of *c* 1791 (Fig 107), copied later by Nutter, shows the south-west wall with two large windows; these have three-centred heads and three trefoil-headed lights below tracery. The northern window is deeper than the other. The position of these windows can be traced in the stonework from roll-mouldings on the exterior, and from the arrises of the embrasures and part of the window heads on the interior. The windows are unmistakably Tudor in date. At the southern end the nineteenth-century views also show a large square-headed mullioned and transomed window with a hood-mould. No trace of this window survives on the external face, but the two sides of this window can be identified on the inner face. Here the north reveal is cut through the quoins of the southern three-centred arched window and continues halfway up the wall as a straight joint. The position of the southern reveal is present as a straight joint a little to the south of the southern modern window. Other features in the painting include a porch with a four-centred arched door approached up a short flight of steps, and two lights of uncertain form higher up the wall. Other contemporary features include another door with a four-centred arch on the present external face of the east wall at the south end.

The inventory taken in 1529 describes the layout of the inner ward in some detail, and is fully discussed by Summerson (pp 167f). The buildings included a first-floor hall which incorporated a pantry at first-floor level and a buttery on the ground floor. There was a kitchen, a buttery, a bakehouse and the Great Hall linked to the Great Chamber by a gallery, together with miscellaneous closets, a parlour and a chapel. These buildings are shown on Garforth's map of *c* 1545 (Fig 125) as a continuous range. At the north end they are shown attached to the northerly casemate in the curtain wall, and at the south end the west wall is integral with the passage leading to the Dacre postern. A number of internal subdivisions and other features are shown. An important partition wall occurs immediately north of the porch and steps. This is at about the same position as the present north-west gable. It is shown pierced by two doors of which one can be recognised for certain and is extant today, whilst the other may be represented by two straight joints either side of the armorial on the inner face (Fig 113). To the north and south are a number of internal partitions with doors. Besides the porch, there are three other ground-floor entrances.

Period 5

Carlyle's painting shows the buildings intact in 1791 (Fig 107), but early in the nineteenth century the arrangement of buildings in the inner ward was rationalised (p 236). Much demolition and reconstruction took place and the Regimental Museum was left almost as an isolated structure as can be seen on the Ordnance Survey map dated 1865 (Fig 130, p 253). The effects of this work can be recognised in the gable of the north-west elevation, and the wall linking the octagonal tur-

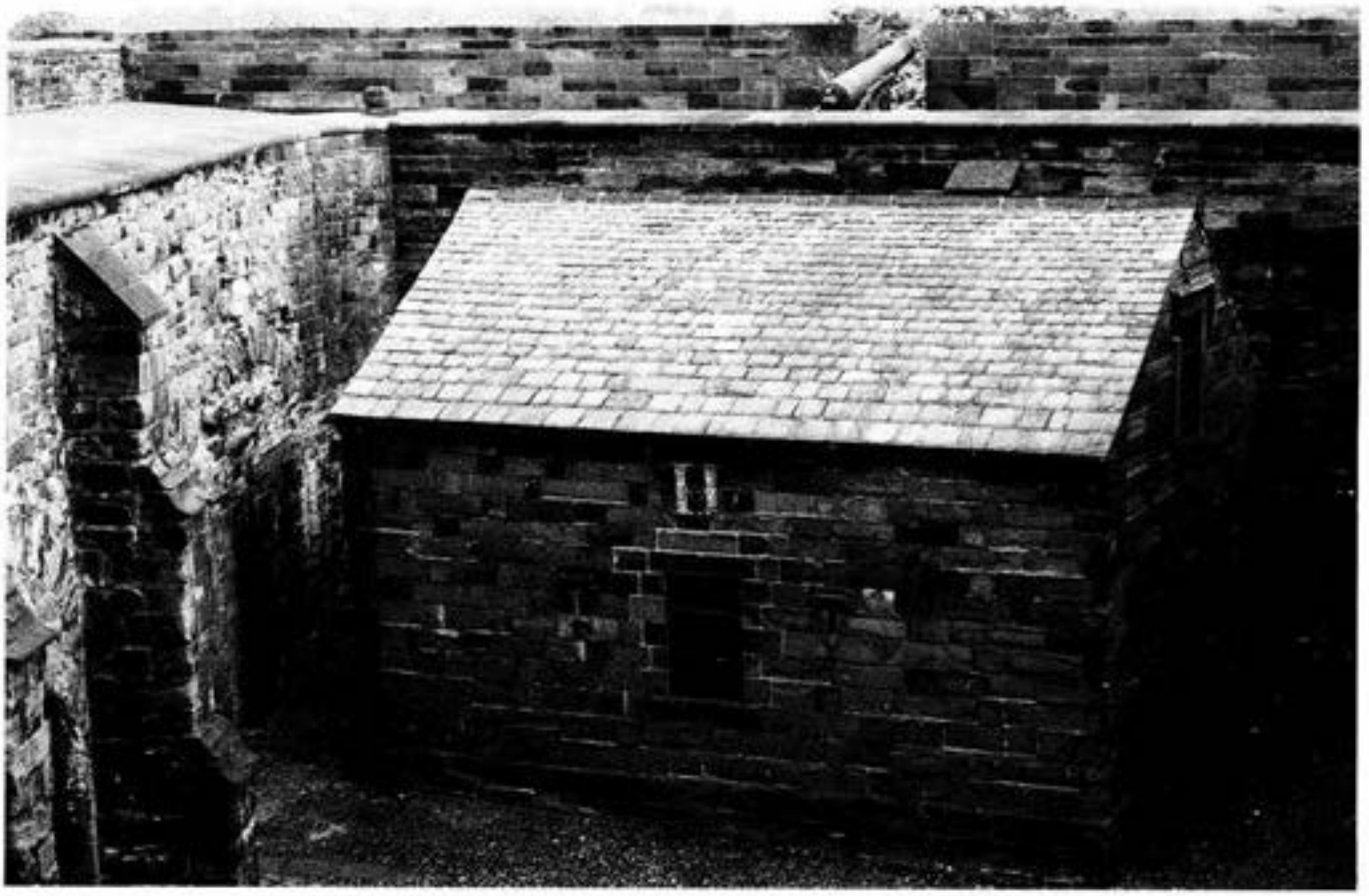

Fig 114 The Magazine, 1988 (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

ret with the south elevation. All the existing openings in the west and north walls, apart from the Tudor window, are of recent date. A series of blocked openings, including the 'long and short' jambs of three doors, can be seen on the south-west wall. Two are located at ground-floor level and one is at first-floor level. The latter, cut by a modern window, almost certainly marks the position of the entrance from the porch and external stair. Also at ground level, cut by modern windows, are two, or possibly three, blocked rectangular openings. On the inner face of the north wall a similar opening survives. Most of these appear in Robert Carlyle's drawings and paintings.

Much of this work is probably the result of a fire in January 1890. According to Ferguson (1889–91, 93–4), the fire gutted the 'The Old Messhouse', which was subsequently provided with modern chimney stacks, floors, and a roof. The 'Edwardian windows and doors were carefully built up smooth, but still showing their outlines; Georgian doors and windows (two rows) were then cut in the walls. The fire has burnt the Georgian floors and roof; the chimney stacks stand but the walls are uninjured...'. The building today is the result of the restoration following the fire and its conversion into the Regimental Museum in 1973.

The Magazine and the Militia Store

The Militia store and the Magazine are detached buildings set very close to the north-east curtain wall in the inner ward. The Magazine (Fig 114) stands at the north angle. It is substantially built, of face-bedded, red sandstone lined with brick internally. It is of one build. The north, west and south sides are each pierced by a single iron-barred window; the windows in the gables are located high up. Similarly on each of these sides there are small slits surmounted by hood-moulds. There are two such slits in the south elevation below the barred window, and one on either side of the window on the western side. The entrance, composed of monolithic jambs and a lintel, is recessed to a depth of 0.6m. A narrow slit with a hood-mould is present on either side of the door. Just above ground level there are a number of small inverted T-shaped slits which provide ventilation beneath the present floor. The walls are almost a metre thick and rise to a steep vault. There are a large number of sockets for internal wooden fittings cut into the bricks.

The Militia Store (Fig 115) lies between the Magazine and the Regimental Museum. It is a rectangular structure of one build constructed from red sandstone blocks, of which some are face-bedded. It is lined with brick. High on the north gable is a circular sandstone plaque bearing the date 1881; below this is a square projecting lift-shaft. The lift and its winding gear can still be seen inside the present entrance. The building is lit by rectangular windows in the north, west, and south walls; these have cast-iron glazing bars. The masonry on the wall facing the curtain has distinctive tooling similar to that on the Officers' Mess in the outer ward.

Fig 115 The Militia Store, 1988 (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Discussion

Foundations, which may be those of the latrines, can be seen in the north angle of the inner ward between the casemates and the entrance to the Magazine. A small building, whose roof crease and roof timbers can also be seen in the north angle and is shown on Asquith's map of 1853.

In that year estimates were submitted for building a new powder magazine to replace the one formerly in the keep. It had two floors with three rooms on each floor, and was surrounded by a stockade. This was clearly modified at a later date, for the present Magazine (Fig 114) has only one floor with a single room and arched roof. Joist-holes for the first floor can be seen in all four walls, but there is no evidence of stairs. Dry rot was subsequently found to have affected the floors because, it was said, of the underlying latrine cess-pits. It should be noted that the present Magazine, which probably post-dates that depicted by Asquith, incorporates air vents at ground floor level as a means of keeping the floor dry. The Militia store was erected on the open ground shown on the Asquith and early Ordnance Survey maps in 1881.

5 The buildings of the outer ward

The area enclosed by the curtain walls, but excluding the inner ditch, the half-moon battery and breastwork, is 1.23 hectares (3.04 acres). The outer ward is occupied by the parade ground (Fig 116) and buildings abutting or very close to the walls on the northern, southern and western sides. There is no visible trace of medieval structures in the outer ward despite the fact that the documentary records discussed by Summerson in chapters 6–10 make frequent reference to their existence. The extant buildings are entirely post-medieval (period 5) and modern in date, and for that reason the discussions are not arranged by period.

Description and discussion

The Officers' Mess

The Officers' Mess is located in the south-west corner of the inner ward, where there is a small yard in the angle of the curtain walls. It is two-storeyed (Fig 117), and constructed from close-jointed red sandstone ashlar on a plinth. The sandstone is dressed in a very similar manner to that on the Militia Store in the inner ward. The front elevation has a projecting porch with moulded architrave, and the windows have hood-moulds which continue round the porch as a string-course. There is a dentillated cornice and a hipped roof and, at the north end, a projection for a dumb waiter can be seen. The rear face is rendered and at ground-floor level abuts brick-built domestic offices and the wine-store, both of which are adjacent to the curtain wall.

Internally, the ground floor is divided into offices. The main staircase gives access to the dining room and officers' sitting room. There is a servants' staircase to the rear, and a passage which provides access to the wine store and other rooms. These walls are all rendered and decorated, but it seems from the yard, which is in the angle of the south and west curtain walls, that the wine-store walls are at least partly constructed from red sandstone.

The present building was erected in 1876 on a site previously occupied by a combined barrack office, Master Gunner's quarters, and gun shed. This, as can be seen on the Ordnance Survey map (Fig 130), was L-shaped in plan, and enclosed a small yard in the angle of the curtain walls.

The angle is the site of the former south-west battery, small portions of which have been incorporated into the existing Officers' Mess building. Its rear wall, dividing the rear corridor from the wine-store, is probably part of the battery; this can still be seen in the small existing yard. The crease for steps leading to the wall walk is also visible on the west curtain wall.

Ypres block

Ypres block (Fig 118) is a long, three-storey barrack building with a basement, built in 1836. It stands roughly in the centre of and in front of the west curtain wall. The basement is approached by 'area' steps at both ends and both the basement and the 'area' walls are constructed of red sandstone which is only very roughly coursed and dressed. From the ground floor to the roof the entire block is built of handmade brick with windows of identical design; they have plain monolithic sills, jambs, and lintels. It is all of one build, with the exception of the central window at ground-floor level. This has probably been inserted into the space formerly occupied by a door, as shown on nineteenth-century maps. The infill is a most skilful repair, and it compares with work on Arroyo block. Access into Ypres today is by way of two porches which override the basement 'area'. The porches have plain sandstone jambs and architraves. The roof is hipped and has four chimney stacks.

The internal arrangement reflects the use of the building as barracks. There are large featureless rooms at the northern end, formerly used for soldiers, whilst at the southern end smaller rooms leading off a rear corridor were the officers' quarters. At the rear there are modern additions.

Ypres block was erected on open ground. It was served by ablutions and a cookhouse which abutted the west curtain wall. Very few traces of these can now be recognised, and there is nothing visible now to link them with Ypres block. The barracks have not been significantly altered since they were built.

Gallipoli block

The front elevation of this two-storey building (Fig 116) appears to be of one build. The bricks are machine-made, and the windows all uniform. There are two brick porches, in a darker coloured brick, which have been added to the original frontage. Access to the first floor is by way of staircases attached to the northern and southern gable walls. The south gable is not of uniform build. It contains a substantial area of handmade brick from ground to first-floor level. No features are visible in the brickwork, which is part of the nineteenth-century canteen. The internal subdivisions reflect the administrative use of the building by various bodies including the army.

The south gable with its large area of handmade brick is the only recognisable remnant of the canteen built in 1829. It was increased in height, extended and given a first-floor in 1876.

Arroyo block

This is a long two-storey brick building (Fig 119) on a sandstone plinth. The bricks are entirely handmade, except on the modern extensions at the rear. The front elevation has three shallow projections with sandstone quoins. Identical moulded lintels and jambs are apparent on all windows on the front and gable walls, as well as on the wide door. Some windows have been blocked up. The ground-floor window jambs at the eastern end have filled holes, reflecting the former presence of bars. Some bars still survive on the western and rear gables. The western gable has a central weather-

Fig 116 View from the south-east looking across the parade ground showing from left to right, Ypres block, Gallipoli block, Arroyo block, Arnhem block and Alma block in 1960 (photo: Cumbria County Council)

Fig 117 The Officers' Mess, 1988

Fig 118 Ypres (barrack) block, 1988 (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

Fig 119 Arroyo (the new armoury, later barracks), 1960 (photo: Cumbria County Council)

boarded section inserted by the county council to cover the iron staircase inside. The roof is ridged and has deep eaves with a dentillated cornice.

The front elevation appears to be of one build, but this is misleading as map and photographic evidence make clear. The western end is an addition carried out in the most skilful manner.

To the rear of Arroyo block there is a modern gymnasium and other buildings which abut the curtain wall. The gymnasium partly overlies the north-west battery. Remnants of this are still to be seen against the curtain wall (p 24), and a sandstone foundation for its south wall was observed in 1989 during refurbishment of the interior. The same observations brought to light very large architectural fragments including mouldings which resemble Cathedral rather than castle masonry (see also *Carl Pat* Oct 1895).

Arroyo block is of early nineteenth century date and was the new armoury. The blocked holes for window bars in the ground-floor window jambs testify to its former secure state. It was later converted to a barracks but there is now no trace of the extension built at right angles between 1848 and 1851. The present western extension, although identical in style to the main block, was erected shortly before the First World War.

Arnhem block

This building (Fig 120) was formerly the Master Gunner's house, and its proportions reflect its domestic as opposed to its military and administrative nature. All four walls are constructed in handmade brick; the main windows and door are in the south elevation. The windows all have flat brick lintels, whilst the door, approached by steps, has sandstone quoins and a moulded architrave with a keystone. The ridged roof has a moulded sandstone cornice with a false gable in the centre. Three dormer windows have been inserted into the roof on the south side.

The two gables are plain, but the rear elevation has windows similar to those at the front, except in the area of the modern extension. The north-west corner is

Fig 120 Arnhem block (the Master Gunner's House, later the Hospital) showing the two wings, 1960 (photo: Cumbria County Council)

physically linked to the curtain by a wall, now ruined, of weathered handmade brick on a sandstone plinth. This contains an opening, possibly for a window, at first-floor level. The function of the wall is not clear, but it is probably related to the brickwork which abuts the curtain wall behind Arnhem block (pp 24–6).

The internal arrangement consists of a central staircase with two rooms to either side. They were formerly heated by fireplaces in the gable walls.

The brick wall linking the present building with the curtain wall on the western side may be related to the Master Gunner's House which is shown on late seventeenth century maps as abutting the curtain wall and may be one of the buildings shown on early maps. Similarly some of the brickwork forming a skin on the internal face of the curtain wall may also be related to the early eighteenth century building, but they are extremely difficult to date.

Figure 120 shows the building before the short wings to either side were removed. As it stands, Arnhem block is an early nineteenth century building flanked by yards on the site of the two wings. The brick features apparent in the curtain wall, especially those to the east, relate to outhouses and stores of the building when it was converted in 1832 to use as a hospital (p 240). By 1841–51 it had two storeys and miscellaneous outbuildings to the east against the curtain wall. In 1859 it was the worst army hospital inspected (p 248).

Alma block

Alma block is almost a mirror image of Arroyo, built in 1931–2 out of bricks made at J and R Bell's works at Kingmoor. The door is at the eastern end, and there is a rear entrance close to the curtain wall.

The garrison cells and Regimental offices

These buildings (Fig 121) form a long single-storeyed range set against the south curtain wall. The cells can be seen in plan on the Ordnance Survey map (Fig 130). In the middle of the range are the cells, flanked on the west by later offices, and on the east by an exercise yard for the prisoners. This yard occupies the space between the end of the range and the west wall of de Ireby's Tower.

The exercise yard is now used as an enclosure for an electricity substation, accessible through a large modern door in the north wall; next to this is the arched head of a blocked door, and within the yard is another former door, now built up to make a sash window in the west wall of the gatehouse.

The cell block clearly comprises two different buildings connected by a passage running along the face of the curtain. There are now five cells. The two rooms in the eastern, stone-built block have been formed by knocking together the three original cells. The eastern room is 3.7m long and 2.2m wide, and the western 3.7m by 3.0m. Both have brick ceilings, 2.75m high, and small arched and barred windows. The block to the west is built of handmade brick on a sandstone plinth. Here there are three cells, each 3.6m by 2.4m, with brick vaults 3.2m high. The windows are small rectangular openings high up in the north walls, and are heavily barred. The western cell has a modern door and window in its north wall, and the original door is blocked. In all of these cells there are a few traces of

Fig 121 The north elevation of the Garrison cells showing the former Gun Shed and the Barrack Serjeants' Quarters (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

vanished fittings, and they all have stout doors; some of these have spy-holes, narrow hatches for plates of food, and linings of steel. The doors measure 0.6m by 1.7m high.

The passage which serves these cells is hard against the face of the curtain, under the same lean-to roof. The profile of the curtain is unaltered, with the same plinth, batter, and roll mouldings seen in the stretches to the east and west of the range.

The buildings at the west end of the range are of dressed sandstone, with slate roofs. The end wall is of rubble. Much of the face of the eastern of the two, the gun shed, has recently been rebuilt. The western is largely unaltered, except for a blocked door towards the east end; the building contains three rooms and a small vestibule, all now used as offices. The fireplaces are blocked up, and modern decoration hides any earlier features there may have been.

The history of the cells, which begins with the building of the 'black hole' in 1832, and against which was added a prison in 1840, can partly be seem by comparing the Ordnance Survey map (Fig 130) with the existing buildings. When the Ordnance Survey map was drawn in 1865 there were two blocks of cells separated by an enclosed space. The eastern pair has been demolished, but the western cells are still present as the taller brick and sandstone structure in the middle of the range. Further west was the gun shed, the library and the librarian's house. The latter was also used as the barrack Serjeant's quarters. The essential elements of these buildings can still be seen. The room indicated by the modern doors next to the western cells in figure 121 is the former gun shed.

As the number of detainees in the regiment exceeded the prison accommodation, a new, slightly smaller, cell block was erected against the east wall of the main block. This still survives and is separated from the outer gatehouse by the small exercise yard.

Section 2 The history of Carlisle Castle from 1092 to 1962

6 Early developments 1092–1217

The Normans and their castles

Carlisle is unusual in the history of English castles in that its foundation can be precisely dated. In 1092, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, King William Rufus 'with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the city and erected the castle, and drove out Dolfin who had ruled the country, and garrisoned the castle with his men, and then came here to the south, and sent many peasant people there with their wives and cattle to live there to cultivate the land' (Douglas and Greenaway 1953, 169). The context of these operations was the protracted efforts of the English kings, first Anglo-Saxon and then Norman, ruling as they did from London or Winchester, to bring their northern provinces under effective control – having first established just what those northern provinces were. The collapse in the ninth century of the old kingdom of Northumbria, at its greatest stretching from the Humber to the Firth of Forth in the east and into Galloway in the west, had left its lands to be disputed in the centuries which followed between the kings of the English and the Scots. The eleventh century saw a considerable increase in the power of the latter, and by 1080, when Robert Curthose built his new castle on the Tyne, the rule of William the Conqueror in the North East was of only limited effectiveness north of that river, while further west the realm of Malcolm Canmore extended as far south as Stainmore in Westmorland (Ritchie 1954, 50–1). Yorkshire itself was vulnerable to Scottish raiders, and in the 1080s the great castlery of Richmond, made up of no less than 199 manors, had to be assembled so as to block the way to attack down the Eden valley (Kapelle 1979, 145). The occupation of Carlisle in 1092, in the aftermath of an unsuccessful invasion of Scotland in the previous year, was one more attempt to achieve a satisfactory border between the two kingdoms, for the protection of undisputedly English lands further south.

That the western frontier established in 1092, on the line of the rivers Esk and Sark, should have ultimately proved to be permanent (Barrow 1973, 142–8), was largely due to the measures employed by Rufus to maintain it. The warfare of the eleventh and early twelfth centuries in Western Europe revolved round castles, and this, together with the natural importance and defensibility of its site, made it inevitable that Rufus should build one at Carlisle. Although stone was occasionally used for castle-building in eleventh-century England, as at Richmond and Brough-under-Stainmore, (Taylor 1958, 105–6), most fortresses were still earthworks of various sorts, sometimes a simple enclosure, more often a motte and bailey – a mound of earth with an enclosure at its base, the whole complex protected by ditches and palisades (Renn 1973, 14–16; Davison 1969, 37–47; Brown 1976, 54–63). For all their apparent vulnerability, so great an advantage did defence have over the available means of attack that such fortifications were very difficult to take; if initial attempts at capture by surprise, treachery or bribery failed, a prolonged blockade was usually needed to bring a siege to a successful conclusion, and most sieges were in fact abandoned (Barlow 1965, 30–2; Brown 1976, 194). In newly-conquered territory like Cumberland, as in Wales in the same period, the near-impregnability of castles made them the means of holding down the countryside, and also the bases from which Norman rule could subsequently be extended and consolidated (Le Patourel 1976, 314–5). For castles had an offensive as well as a defensive role in the military strategy of the time. In the event of a rising by the Cumbrians south of the Solway, or of an invasion by the Scots from north of it, the garrison of Carlisle would not just sit tight, waiting for relief while the enemy wasted his strength against the defences, but would sally out to hinder him in the free movement of his forces, depriving him of supplies and threatening his communications. Not surprisingly, cavalry were prominent in the garrisons of Norman castles (Cook 1979, 96–7; Brown 1976, 185). It was this variety of functions performed by castles, taken together with its geographical position and natural strength, which made Carlisle an admirable site for fortification.

Rufus's work in 1092 was one of refoundation, as the words of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle make perfectly clear. The Norman fortress was certainly not the first settlement on the site. Roman *Luguvalium* had left impressive remains there, still visible in the late seventh century, when an Anglian monastic community could be found in or near the Roman city, and not yet cleared in the 1120s, and Roman roads continued to provide the principal means of communication – to Penrith and Appleby to the south, to Cockermouth to the south-west, to Longtown and southern Scotland to the north, and perhaps to Corbridge to the east. Carlisle stood where many roads met, in a position well suited to command them. On a sandstone bluff rising above the junction of the rivers Eden, Petteril and Caldew, Carlisle was surrounded on three sides by these rivers and their flood-plains, protected both by water and, since the rivers were not embanked until the nineteenth century, by quagmires (Garnett 1953, 152–8, 299–301). It dominated the Eden at the point at which it was most easily forded, and so also overlooked the principal road from Scotland into North West England. These physical advantages, together with its place on the regional system of roads, made Carlisle a natural centre of power. Whether it had fulfilled any defensive function in the years immediately before 1092 is uncertain. The prefix *Caer* or *Cair*, a British word meaning a fort or defended settlement, may indicate that the site had been occupied and fortified by the Strathclyde Britons in the years of their expansion into North West England in the tenth and eleventh centuries (Higham 1986, 318), but since Carlisle is referred to as *Caer Ligualid* by Nennius, writing in about 800 A.D. (Morris 1980, 80), long before the

Britons overran the lands south of the Solway, such a prefix may be no more than a tribute to its past importance. Florence of Worcester claimed that Carlisle was deserted in 1092, having remained totally unoccupied since its destruction by Danes some 200 years earlier (Thorpe 1849, 30). Recent excavations near the cathedral have shown that this was not so, that habitation there continued throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries (personal information from M McCarthy). Nevertheless, settlement seems unlikely to have been very extensive. In all probability Carlisle was no more than an estate centre, a strongpoint ,maintained by taxes delivered to it in the form of local produce and from which Dolfin administered the region on behalf of the Scottish king.[1]

After Dolfin had been driven out, Rufus had a castle built and garrisoned it with his men. This first castle is not likely to have been of stone, even though there was still plenty of Roman masonry around which the Normans could have used. Building in stone was a slow and complex business, needing a large and skilled workforce (Renn 1973, 25), and the Chronicle's account of the events of 1092 does not suggest a lengthy campaign. The castle of 1092 is therefore more likely to have been an earthwork, doubtless on the site of the present castle, of a sort that the rank-and-file of Rufus's 'great army' could easily have thrown up – perhaps a motte and bailey, perhaps just a ditch and palisade or bank cut across the end of the promontory on which Carlisle stands. Immediately behind, to the south of the castle, stood the restored 'city'. Like 'castel' the word 'burh' used by the chronicler had strongly defensive connotations (Neilson 1895, 321–3), and although by the late eleventh century its associations were becoming predominantly urban, it could still be used to describe a fortified enclosure (Loyn 1962, 136; 200); it seems improbable that Rufus was consciously aspiring to found, or refound, a town (the work of 'restoration' may have involved the refurbishment of some earlier defences, or the Chronicler may simply have been referring to the establishment of a settlement on a previously inhabited site), his concern would have been the protection of those peasants he was about to send to Carlisle so that they could serve and support the castle's garrison, and whose principal function, in this context, was an agricultural one. It is significant that the lands immediately around Carlisle were royal demesnes administered from, and for the benefit of, the castle, which was at least in part maintained from their produce; in time the importance of the demesnes as a source of supplies to the castle declined, and they were increasingly subdivided and leased out, very often to citizens. They were not the property of the city, which in fact never had any common fields of its own. This colony of peasants was, of course, to become the nucleus of the town – later city – of Carlisle, but in keeping with its origins there was to be no sharp military-civilian dichotomy there; from the first these two settlements, castle and town, went together and, in spite of their apparent divergence in function, but in keeping with the implications of the words initially used to define them, formed parts of a single defensive system, a relationship within which they were to continue thereafter.

It would take more than one castle, however well chosen and well defended its position, to secure the Norman grip on Cumberland after 1092. Just as in the North East the hinterland of Newcastle was protected by a network of baronies and castleries (Barlow 1983, 297–8), so now the still further flung Carlisle was to be supported by baronies and fortresses both to the north and to the south, with a chain of castles extending back into Westmorland and North West Yorkshire, at Appleby, Brough, Bowes and Burton-in-Lonsdale, to give defence in depth to the routes into England down the valleys of Eden and Lune and to maintain communications with Carlisle. Baronies were also based on castles at Liddel and Burgh-by-Sands to cover the approaches to Cumberland from south west Scotland (Kapelle 1979, 206). This consolidation of the Norman position in the North West was largely the work of Ranulf le Meschin, a great Norman lord, to whom Rufus gave the *potestas*, or barony, of Carlisle. But Ranulf appears to have resided not at Carlisle but in what he described as 'my castle of Appleby' (Prescott 1897, no 3). Carlisle, established in 1092 by King William Rufus, and administered immediately afterwards on his behalf by a sheriff (Davis 1913, I, no 478), was a royal castle from the first, and so it always continued to be, a centre of royal power and influence in Cumberland. As such, it was obviously the king's interest to see that it was protected and maintained. William Rufus, and then his more methodical brother Henry I, might be content to leave the spadework of Norman consolidation to men like Ranulf le Meschin, but in the last resort the responsibility was their own, and particularly in the case of Carlisle.

Henry I, David I and the beginnings of building in stone

For thirty years after 1092 there are few references to Carlisle in any sources, but late in 1122, 'travelling by long and muddy roads' (Chibnall 1978, 325). Henry I visited northern England, and his perambulations took him over the Pennines to Carlisle. He had come, according to Symeon of Durham, to inspect the city, 'which, having given money, he ordered to be fortified with a castle and towers' *(castello et turribus)* (Arnold 1885, 267). The word Symeon uses for Carlisle is *'civitas'*, which is probably intended here, as with other twelfth-century writers, to be a generalised description of 'a fortified place...isolated physically and set off against the surrounding area' (Richter 1979, 153), and which could therefore have meant either the town alone or the town and castle together. The issue of what exactly Henry I ordered to be done at Carlisle in 1122 is important because of the problem of the date of the keep, and so of the beginning of building in stone in the castle. As already observed, the castle of 1092 was almost certainly an earthwork. When Carlisle was occupied by the Scots in 1135, David I was said to have had a very strong keep built and to have heightened the walls of the town (Skene 1867, 212). Since King David was also earl of Huntingdon in 1135, the source for this statement, the *Cronica Canonicorum Beate Marie Huntingdonie*, is likely to have been well informed.

There is no doubt that walls for the town were built under Henry I – the pipe roll for 1130 shows that work on them had only recently been in progress (*PR* 31 Henry I, 141), and though here too they were said to have been for the *civitas*, entries in later Pipe Rolls suggest that to Exchequer clerks *civitas* was synonymous with *burgus*, whereas *castellum* was used for castle. Early medieval chroniclers often used the word *castellum* to mean a fortified town (Verbruggen 1950), and it is certainly possible that Symeon's account should be taken as referring to the town alone, now receiving a circuit of walls strengthened by towers. Yet it seems empirically unlikely that walls would have been built for the town while the castle was still defended only by banks and palisades, and since Symeon (like the 1130 Pipe Roll) would usually appear to have used *castellum* unequivocally to mean castle, it seems most probable that they were not, that 1122 saw the beginning of work on the keep at the same time as the town wall, and that in both instances David I only completed what Henry I had begun. Castle-building in stone was a slow business at the best of times – an average speed of ten to twelve feet per annum has been suggested (Renn 1973, 25) – and in the years after 1122 Henry I's attention, and money, was all too often distracted from England to Normandy. All in all, it seems probable that the '*grant tur antive*' of 1173 (Johnstone 1981, 47), at any rate in its lower levels, dated back to the 1120s.

The keep was built in accordance with the conventions of military architecture of the mid-twelfth century. 66 by 61 feet at ground level, its present height of 68 feet is a little lower than its height in the Middle Ages, owing to alterations in the sixteenth century (Clark 1884, I, 353). Such a height was not exceptional – Rochester, which at 70 foot square is not much larger than Carlisle at ground level, is 113 feet high (Brown 1976, 69) – but the geographical advantages of its site probably made anything bigger unnecessary. Where the stone for its building came from is not recorded, but local quarries were used in later centuries, and since the 1120s were the decade when the silver mines at Alston were opened up, there was presumably no shortage of quarriers and stone-cutters in the neighbourhood. Officials therefore directing the works on the keep and walls probably did not have to rely on such supplies of ready-cut stone as Hadrian's Wall or Roman remains still standing in the town. The keep's dividing wall, formerly thought to have been a Tudor insertion, has now been shown by structural analysis to be medieval in origin, and may well have been an original feature. As well as serving to strengthen the building and support its roof, it could even act as a last line of defence in the event of the keep being stormed (Brown 1976, 74; see p 93). In this, as in other respects, it was laid out on conventional lines.

Thus the entrance was not at ground level but on the first floor, through a forebuilding containing a stairway, which not only served as an extension of the defences of the entrance (an obviously vulnerable point) but might also contain extra accommodation and even a chapel (Renn 1973, 10; 71). On the first floor stood the Hall, where the garrison ate and slept, and on the floor above, the Chamber housed its commander – the constable, rather than the sheriff. Wall-chambers cut into the Chamber wall may have been intended to supply additional living-space (Renn 1973, 132–4; Thompson 1912, 146; 206–7). Comfort was not at a premium, what mattered was the castle's defensibility. Garderobes (Rooms 15, 20), a kitchen (Room 19) and an oratory (Room 21) were provided. But since a safe supply of pure water was vital to a castle's powers of resistance, there was a well within the keep, built into the north wall, while hygiene was further served by latrines on the first and second floors (Renn 1973, 132–4; Ferguson 1876, 75–6). The basement, at ground level, was for storage, not prisoners (Clark 1884, 134–5). In times of crisis the keep might have to be self-sufficient for long periods, and the garrison would certainly not have wanted to be encumbered with useless mouths to feed, taking up space, moreover, which could otherwise have been filled with supplies for themselves. The function and layout of the keep bespeaks an utilitarian outlook on the part of those who built it which must have made for grim living conditions, and any visual charms the keep may have had would have been confined to its exterior. It was not in fact unknown for the outsides of medieval fortifications to be rendered and whitewashed (Brown 1976, 208), and perhaps Carlisle was one of those so decorated. Certainly Jordan Fantosme, when he described the events of 1173 and 1174, appears to have been impressed less by its strength than by its elegance of appearance; as the Scots advanced on it in 1173, he wrote, '...they could see Carlisle filled with beauty: the sun lights up the walls and turrets....'(Johnstone 1981, 101).

In this same passage Carlisle, to Fantosme, was 'royal Carlisle (*Carduil regieres*)', and though the chronicler may have intended that the adjective should convey a princely compliment rather than a statement of fact, royal was nevertheless exactly what Carlisle was. The king maintained the castle buildings, buildings which he had caused to be built, and he also paid the garrison who manned them. At many royal castles their peacetime manning was organised through the tenurial obligation of castleguard; at Newcastle, for instance, after 1157 the lords of ten Northumberland baronies were each expected to build a house in the castle and keep it in repair (Brown *et al* 1963, 26; Beeler 1966, 289), and elsewhere feudal honours were associated in groups to provide garrisons for the king's castles (Stenton 1961, 212–6). But there is no evidence for such an arrangement at Carlisle, nor do the burgesses appear to have been required to supply men for the castle garrison as they were in the baronial burgh of Egremont (*VCH Cumb* I, 329), though they would have to man their own walls. It may be that reinforcements to the garrison could if necessary be summoned from among those tenants of the crown who held their lands by cornage, a tenure whose obligations included the defence of the border (*VCH Cumb* I, 314–35) – hence, perhaps, the presence of William son of Odard, lord of Corby, among the defenders of Carlisle in 1173 (Johnstone 1981, 51 – Le fiz Odart). But the growing military professionalism of the twelfth century must have made such part-time assistance fairly unsatisfactory save in time of real crisis, and it seems safe to

assume that in normal circumstances the castle was manned by soldiers hired and paid directly by the crown.

How large the garrison was is hard to say. The fact that in 1130 payments to 'the knights and sergeants of Carlisle' amounted to £42 7s 7½d, a wages bill almost exactly double that of Burton-in-Lonsdale, where in the same year £21 was paid to one knight, ten sergeants, a watchman and a porter, suggests a garrison of some twenty-five men (*PR* 31 Henry I 138; 141). The garrisons of medieval castles were usually quite small in peacetime. If work on the keep was still in progress in 1130, there may even have been more men in the castle in that year than would usually have been the case later, when the fortifications were completed. A skeleton staff to ensure routine defence and maintenance was all that was necessary; extra men could always be hired in emergencies, as in 1199, when the fear of disturbances on the death of Richard I led to £36 15s being spent on knights and sergeants *'ad custodiam patrie'* (*Mem R* 1 John 43), and in 1216, when Robert de Vieuxpont, holding Carlisle castle for King John in time of civil war, recruited additional soldiers to help him maintain himself in it (*RLC* I, 247). The Exchequer, so John instructed, was to account with Robert for the payments he had made to knights, sergeants and crossbowmen, in other words, to the full complement of soldiers that a castle needed in the years around 1200 – knights and sergeants for sorties to harass the enemy and menace his communications, as well as for hand-to-hand fighting should he get close enough to the defences, and crossbowmen to keep attackers away from the walls. In 1216 Carlisle castle still fulfilled the double function, offensive and defensive, for which Rufus had first established it.

Yet as the twelfth century progressed, the castle was developing, both in scale and function. It was still the military centre for the defence of the North West against the Scots, and a very necessary one, as David I's occupation of Carlisle in 1135 shows. The Scottish kings had not accepted their dispossession in 1092 of Cumbria south of the Solway as final, and so the position of the Anglo-Scottish border could not be regarded as settled and the need for fortifications along it remained correspondingly great. But Carlisle was not just a fortress. No doubt it had contained the English sheriff's office before 1135; under David I it appears to have acted as a capital for his western lands. Ailred of Rievaulx's account of David's death at Carlisle in 1153 shows the king as having access there – and presumably therefore in the castle – to his archives, containing his will, to a treasury, from which alms were distributed to the poor, and to his collection of relics, and as being able to worship in an 'oratory' into which he could be carried from his bed-chamber (Skene 1872, 238–40). The frequent presence of the king and his household – which stood at the heart of royal government, and would have included the clerks and knights referred to by Ailred as waiting on David as he died – can only have stimulated further building works in the castle, and perhaps above all in the keep, in order to accommodate these men and their inevitable attendants.

Henry II and the reordering of Carlisle's defences

Carlisle and the northern counties of England were taken back from the young Malcolm IV in 1157, but the Scottish claim to them did not therefore lapse. Yet no work is recorded as having been carried out on the castle until 1168, even though Henry II financed a substantial programme of works on other northern fortresses in these years, in an attempt to strengthen the Crown's position in the North of England (Beeler 1966, 165–70). It is in fact possible that there were undocumented works executed shortly after 1157. Henry II visited Carlisle in January 1158, and from the treasure which he ordered to be taken there from Winchester may have paid for repairs or alterations to the structure (Eyton 1878, 33); or the silence of the Exchequer records may simply be implicit testimony to the excellence of the work done during the years of Scottish occupation. But when further work was done on the castle, it was to be of fundamental and lasting importance. Henry II appears to have visited Carlisle in 1163, and it may have been this visit, at a time of tension on the border, which led to the changes of the following years (Eyton 1878, 62; Duncan 1975, 226–7). In 1165 money had been spent on works on the gates of the city (*PR* 11 Henry II, 54), and this may have signalled a general reorganisation of Carlisle's defences, such as would account for the expenditure of 40s, recorded in 1168, 'for removing the gate of Carlisle castle' (*PR* 14 Henry II, 108). It is generally accepted that the old gate was in the south-east angle of the inner ward, at the foot of what would later be known as Queen Mary's Tower, giving ready access to Battailholme, below the castle's north curtain, and to the nearest crossing of the river Eden. Until the rebuildings of the 1830s there remained visible here traces of 'a large circular arched gateway, with plain mouldings which sprung from capitals, ornamented with a zig-zag or chevron ornaments. It likewise contained a groove for the portcullis' (Ferguson 1876, 70–1). If this was in fact the old entrance, then the stonework in which it was set must have predated the works of 1168, suggesting that the inner ward at least had acquired a curtain, as well as a keep, of stone by the mid-twelfth century. Removing the old gate, and replacing it with one in the middle of a curtain wall on the south side of the outer ward meant the final integration of the castle and city as a single defensive unit; implicit from the first, the conception was now given lasting form. That this should have been done was in full accord with the military developments of the second half of the twelfth century, in response to which the keep of a castle still remained at the heart of its defences, but the outer works were pushed further away from the centre.

Perhaps the most important achievement of Henry II in matters military was the tilting of the balance of advantage in siege warfare away from defence to attack (Warren 1973, 233–4). His employment of professional soldiers, and the use these made, at their royal paymaster's expense, of the most advanced siege-engines available, above all of trebuchets – a new and more powerful stone-throwing machine (Barlow 1972, 431–

2) – made fortifications hitherto regarded as well nigh impregnable alarmingly vulnerable to attack. It was to counter this development that castle builders – including Henry II himself, who was well aware of the implications of his own achievement – began to seek greater depth in defence for their fortresses, with rings of concentric walls, often strengthened by towers, surrounding the keep and placing extra obstacles in an attacker's path (Héliot 1964, 53–73; Taylor 1958, 111–2). At Carlisle, the effect of the changes of the 1160s, which had joined city and castle walls together and made it impossible to reach the castle gate except through the city, was to make the city in effect the first outwork of the castle. Such a development made strategic sense. Carlisle was more vulnerable from the south, where it was protected neither by rivers nor by the lie of the land, than from any other direction, and viewed as a single defensive unit of which the castle was the core, an additional line of walls keeping besiegers away from the keep on the side on which it was most open to attack had an obvious value.

The gaps in the wall-walk visible today in the wall to the south-east of the castle were almost certainly made at the beginning of the nineteenth century (*DRP*). But it is extremely probable that there were such gaps before; indeed, the security of the castle demanded them. They would normally have been covered by planks, making for continuous passage between the defences of castle and city, but should the latter fall to a besieger, then the planks would be removed, leaving the castle in defiant and self-sufficient isolation (Charlton 1985, 34). The inner ward, as observed above, was probably already walled in stone. It seems likely that with the new gate went a stone curtain for the outer ward as well, strengthened by a tower in the middle of its west wall, as well as by another tower, the present-day Tile Tower, in the wall joining the west wall to the city wall on the same side. To increase the defensibility of the new gate, the south curtain wall was not so built as to make a seamless line of masonry with the south wall of the inner ward, but rather was joined to the latter's west wall a few feet back from its south face, so forming a shoulder to flank the outer gate (Clark 1884 I, 351). The mine probably constituted the greatest danger to a besieged fortress, not least because there was always the possibility that the attackers would get so close to the foot of a wall that they could no longer be assailed by those behind it without the latter's having to lean out to fire arrows or drop stones on those below, at grave risk to themselves. A shoulder like that formed by the junction of curtain and inner ward allowed the garrison to attack miners and other attackers from the side. So, should an enemy carry the city defences, to overcome the resistance of the castle he would next have to cross the ditch in front of the south curtain. The obvious point for further progress would be the latter's gate, which would have to be carried in the teeth of enfilading fire from the inner ward as well as of the resistance of the defenders of the gate and curtain. Once inside the outer ward, the obvious target for the next assault would be the gatehouse of the inner ward, itself only to be approached across another ditch, and then, when the inner ward had been stormed, there was still the keep itself, a formidable mass of masonry, to be captured. Even in the early days of its history, a siege of Carlisle castle was emphatically not something to be undertaken lightly.

Carlisle and the war of 1173–1174

Other works followed. The building of a gaol in 1172 may indicate further work at the outer gate (*PR* 18 Henry II, 69), since that was where the gaol would always be in centuries to come, and over £10 was spent in 1173, including 45s 4d on the castle ditch. The expenditure of 1173, together with that of £32 16s 4d on quantities of corn, iron, cheese and salt, and of £46 6s 4d which the constable was later said to have received from the king's revenues in Cumberland and spent on the castle (*PR* 19 Henry II, 2; 113; *PR* 24 Henry II, 125) doubtless reflects the crisis of that year and 1174, when the newly-overhauled defences of Carlisle were finally put to a searching test, as the long-prepared-for Scottish attack materialised at last. William the Lion, king of Scots, still determined to secure the recovery of the northern counties of England ceded by his brother, made an alliance with Henry II's eldest son, the 'young king' Henry, and other malcontents, and was promised Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmorland by way of reward for his assistance in their proposed rebellion. He would, of course, have to capture these for himself, and the accounts of the war which followed, as described by the chroniclers of the period, above all by Jordan Fantosme, who was probably an eye-witness of some of the events he recorded (Johnstone 1981, xix), sheds a good deal of light on the warfare of the period and of the parts played in it by fortresses like Carlisle.

It was still taken for granted that the capture of castles was what mattered most. When the Count of Flanders was giving a 'reasoned speech' to the young king's allies, explaining how the war was to be won, he was emphatic that the best thing for the Scottish king to do was first to devastate the countryside, and then to besiege the castles, having not left these 'in wood and meadow, as much as will furnish them a meal on the morrow....first lay waste the land, then destroy one's enemies...' (Johnstone 1981, 33–5). It was thus that one's enemies were overcome, not by pitched battles, and it was a policy which could be implemented very thoroughly indeed – at Prudhoe the Scots destroyed corn-fields and gardens, and even barked fruit-trees (Johnstone 1981, 125). Since King William was intent on the conquest of territory anyway, such advice doubtless fell on receptive ears, and when he invaded North West England, after an abortive attack on Newcastle, he tried to put it into practice. The destruction of the countryside posed no problems; religious houses were spared (Johnstone 1981, 53; Barrow 1971, no 144) but the peasantry were less fortunate, and Reginald of Durham describes graphically how 'escaping the fury of the Scots', they fled with their belongings to the safety of their churches, and lived in tents or makeshift huts erected in the churchyards (Raine 1835, 275).

Capturing castles, however, was a different matter, especially when the castle had a town attached to it. The alterations to the defences of Carlisle made in the

1160s were not important only because they gave an extra dimension to the castle's defences, but because they also consolidated the position of Carlisle, as a defensive outpost on a still unsettled border, as an obstacle to an invader on an altogether larger scale than the castle alone might otherwise have been. A single castle, however important its position, could perhaps be ignored or neutralised by a determined invader with a large army, but, in the words of Philippe Contamine, 'it was absolutely vital to control such centres of economic, administrative and human resources as were represented by towns...urban centres, not castles, were the true masters of space' (Contamine 1984, 101). This was a development of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which saw an immense and widespread revival of urban life in Western Europe; in 1173 the city of Carlisle was not yet especially large or wealthy, but it was plainly too big to be ignored. The Scots appear to have appreciated the importance of towns, it is noteworthy that in 1173 they made straight for Newcastle in the North East and then for Carlisle in the North West, the dominating settlements, as well as castles, in the regions they hoped to conquer. They were not, however, very well equipped to capture them. They had no siege-engines at Newcastle (Johnstone 1981, 45), and being no better equipped at Carlisle can have had little choice but to try to storm the city in 'an all-out assault on those within'. Their attack seems to have fallen on the city rather than the castle, though since the defenders of the former included the garrison of the latter, it may be doubted if the distinction, at this stage of an assault, meant very much. In any case, the Scots were beaten off, and when a messenger brought word of an approaching English relief force, King William, swearing profusely, felt obliged to withdraw (Johnstone 1981, 49–57) – no besieging army could risk being caught between two fires, with a hostile fortress in front and a relieving army behind (though this is very much what happened when the Scots were taken by surprise at Alnwick in the following year), and when faced with the possibility had very little choice but to retreat.

In the following year, however, the Scots were back again, and began operations in 1174 by laying siege to Wark. On this occasion they did have siege-engines, and after an attempt to storm the castle had been repelled, they were used; first a *perrière*, a stone-throwing machine, was aimed at the castle, but the stone slipped out of the sling and nearly killed a knight standing nearby, and then a device intended, in some unexplained way, to set fire to Wark, was brought into play, but a sudden change of wind made it unworkable, and the frustrated Scots withdrew (Johnstone 1981, 89–95). Henry II had spent over £200 on the defences of Wark in the early years of his reign (Beeler 1966, 165–6), an expenditure amply justified now; in the 1170s probably only Henry II could capture Henry II's castles, and it is a measure of the superiority which defence could otherwise still exercise over attack that a fortress garrisoned by ten knights and forty sergeants (Brown 1976, 186) should have been able to hold out against the entire Scottish army, even when the latter had siege artillery. In the event, the artillery proved useless, and there is no evidence that it went with the army when the Scots once more crossed the Pennines and laid siege to Carlisle. This time older, time-tested, methods were going to be used. The siege began in the usual way. King William, hoping to secure the surrender of Carlisle without the trouble of fighting for it, issued the conventional combination of bribes and menaces, with an offer to Robert de Vaux of a large fortune in pure gold and gold coins, followed by the threat of being torn to pieces if he would not yield. But de Vaux was unpersuaded and undaunted; he was not afraid, he said, was not to be bribed, his castle was well-provisioned and his men were firmly behind him (Johnstone 1981, 105–6). The events of the previous year had clearly left him confident of being able to see the Scots off a second time, and the Scots, for their part, did not try another head-on attack. Instead, their army was divided. Half of it stayed to blockade Carlisle, the other half departed to attack the other, lesser, fortresses in the region, with such success that by the time the army was reunited Liddel, Brough and Appleby had all fallen, and Carlisle was isolated, cut off from sources of supply and assistance to the south (Stubbs 1867, 64–5). When summoned to surrender, Robert de Vaux had shown by his reply that he believed his charge to be secure as long as supplies and morale could be maintained. But now these were both coming under pressure, and de Vaux became understandably alarmed; as Richard de Lucy told Henry II, 'neither wine nor wheat can get to him any more, nor will help reach him from Richmond; if he does not get aid quickly, he will be starved out...' (Johnstone 1981, 119)

Accounts vary as to what happened next. All the sources agree that city and castle undertook to open their gates to the Scots if they had not been relieved by a certain date, but they differ as to who gave this promise and why. Fantosme, who casts Robert de Vaux in an heroic role throughout his account of the war, continues to show him as in command of the situation – informed of Henry II's promise to return to England within a fortnight, he can cheerfully promise to surrender to the Scots if no help comes because he knows that relief will shortly be on its way (Johnstone 1981, 123). Benedict of Peterborough, however, has nothing to say about such grounds for optimism, recording only that de Vaux, running short of food for himself and the burgesses, promised to surrender if not relieved by Michaelmas (Stubbs 1867, 64–5), while William of Newburgh (a reliable northern chronicler) ascribes the decision to end Carlisle's resistance to 'the anxious citizens' alone (Howlett 1884, I, 181). Newburgh probably exaggerated the part played here by the citizens, but he may nevertheless have pinpointed an important side-effect of the defensive union of city and castle, in that it necessarily required the burgesses, amateur soldiers at best, to participate in its maintenance, and they, lacking the skill and determination of the professional soldiers in the castle, and fearful for their lives and property should the defences be stormed, may well have been ready to give up the struggle some time before the castle. Perhaps in 1174 their nervousness, coming on top of lack of food, helped to force Robert de Vaux's hand - there is no evidence that he contemplated withdrawing into the castle and continuing to hold out there. In fact there

was nothing shameful in its defenders promising to surrender a fortress should no assistance arrive before an agreed date; a proper resistance was certainly called for – his instantaneous surrender of Appleby castle in this same year cost Gospatric son of Orm five hundred marks, for all that he was an old man (Johnstone 1981, 109; *PR* 22 Henry II, 119) – but garrisons were not expected to fight to the death, and a conditional surrender on terms was quite permissible. If Benedict of Peterborough is correct in saying that Michaelmas was the date before which relief must arrive if Carlisle was to be saved for the English king, then Henry II would have had about three months in which to organise an expedition to Cumberland. But in the event the need did not arise, for the Scots now went back to the North East, and it was there, on 13 July 1174, while besieging Alnwick, that William the Lion was defeated and captured, so bringing the war in the north to an end.

Carlisle and the extension of royal control 1174–1189

King William's defeat, in the nearest thing to a pitched battle seen in either 1173 or 1174, was itself an adjunct to a siege, and the war had otherwise consisted entirely of sieges – arguably the last war in English history to do so (Beeler 1966, 186). In Cumberland some Englishmen, perhaps as much in self-defence as out of residual loyalty to the region's former rulers, went over to the Scots (*PR* 22 Henry II, 119; *PR* 23 Henry II, 121–2): there was a good deal of devastation (*PR* 24 Henry II, 125), and several second-rate castles were captured. But at Carlisle both city and castle held out, thereby inhibiting the movements of the Scots in the north west – half their army had to stay behind to blockade the city in 1174 – and, indeed, outside it, since while Carlisle and other northern fortresses remained uncaptured, there could be no question of King William bringing assistance to his allies in the Midlands and East Anglia. Cumberland could not be regarded as conquered until Carlisle had fallen, and since Carlisle did not fall the Scottish king's control of North West England remained incomplete. This is not to say that the English king's writ had always run as freely there as Henry II would have liked. Northern England's distance from centres of royal government and regional tradition alike meant that 'northern administration was a family affair' (Holt 1961, 202) controlled by the local ruling classes as much in their own interests as in those of the king they nominally represented. The destruction in the war of 1173–74 was such that no sheriff accounted for Cumberland between 1174 and 1177 (*PR* 20 Henry II, 107; *PR* 21 Henry II, 185) but then there appear clear signs of the king's determination to integrate the North West more fully into the rest of his realm. Clearly defined counties of Cumberland and Westmorland now appear in the records of the Exchequer (*VCH Cumb* I, 309–11); the former had previously accounted under the name of Carlisle. What is more, the grip of local dynasties – Vauxes, Morevilles, Stutevilles and the rest – on local government was broken (Holt 1961, 202–3), and royal justices, upholders of the king's peace and the king's rights, began to visit the North West at regular intervals (Stenton 1966, Appendix I, xlvii–ccxciv). Finally, in 1186, Henry II himself came to Carlisle (Stubbs 1867, 349) and his visit led to further building in Carlisle castle.

Royal itineraries were also tours of inspection of royal buildings, and often led to repairs, improvements and additions to castles and palaces (Brown 1955, 374–5). In 1186, probably in advance of the king's visit in July or August of that year, £26 was spent on a chamber for the king and 62s 7d on repairs to the castle bridge (*PR* 32 Henry II, 97), and work went on afterwards, so demonstrating that royal interest in, and presumably visits to, Cumberland could be expected to continue. In 1187 another £40 was spent on the king's chamber, together with a little tower, as well as 10s on the timber-work of the keep (*PR* 33 Henry II, 94), and in 1188 a total of £17 4s 2d on keep and chamber, the latter being now said to have been completed (*PR* 34 Henry II, 190). The chamber was the most important addition to the castle buildings since the new gate of the 1160s; it marks the beginning of a whole complex running along the east wall of the inner ward, and was certainly the forerunner, and probably the basis, of the palace of Edward I's reign. The little tower may well have been another part of it, perhaps standing where Queen Mary's Tower later stood, in the south-east angle of the inner ward, and acting, like its successor, as 'a new stone tower for the king's chamber' (PRO *E372/153* m2). The appearance of a chapel in 1198 (*PR* 9 Richard I, 21), of some splendour, judging by thirteenth-century references to its panelling and glass windows, (*CCR 1242–1247*, 166; *CLR 1240–1245*, 220–1), together with a chaplain for it (Wilson 1915, no 448) may also have resulted from the beginning of the palace, something better being doubtless required for the royal devotions than whatever structure had served for the garrison hitherto, whether or not that had been squeezed into the forebuilding of the keep. It seems likely that this development of what was in effect a royal suite was responsible for other additions which had the effect, and very possibly the intention, of reducing the interdependence of city and castle and of restoring to the latter, as the centre of Carlisle's defences, something of that freedom of action which, as the events of 1174 had shown, too close a relationship could imperil. Thus in 1194 the castle acquired a granary, a horse-powered mill and a lime-kiln (*PR* 5 Richard I, 75), itself an aid to further building, thereby gaining an additional reserve of food and the means of grinding its contents into meal which would enable the garrison to continue to feed itself should the castle be cut off from the water-mills powered by the rivers below. Work on the castle gate and on the bridge between castle and city, recorded in 1197 and 1198 (*PR* 8 Richard I, 21; *PR* 9 Richard I, 179), may have been made necessary by wear and tear caused by the building works themselves, or they may have have constituted some more fundamental alteration, perhaps an overhaul of the entrance to the outer ward intended to hinder access from the city to the castle.

Disappointingly little is known of the mechanics of the building operations on the twelfth-century castle. Fortress-building, a part of the Anglo-Saxon *trimoda necessitas*, and as such a duty to which all the king's

subjects were liable, could still be demanded after 1066 (Hollister 1965, 139) though not always by the king – one late twelfth-century Cumbrian charter refers to *castelwerke* as due to the lord of Allerdale (*VCH Cumb, I*, 321). It may be that whatever structure was first erected to defend Carlisle in 1092 was raised by forced labour mobilised on the authority of this universal obligation, and perhaps similar summonses were occasionally issued later, but for extended work programmes it is more likely that hired labour was employed, under the direction of the sheriff. If the latter was a man like Robert de Vaux, an experienced soldier, then he would probably not need much instruction or supervision, but he might still occasionally get professional oversight, as in 1173, when the works were examined by Wulfric *Ingeniator*, one of the small group of military specialists whom the Angevin kings employed to direct works on their castles (*PR* 19 Henry II, 113; Brown 1955, 368–74; Brown *et al* 1963, 60) – it is clear that the kings, like the chronicler William of Newburgh who coined the phrase, regarded their castles as the 'bones of the kingdom' (Brown 1955, 361), and treated them with appropriate consideration and respect. 1173 was a year of emergency, and it was otherwise unusual for buildings at Carlisle to be supervised by an expert; but works on Carlisle castle, as on other royal fortresses, were always liable, when undertaken on any scale, to be 'viewed' by men appointed to the task of ensuring that the king's money had been appropriately spent (Brown *et al* 1963, 54–5). These 'viewers' were local men; of the four named for the works on the king's chamber and elsewhere between 1187 and 1192 (*PR* 33 Henry II, 94; *PR* 34 Henry II, 190; *PR* 3&4 Richard I, 52), two, probably three, can be identified from other sources. Wibert son of Hakun was a property-holder in the city (*C Char R* 1300–26, 93–4), and Richard son of Akun was presumably his brother, while Reginald Bradfot was one of the jurors called upon in 1201 to supply the *Curia Regis* with information about the early descent of manors round Carlisle and was probably related to the Henry Bradfot who gave a tenement in the city to Melrose abbey (*Cur Reg R* I, 387–8; Innes 1837, 157–8). Doubtless important men among the burgesses of Carlisle, their involvement with the works on the castle must have had the effect of maintaining links between city and castle at a time when the works themselves were tending to distance the two.

The reign of John and the siege of 1216

The building of a palace within the castle should not be seen as evidence for any diminution in the latter's military importance. William the Lion continued to press his claim to England's northern shires, in 1199 even threatening to use force to uphold it (Duncan 1975, 240–1) and the English king's authority in them was still far from firmly established. It was probably for both these reasons that on Richard I's death in 1199 – news of which was followed by widespread disorder (Poole 1955, 429–30; Painter 1966, 12) – Hugh Bardolf spent £36 15s on knights and sergeants *'ad custodiam patrie'* in Cumberland, and William de Stuteville, who had been placed in charge of Border defences, spent £7 9s 8d on Carlisle castle (*Mem R* I John, 43; Holt 1961, 205). Once ensconced on his brother's throne, King John was to tackle the problem of making effective the claims of his government in the North with such vigour that the region became the centre of resistance to his rule, while the continuous pressure he maintained on William the Lion led to a political and military alliance being made between that king (and, after 1214, his successor Alexander II) and the Northern barons (Holt 1961, 204), an alliance which would have serious consequences for Carlisle. But in 1199 that still lay some way in the future, and in the meantime Carlisle, as the centre of royal power in Cumberland, was to play an important part in John's implementation of his policies in the North. John himself came to Carlisle four times[2], and it was doubtless for the first of these descents, in February 1201, that the castle was stocked with corn, pigs, cheese, kegs of butter, salt and wine, at a total cost of £137 6s 1d (*PR* 2 John, 242–3) – impressive evidence of the scale and impact of a royal visit. Not for the first time, it was followed by an extensive and expensive programme of works and repairs. What these were is not always clearly defined. In 1202 Carlisle and the other royal castles in Cumberland got what were probably only superficial repairs to their ditches, palisades and fences (*PR* 3 John, 253), but in 1203 £47 was spent on unspecified works (*PR* 4 John, 255), in 1204 £61 10s 9d on repairs to the gates and to the 'king's houses' (*PR 5 John*, 253), the latter being doubtless the buildings in the inner ward, and in 1205 no less than £116 4s 1d, together with fifty marks on corn, pigs and other foods (*PR* 6 John, 141). Beyond the fact that in 1205 timber from Inglewood forest was needed for repairs to the castle (*RLC* I, 26) there is no evidence for the nature of the works of that year.

It is clear that Carlisle castle was being kept in a state of military readiness in the early years of the thirteenth century. In 1204 £12 was recorded as paid to the knights in the castle (*PR* 5 John, 253), presumably reinforcements; in November of that year sixty marks were paid to Roger de Lacy for fortifying Carlisle (*RLC* I, 15), and in March 1205 a group of eight crossbowmen was sent to him and orders were given for stocking the castle with corn (*RLC* I, 21). These measures seem more likely to have been intended for its defence against Scots and disaffected Englishmen than as preparations for another royal visit (not in fact made until February 1206). The Scottish king had continued to demand the return of Cumberland and Northumberland – in 1205 there were Anglo-Scottish negotiations over these counties (Duncan 1975, 241) – and in the aftermath of John's loss of Normandy in 1204, as the danger of a French invasion in the following year became increasingly apparent (Poole 1955, 439–40), there may have been fears that the Scots would become involved in the French preparations, as they were to be a few years later (Duncan 1975, 243–4). At the same time, John's methods of raising money for the defence of his realm had exacerbated relations between himself and his northern barons, already tense and suspicious, in a region always disorderly, to such an extent that in the latter months of 1204 and the early months of 1205 the

North was 'on the verge of open war' (Holt 1961, 205). The works at Carlisle should be seen primarily in the context of John's response to the crisis of this period – the placing of northern shires and lordships in loyal and capable hands, the reinforcement of northern garrisons, Carlisle among them (Painter 1966, 251–2; Holt 1961, 206–7). Regrettably, there is no evidence for works on the castle between 1205 and the last year of John's reign, though it is unlikely, given the prominence of Northerners in the opposition to John and the importance of Carlisle in the king's struggle to maintain his position in an increasingly turbulent and disorderly region, that there were none – John visited Carlisle in 1206, 1208 and 1212, and in the light of past practice one would expect repairs, at least, to have been made before and after each coming. But the only indication that any care was taken for the castle's maintenance in these years is provided by an order in 1215 that the city farm of £60 be allowed to Robert de Ros *'in custodia castri nostri Karleol'* (*RLC* I, 194), and that money may have been intended for the garrison rather than the fabric. The money spent on the castle was important to the city's economy, but it did not make John better loved in Carlisle, which was probably antagonised by his refusal to grant the citizens their fee-farm in 1201 (*PR* 3 John, 255) and by the heavy tallage – of nearly 550 marks – which he exacted from them in 1210 (*PR* 12 John, 139). When civil war finally broke out between king and barons, the burgesses sided with the alliance of Scots and Northerners against John, and when the barons awarded Carlisle to Alexander II, the new king of Scots (Holt 1961,132), the city is said to have surrendered willingly, 'as King John had done it many injuries', opening its gates on 8 August 1216 (Palgrave 1837, 74; Stevenson, 1839, 8). The castle, however, under the command of Robert de Vieuxpont, who had recently made repairs to the fabric and augmented the garrison (*RLC* I, 247), held out for King John, thereby, perhaps, underlining the value of the additions of the 1190s, and had to be reduced by force.

What little evidence there is suggests a hard-fought siege of a castle well-equipped to resist, too well-equipped, indeed, to be easily starved out. In 1233 the sheriff accounted for repairs to 'the wall of the same castle where miners dug when A. king of Scots besieged that castle' (*PR 1222–1260*, 45–6), while in the late 1250s commissioners inspecting the castle reported to the king that 'Maunsell's tower, and William de Ireby's tower, and the tower over the inner gate, which were thrown down and damaged in the great war in the time of the illustrious King John your father, were never afterwards rebuilt or repaired' (Shirley 1866 II, 124–5), details which suggest that the Scots had to fight their way in by stages, possibly along the lines of the scenario proposed earlier (p 122). Since the city had fallen to them without resistance, the outermost line of the defences had not had to be fought for. But to capture the castle all available means probably had to be used – from the damage to the towers it looks as if the Scots employed siege-engines as well as sappers. William de Ireby's tower – presumably named after the royal servant to whom John in 1211 or 1212 gave Gamblesby and Glassonby together with their heiress, and who early in 1215 was sent to Carlisle with a number of the king's dogs, apparently staying there into the following year (Roberts 1836, 267; *PR* 14 John; *RLC* I, 184, 256) – was the outer gatehouse, and the damage done to it implies that it was the south curtain which the Scots mined, from inside the city. Having broken into the outer ward, there was still the inner ward to be tackled, with consequent damage to the latter's gatehouse, and then, perhaps, a last stand in ths keep before fighting ceased. Walls and buildings had been badly battered, and though Carlisle was restored to English rule in 1217, the scars would remain visible for many years to come.

Notes

1 I am not convinced by the arguments of Kapelle, 1979, that Cumberland had 'fallen away from the Scottish kingdom' and that Dolfin was its independent ruler.

2 For John's itineraries see T D Hardy (ed), *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium* Vol I Part I (Record Commission, 1835), unnumbered pages after introduction.

7 Carlisle Castle 1217–96

Recovery and renewal 1217–23

The Scottish occupation of Carlisle lasted little more than a year. The defeat of his English allies at Lincoln on 20 May 1217 left Alexander II, already an excommunicate, increasingly isolated in the North, and once the English civil war had been effectively ended by the Treaty of Kingston on 12 September he had little choice but to come to terms. On 23 September William Marshal, head of Henry III's minority government, requested the surrender of Carlisle – and instructed the great men of the North to take steps to recover it by force if necessary (Painter, 1967, 250) – and the Scottish king seems to have made no demur, though achieving the surrender took a little time. On 1 December Alexander was absolved from his sentence of excommunication at Berwick by the bishop of Durham and the archbishop of York, after which the latter at once rode to Carlisle 'to take seisin of the castle by order of the lord king of Scotland on behalf of the king of England', subsequently handing it over to the sheriff of Cumberland (Anderson and Anderson 1936, 69; PRO *E143/1/2* no 1). Nothing further is recorded of Carlisle or its castle until 1222, when as part of a nationwide programme of taking royal castles back under central control (Powicke 1947, 49–60), castle and county were entrusted to Walter Mauclerc, an experienced royal servant who would soon become bishop of Carlisle. The move may have been given urgency by the earl of Aumale's revolt in the previous year, an ultimately insignificant rising which had nevertheless alarmed the central government and led to orders for a siege of Cockermouth castle (ibid, 52–55; *RLC* I, 474); royal power was still vulnerable in northern England, and it was essential that the king's castles remain in trustworthy hands.

Walter Mauclerc took possession of Carlisle Castle on 5 April 1222. He found it empty of supplies, and though the demesnes had been sown with grain by the previous sheriff, Walter still had to accept gifts of flour for the castle and oxen to till its demesnes from the bishop, of a crossbow and more oxen from Thomas de Moleton, and of seedcorn to sow on the demesnes from the citizens (Shirley 1862, 184–5). The pannage of the royal forests in Cumberland was allocated to Mauclerc 'to maintain himself in our service in Carlisle Castle' (*RLC* I, 512), and the justiciar of Ireland was instructed to send 500 quarters of corn and 40 tuns of wine to stock it (ibid, 513). Wages were paid to a company of seven crossbowmen (ibid, 524). These may have been there before 1222, but now, to ensure that they were properly equipped, crossbows were sent from Nottingham and bolts from Newcastle (ibid, 502, 512–13). The state of the castle itself, after its siege in 1216, is likely to have been fairly dilapidated, and steps were taken to make it fit for habitation, with the sheriff being instructed to spend up to £10 on repairing houses and the keeper of Inglewood forest to provide him with timber (ibid, 502). Early in 1223 these orders were repeated, with the sheriff being now licensed to spend up to twenty marks on repairs to the keep and timber from Inglewood to be supplied for joists (*RLC* I, 535). Such repairs certainly did not amount to the comprehensive overhaul the castle undoubtedly needed, but in the early 1220s it was probably thought important to get the castle back into some sort of working order. There was no imminent threat from Scotland at the time, but Alexander II had not abandoned his ancestral claim to the northern shires of England (Duncan 1975, 525–7), and since there is no sign that the Scottish occupation of Carlisle in 1216 and 1217 had been unpopular there – on the contrary, the citizens had actively welcomed it, and the cathedral canons had cooperated with the excommunicate Scottish king to the extent of electing a new bishop under his direction (*CEPR* I, 1198–1304, 48; *CPR* 1216–25, 111) – it was clearly desirable that the castle should be made safe for the English crown, both for the security of the border and for the upholding of royal rights in the North.

Peaceful neglect 1223–1256

Henry III's minority government seldom spent much money on the castle. Only in 1227, when 100 marks were spent on the joists and lead roofing of the keep (*PR 1222–60*, 17–18)[1], was there any noteworthy departure from a programme of fairly regular but obviously small-scale repairs. Perhaps even in the 1220s the peaceful relations with Scotland then prevailing had the effect of soon calling the castle's military usefulness into question – as they were to do for most of the rest of the century – and so inevitably made the central government reluctant to spend the large sums needed for its proper maintenance. It continued to be a symbol of power and a seat of authority, but in neither of these capacities did it require continuous and expensive rebuilding. But if the fabric received only superficial attention, at any rate measures were taken to ensure that its keeper was properly rewarded – indeed, he may well have seen to this himself, since Walter Mauclerc was not only sheriff of Cumberland from 1222 and bishop of Carlisle in the following year, but also, from 1227, treasurer of England. At first he seems to have received £40 *per annum* for the custody of the castle, but in 1226 or 1227 this was raised to 100 marks, and he also received the issues of four carucates of land attached to the castle – a substantial acreage likely to have comprehended a large proportion of the castle demesnes – while in 1230 the king was said to have granted him 'the profit of the county and manors and the issues of four carucates of royal demesne for the custody of the county and castle of Carlisle to maintain himself in his service...' (ibid, 16, 18, 27, 31). From this revenue Mauclerc maintained himself and his household, the latter presumably making up the peacetime garrison, but not, however, the castle and its buildings, repairs to which were still accounted for to the Exchequer.

In fact few repairs on any scale were made, and the damage done in 1216 was obviously not made good. Perhaps it was because there were still holes in the walls that in 1232 the sheriff was ordered to construct a circuit of palisading round the castle (*CCR* 1231–4, 90). In the same year the city received a grant of murage to assist the upkeep of *its* walls (*CPR* 1225–32, 483–484), while in the following year £11 was spent on repairing a breach in one of the castle's towers and in the wall

where Scottish sappers had mined it seventeen years before (*PR 1222–60*, 45–6). By then the need for repairs had been brought home to the central government by events earlier in 1233, as Bishop Mauclerc, a leading member of the government headed by the justiciar Hubert de Burgh, had become involved in the latter's fall from power in the summer of 1232. Mauclerc held on to his offices for a while, and when he was replaced as sheriff of Cumberland in January 1233 he appears to have resisted his supersession. Like the justiciar, he had tried to maintain himself in power by obtaining royal letters promising him security in his various offices, including the keepership of Carlisle castle and the shrievalty of Cumberland (Powicke 1947, 79–80). Now he seems to have asserted his rights by shutting himself up in the castle, for on 6 February the king instructed the sheriff to have it blockaded if it had not been surrendered to him within a fortnight, while all the bishop's lay possessions were to be taken into the king's hand (PRO *C60/32* m8). In the event Mauclerc surrendered without a fight, agreeing to pay £1000 'for having peace for all the plaints and actions which the king had against him because of his treasurership', promising to give up the 'charters' securing him in his offices, and finally retiring into temporary exile (PRO *C60/32 m7*; Stevenson 1839, I, 42). But the episode must have brought out the actual weakness as well as the potential importance of Carlisle castle, and prompted a temporary concern for its improvement.

Any concern that this incident aroused did not, however, last very long. Minor repairs went on being made in the 1230s and 1240s, but they rarely cost more than the £5 *per annum* which from the early years of Henry III's reign sheriffs were licensed to spend on the king's buildings without the prior authorisation of a royal writ (Brown *et al* 1963, 115), and there was no substantial programme of repairs. An important reason for this was certainly the Treaty of York in 1237, by which the King of Scots resigned his claim to the three northern shires of England and became instead an English landowner, endowed with lands in Northumberland and Cumberland with a yearly value of £200; his contacts with Carlisle castle should henceforth have been entirely peaceful, since it was there that he was to render service for his English possessions, in the shape of a red falcon to be handed over to the constable every August 15th (Rothwell 1975, 354). In the aftermath of the treaty Henry III instructed the sheriff of Northumberland to spend as little as possible on the royal castles of Newcastle and Bamburgh because 'the king is not now in fear of his castles as before' (ibid, 355), and a similar attitude doubtless prevailed towards the castles of Cumberland. It is hardly surprising that the allowance paid to the sheriff for the custody of Carlisle Castle was drastically cut – William de Dacre, sheriff, from 1236 to 1248, received only a tun of wine valued at 40s' each year (*PR 1222–60*, 136).

The Treaty of York did not in fact bring an end to all Anglo-Scottish friction, but when trouble next arose, the North West was not involved. A crisis in 1244 nearly led to war, as Henry III, suspecting that Alexander II was plotting an alliance with France to the detriment of England, assembled an army at Newcastle and ordered the building of a stone castle at York as he passed by (Duncan, 1975, 535–6; Brown *et al* 1963, I, 113). The crisis blew over and the kings were reconciled. For the borders this was undoubtedly a blessing, but for Carlisle the assuagement of tension almost certainly meant that it was deprived of a royal visit which might, on the lines of past royal visits, have prompted much-needed works on the fortifications. Early in June 1244 the mayor and bailiffs of Carlisle were ordered to have ten tuns of wine bought at Boston and to hand them over to the constable of the castle, 'so that the king may find them on his coming there' (*CCR* 1242–7, 193), and other preparations were made – in March 1244 the sheriff was told to have the tower at the castle gate repaired, together with a part of the wall which had lately fallen down, and to have the castle chapel wainscoted and glazed (*CCR* 1242–7, 166; *CLR* 1240–5, 220–41). It was probably these repairs and improvements for which the sheriff claimed an expenditure of 27 marks in the following year (*PR 1222–1260*, 111–2). But in the end Henry III did not cross the Pennines, and with peace resecured in the North the old pattern of inexpensive patchwork repairs was resumed. The crown can hardly have been unaware of the extent to which the castle fabric was deteriorating, but no significant action was taken. When William de Dacre was replaced as sheriff at the end of April 1248, commissioners were appointed, as was usual on such occasions, to inspect the castle and report on its condition (*CPR* 1247–58, 30). In July of that year the new sheriff was ordered to have repairs made (*CLR* 1245–51, 193), but only £5 was spent in each of 1249, 1250, 1251, 1253 and 1254, in 1252 just 19s $5^{1}/_{2}$d (*PR 1222–60*, 139, 146, 153, 163). In May 1253 and May 1255 the sheriff received further orders to make necessary repairs (*CCR* 1251–53, 354; *CLR* 1251–60, 130, 220), but these did nothing to break the pattern, and when, in October 1255, Robert de Brus was replaced as sheriff and commissioners were once more appointed to examine the castle and inform the king about its condition (*CPR* 1247–58, 445), there was nothing in their report which should have caused surprise.

The report of (?)1256 and the thirteenth-century castle

Henry III may have appreciated the importance of his castles (Brown *et al* 1963, 119), but he clearly rated some castles more highly than others, and the report that emerged from the commission of 1255, probably in the spring of 1256 (Shirley 1866, 124–125)[2], does not suggest that his government had any very high opinion of the importance of Carlisle. A list of the major castles of England included among the Provisions of Oxford in 1258 reinforces this conclusion – Carlisle is not in it (Treharne and Sanders 1973, 112–3). Nevertheless, the report sheds a good deal of light on the way the castle had developed and the uses to which it was put, as well as the extent to which it had been neglected. Its condition was deplorable, for the commissioners to say that they had found it *'in malo statu'* reads like a considerable understatement. On the keep, the lead gutters, the doors and the windows were defective, joists and planks were rotten, walls in bad condition. The

queen's chamber, a lead-roofed structure, badly needed repairing and reroofing, and its chimney was on the verge of falling. The 'Maunsell tower' and the gatehouses of the inner and outer wards, damaged in 1216, had never been repaired; the last of these, William de Ireby's tower, was split from top to bottom, and part of it, at least, had apparently fallen, along with other buildings, in a heavy gale in 1245 (*CLR* 1240–5, 298). A whole assembly of other buildings – chapel, great hall, kitchens, granaries, stables, bakeries, breweries, together with the bridges inside and outside the castle – all needed repairing and reroofing. The report pinpointed several of the castle's enemies. The Scots, responsible for the damage to the towers, were one obvious menace, the weather another and more permanent one – in a part of England with a high annual rainfall, Carlisle Castle was inevitably vulnerable to its effects. Yet another threat was that of fire. A brattice – a prefabricated wooden gallery made to project from the upper levels of a wall in order to allow the defenders to command its foot – had been blown down from Maunsell's tower by the wind and subsequently burnt, and the doors and windows of the keep, stables and kitchen had suffered the same fate, as had most of the palisades inside and outside the castle. There had been a serious fire in the city in 1251 (*CCR* 1247–51, 467), which could have spread to the castle, though the latter may have suffered a disaster of its own. When so many of the buildings were either made of wood or had wooden fittings – hence the recurrent demand for oaks from Inglewood forest – not even incessant rain could eliminate the danger from fire. And on top of all these dangers to the fabric, there was the negligence of the central government which was ultimately responsible for the castle's good condition.

The castle may have been neglected since the major works of the early years of John's reign, but that does not mean that it had not changed since then, still less that it was only used in time of war. The basic layout of the castle, inner and outer wards with the keep at the centre, had indeed remained unaltered, and would continue to be so. But the open spaces within that framework had continued to fill up with buildings, many of them recorded in 1256 for the first time. Much of that building was probably in the inner ward, to accompany the king's chamber built under Henry II, a whole complex coming to stand, as was usual for the halls and domestic buildings in medieval castles, against the side of the inner ward least vulnerable to attack (Thompson 1912, 189) in Carlisle's case the east side. The king's chamber, roofed in lead in 1239 (*PR 1222–60*), was by 1256 accompanied by a queen's chamber, similarly roofed, which may have been constructed against the abortive royal visit of 1244. Nearby would have been the great hall, also mentioned in the report of 1256, whose repair had been ordered in 1248 (*CLR* 1245–51, 193) though seemingly to little purpose. The chapel, apparently built in the 1190s and repaired in 1244 or 1245 (*CCR* 1242–7, 166; *CLR* 1240–5, 220–1, 241), doubtless made a part of this complex, as presumably did such necessary domestic amenities as a kitchen and a larder, the latter first mentioned in 1240 (*CLR* 1226–40, 459). Stables, granges, bakeries and breweries, as well as the horse-mill and lime-kiln of 1194, seem more likely to have stood in the outer ward. There is no mention of living-quarters for the garrison, and no evidence for the latter's size in the mid-thirteenth century, though in the years after 1237 it seems likely to have been small. But whether they lived in the keep or in the great hall, soldiers and sheriff's staff are unlikely to have been very comfortable.

Mention of the sheriff's staff underlines the fact that the castle had functions other than the purely military, although these might have partly military connotations. Thus it was the centre for the administration of the royal demesnes round Carlisle, and as the report of 1256 shows and other evidence confirms, these were professionally run with a staff of *famuli* (paid agricultural labourers) and the necessary complement of stots and oxen for ploughing (PRO *E372/105* m20d; *E372/115* m16d; *E372/121* m25). The original purpose of the demesnes was to provide supplies of food for the castle (it had been to till the land round Carlisle that William Rufus had imported southern peasants back in 1092), hence the references in 1256 to the fodder for the draught animals, the hay and straw for the horses of the sheriff, constable and other servants, and the liveries of food for the *famuli* – all were to be provided by the demesnes. But they were also a source of revenue; parts of the demesnes might be farmed out, and even then the rest seem often to have produced more fodder and food than the castle could consume, and then their surpluses might be sold, sometimes at Carlisle Fair (PRO *E101/505/5*). In 1256 it was found that the granges were practically empty, leaving little in the way of seedcorn, liveries or fodder. The very low allowance for the custody of the castle given in the 1250s may have been one reason for this – as much as possible had been sold to raise cash needed to pay for day-to-day maintenance. But there may have been a problem of storage as well, perhaps another consequence of a damp climate and heavy rainfall, which the bad condition of the granaries would certainly have accentuated, for although corn, barley and oats from the demesnes were sold, money was nonetheless sometimes spent on considerable quantities of seedcorn and also on buying flour for the *famuli*, and it is hard to see why a policy so apparently contradictory should have been adopted unless the produce of the demesnes could not be satisfactorily kept through the winter. When in May 1260 the sheriff was ordered to have sold 'all the grain from the demesnes of the king's castle at Carlisle which is in the castle's granaries' (PRO *C60/57* m7), this may have been because that grain was otherwise in danger of rotting.

When supplies from the demesnes ran out, no doubt food was often obtained in the city, either by purchase or, where necessary, by prise or purveyance, that is, by simply taking what was required with the promise of future payment. A charter of 1234 defined the extent of purveyance permissible to royal officials in Carlisle along lines which resembled, but broadened, those laid down by the 1225 reissue of Magna Carta. In that reissue, officials could take no goods by purveyance from anyone not of the town in which the relevant castle was situated, while goods taken from inhabitants must be paid for within forty days (Holt 1965, 354); at Carlisle, either the city was not deemed rich

enough to provide all that was required, or the citizens were permitted as a privilege to share with others a burden which would otherwise have fallen on them alone, for it was only merchants from outside Cumberland who had to be given immediate payment for anything so taken from them, and the merchants of the whole county, not just Carlisle, who must be paid for their requisitioned goods within forty days (*C Char R* 1226–51, 363–4). Perhaps it was appropriate that purveyance in Carlisle should subsequently have come to be a regular toll on the city's trade – at the 1292/93 eyre it was presented that it had become customary for the sheriff to take a penny for every shilling's worth of goods put up for sale in the city, for the safeguarding (*ad wardam*) of the castle (PRO *JUST/1/137* m5d). That this should have been so demonstrates the continued closeness of castle and city, which in the thirteenth century, as earlier, still formed a single defensive unit, its two components threatened by external enemy and internal danger alike – the castle may have suffered from the fire of 1251, it certainly did so from that of 1292, which destroyed its bridge (*CCR* 1288–96, 240–1; PRO *E159/66* m58). Grants of murage to enable the city to maintain its walls often coincided closely with works on the castle, most notably in 1261, when a grant of murage to the citizens and an order of repairs to the castle were issued on the same day (*CPR* 1258–66, 178; *CCR* 1259–61, 448). Neither the franchise of return of writs, which the citizens claimed to have in 1292 (Illingworth 1818, 121), and which would have had the effect of preventing the sheriff from interfering in the government of the city, nor the continuing internal development of the castle, which can only have accentuated the latter's potential self-sufficiency, did as much to push castle and city apart as geographical proximity, military necessity and the castle's need for services and supplies did to keep them together.

Carlisle Castle was the centre of royal administration in Cumberland, and contained the sheriff's offices – there was an exchequer there for the receipt of revenue, probably in the thirteenth century, as later, in the outer gatehouse (*CCR* 1272–9, 200–1; PRO *C49/46/16*). Under the sheriff, the castle staff was headed by the constable, an officer whose powers seem never to have been precisely defined, but who appears to have been responsible for the day-to-day running of the castle and who often acted as its commander in times of war or civil disturbance. At such times he might obtain a large measure of independence of the sheriff – it was as constable that Robert de Vaux led Carlisle's resistance to the Scots in 1173 and 1174. But as a rule the constable was probably ultimately subordinated to the sheriff's authority. When in 1260 the sheriff was ordered to sell the contents of the castle granaries, the constable was instructed to allow the sale to proceed, and the wording of the king's command probably reflects the relative powers of the two officers – the constable in charge of the castle, but with no authority to exclude the sheriff, the king's principal official in the whole county, the castle included, and as such the man at whose bidding, in the last resort, royal orders were executed and the king's interests upheld. But if the sheriff could overrule the constable when he had to, at most times there was probably a division of responsibility (except when, as sometimes happened, sheriff and constable were one and the same person, for example Roger de Leyburne, *CLR* 1267–72, 257), perhaps even something of a condominium. Repairs and alterations were usually entrusted to the sheriff, but in 1253 it was to the constable that the justices for the northern forests were to give oaks for houses in the castle (*CCR* 1251–53, 354), while in 1235 both sheriff and constable received – and so presumably needed – pardons for the escape of six prisoners from the latter's custody (*CCR* 1234–7, 174). The bad state of William de Ireby's tower, which housed the county gaol, doubtless accounts for this and other break-outs (*CCR* 1242–7, 323)).

There was also a janitor, who appears to have had immediate custody of the gaol – when nine prisoners broke out in 1282, they killed the janitor and his son in the course of their escape (PRO *JUST/1/137* m24d) – and other responsibilities as well, notably the keeping of distraints for debts to the crown (PRO *JUST/1/137* m16), which were usually made in the form of livestock and which must have been brought to the castle and kept there until redeemed or sold. The report of 1256 mentions palisades inside and outside the castle. No doubt some of these fronted onto the outer and inner moats and divided the castle from the city on the former's south side; but it is likely that they were also used to make a pound for distrained cattle, while there may have been other enclosures too, for training or exercising horses, or storing carts or even catapults, which were sometimes made at Carlisle with wood from Inglewood forest – in 1262 the sheriff accounted for nearly £100 spent on two great catapults, which had been made in the city but which were then moved into the castle and put under cover there (PRO *E372/106* m10d). And there were other lesser officials, all the bailiffs and serjeants who executed the sheriff's orders, men like William de Ribton, serjeant to Robert de Creppinge when Robert was sheriff between 1272 and 1274, who with his master forced an approver imprisoned in the castle to accuse several innocent men of serious crimes, so that the accused could then be blackmailed into paying for a withdrawal of charges (PRO *JUST/1/131* m15). Not every story of cruelty, oppression and corruption attributed to the occupants of medieval castles is the product of an over-romantic imagination.

Carlisle Castle in the Barons' Wars 1258–67

Little action followed the report of 1256; neither the dismal tones of the report itself, nor further Anglo-Scottish tension in the late 1250s (Duncan 1975, 569–71), prompted any further outlay on the castle beyond the usual minimum payments of £5 in each year between 1256 and 1259 (*PR 1222–60*, 189). As already observed, Carlisle was not ranked among the kingdom's major castles in 1258, and although in the spring of 1261 Henry III complained that the baronial council at present ruling the country in his name had neglected the upkeep of the royal castles, and the council responded by ordering inquests and appropriate

remedies (Treharne and Sanders 1973, 216–7, 228–9), all that happened at Carlisle was an order in October of that year, when there was a royalist sheriff in office once more, for the repair of the castle's palisading (*CCR* 1259–61, 448). That a measure so limited should have represented part of a considered attempt to put Carlisle's defences in a state of military preparation – the city received another grant of murage on the very same day (*CPR* 1258–66, 178) – is probably another reflection of the central government's opinion of Carlisle's likely strategic unimportance. If so, it was an opinion soon to be shaken, for when civil war broke out in 1264 the castle seems to have been taken completely by surprise at first, and later to have been the centre of important, if obscure, operations. According to a presentment made at the 1285 Cumberland forest eyre, John de Eyville (one of the leaders of the baronial cause) and his men 'in wartime occupied Carlisle castle by force from Eustace de Balliol, and they released the prisoners in his custody in the same castle...' (PRO *E32/5* m3). Another presentment described John and at least sixteen others hunting deer with greyhounds 'on their return from Carlisle' (PRO *E32/5* m1d), an event which took place at some date between October 1263 and October 1264, but most probably in July 1264, since on 5 August Eustace de Balliol and other northern royalists were said to have been unable to come to London recently 'because of grievances which John de Eyvill, John de Vescy, Thomas de Moleton and Gilbert de Umframvill are trying to inflict upon them...' (*CPR* 1258–66, 364). The reference to greyhounds suggests less a substantial military expedition than a smash-and-grab raid intended to embarrass and confuse the king's supporters. Eustace de Balliol soon recovered the castle, if indeed he had ever truly lost it, and took steps to ensure that he did not lose control of it again, and though in January 1265 he was obliged to hand it over to the baronial nominee Thomas de Moleton (ibid, 399), in the autumn of that year it passed once more into royalist hands, this time those of Roger de Leyburne (*CPR* 1258–66, 507), who held it while hostilities lasted, until January 1267 (*CPR* 1266–72, 24).

There was clearly a good deal of military activity in the North West in these years, though regrettably little is known about it, and it seems to have prompted some work on the castle, not before time. It is rarely possible, however, to distinguish expenditure on works from payments for supplies and wages, as in 1268, when Eustace de Balliol claimed to have spent up to 400 marks on 'the munition and repair of the castle of Carlisle' (*CDS* I no 2481). In 1270 Balliol was allowed £49 0s $10^{1}/_{2}$d spent on works in the castle (*CLR* 1267–72, 1157), but whether this sum represents his total outlay on the castle there is no means of telling. It is at least clear, however, that the garrison was greatly augmented, a fact which makes it possible to see what sort of manpower was thought necessary for its defence in wartime. When Eustace de Balliol presented his accounts for the period between Michaelmas 1263 and mid-December 1264, he recorded a garrison of two knights, a mounted serjeant, 14 squires, 9 crossbowmen and 36 archers, 62 men in all, while between 13 December 1264 and the middle of January 1265, when Eustace surrendered his command, at a time of year when there was likely to be little fighting, there were still fifteen archers in the castle. Nor was that necessarily all, since Eustace also claimed allowance of money paid to other knights, serjeants, squires, crossbowmen and archers 'coming on divers occasions to the aid of the garrison and dwelling there during that time'. Altogether he had spent just over £500 'on the keeping and munition of the castle during the disturbance and war in the realm' (ibid, no 738). And there was more to come, for the defeat and death of Simon de Montfort in August 1266 does not appear to have brought an immediate end to baronial resistance in the North West – Henry III's dislike of his northern subjects, matching that of his father (Holt, 1961, 13), seems to have been similarly reciprocated. The extent of that resistance is attested by the fact of a royalist as important as Roger de Leyburne having to be sent to deal with it, as well as by the measures he found it necessary to take. In February 1266 he was ordered to have repairs made to the castle 'without fail where necessary' (*CLR* 1260–67, 198), and the need may well have been very real, since in the spring of 1267 Roger was found to have spent £195 6s 3d 'on the munition of the castle and pay of knights and serjeants there during the disturbance in the realm when it was manned against the king's enemies, who proposed to seize and hold it against him'. Repairs to the castle had cost £11 13s 7d (*CLR* 1267–72 no 257).

The late thirteenth-century castle 1267–96

There is in fact no certain evidence that Carlisle was attacked, rather than threatened, after 1264, unless expenditure on the demesnes in the years after the civil war had ended be construed as having been made necessary by devastation rather than neglect – in the autumn of 1269 £65 12s $1^{1}/_{2}$d was said to have been spent 'on ploughing and sowing the demesnes of the said castle' (PRO *E159/44* m1), and three years later just over £30 more was spent on the cultivation of the demesnes (PRO *E368/46* m10). This was a good deal more than was spent on the castle. In February 1269 the sheriff was ordered to have the keep and other buildings repaired (*CLR* 1267–72, no 600) and just over £12 was duly spent (PRO *E159/44* m1), while two months later the royal forests were required to supply twelve oaks for works on the hall and other houses (*CCR* 1268–72, 31). Two years later, in March 1271, another twenty oaks were needed for further repairs (ibid, 331), while in the following June yet more work was needed on the keep (*CLR* 1267–72, no 1593). All this represented less a methodical programme of essential restoration-work than a return to an earlier policy of piecemeal repairs to a castle in what was once more a strategic backwater. England's relations with Scotland were good in the 1270s and 1280s, and in most years only the usual £5 was allegedly spent on Carlisle castle. The word 'allegedly' is used advisedly, and the Exchequer might reasonably have been more suspicious. When Gilbert de Corewenne accounted in 1283 for his expenditure during the past two and a half years, he claimed, in defiance of all probability, to have

spent exactly £12 10s on repairs (PRO *E372/127* m4)[3]. In fact it is clear that this allowance had simply become a useful source of extra income for the sheriff. At the 1278/79 eyre it was presented that every holder of that office since 1261 (with one exception) had not really spent on the castle the 100 shillings allowed them by the exchequer (PRO *JUST/1/132* m33). Robert de Hampton, for instance, who had successfully claimed his £5 in 1277, was said to have been one of the offenders (PRO *E372/121* m10). It is hardly surprising that Gilbert de Corewenne's successor as sheriff, Robert de Brus, should have found the castle so 'greatly dilapidated' that he recommended that the money collected for the crusade should be stored elsewhere (*CDS* V, no 48). Only in 1280, when Edward I came to Carlisle, was there a slight increase in expenditure – a new bridge was built – and even then the total outlay was only £7 3s, together with a little over £23 spent on food for the king's household and horses (PRO *E372/124* m7d). If the king stayed in the castle, what he saw certainly did not cause him to order extensive works and repairs, rather all the signs are of continued neglect. In the years immediately after the Barons' Wars the sheriff was receiving £30 *per annum* for the custody of the castle (Kirby 1955, 133), but in 1279 this allowance was cut to £10, specifically because it was peacetime (PRO *E368/53 m1d*), and shortly afterwards the castle demesnes were farmed out to a consortium of Carlisle citizens (PRO *E372/127* m4) – the crown was now more concerned to have the revenue from them than to use them to ensure the castle's food supply.

Yet Edward I was a ruler in whose thinking castles bulked large, and not only in Wales. He financed important works on such fortresses as Corfe, Cambridge and the Tower of London (Brown 1976, 117–8, 120, 122), and ultimately he had long-needed repairs carried out at Carlisle. Unfortunately very little is known about them except their cost (PRO *E372/132* m25). The work was spread over three years between 1286 and 1288 and cost just over £200. Most of the expenditure, some £115, took place in 1287, which was also the year in which the king's foresters were ordered to supply the castle works with sixty oaks from Inglewood forest (*CCR* 1279–88, 442, 461). The use of so much timber suggests that a good deal of the work was on the outbuildings and interior fabrics – floors, windows, doors and the like – fighting their usual losing battle against wind and rain, and the stonework may have received less attention. There are certainly signs that the works of the 1280s did not go far enough – in 1302 the outer gatehouse seems to have been on the verge of collapse, and the sheriff complained that he could not have 'free entry or exit at the castle gate' (PRO *E207/1/3* no 13). Probably it had never been properly restored after its battering in 1216. But in the years around 1290 there may well have seemed little need for extensive works. Carlisle's defensive function had not in fact been entirely forgotten, at any rate by those who lived there; when a quarrel between the Priory and the Dominicans of Carlisle over a drain which the latter had made under the city wall onto the former's land led to the canons blocking the outflow of the drain with a great pile of beams and stones, the jurors who investigated the dispute at the 1292/93 eyre reported that 'if the vill was attacked by anyone in wartime in the future, the wall there could be more easily climbed with ladders or other devices than before the obstruction was made…' (PRO *JUST/1/136* m20d), but since England and Scotland had then been at peace for 75 years, it was probably thought unlikely that the issue would ever be put to the test. Even in 1295, when Edward I, having first presided over the proceedings which led to the nomination of a new King of Scots to succeed Alexander III, dead in 1286, and then begun to implement his claim to suzerainty over John Balliol's kingdom, stepped up his pressure on the Scots to recognise that claim (Powicke 1953, 613), a process which included making siege engines at Carlisle and carrying out minor works on its castle (PRO *E101/5/22* m6), there can certainly have seemed no reason to suppose that the war about to start would last for centuries.

Notes

1 The pipe roll entries, misdated by a year by their editor, have been corrected here and elsewhere.

2 A date in the early months of 1256 is suggested by the reference to the grain from the demesnes having been consumed in the autumn, leaving nothing for subsequent sowing.

3 Earlier repairs, also at £5 *per annum*, are recorded E372/121 m10 (1277), E372/122 m17 (1278), E372/173 m19 (1279).

8 The castle from 1296 to 1378

The beginnings of the Scottish Wars 1296–1311

War began on 26 March 1296 (Easter Monday), when the Scots made a sudden attack on Carlisle. Taken completely by surprise, which turned to confusion when a Scottish spy escaped from prison and started a fire which threatened to destroy the whole city, the burgesses owed their deliverance principally to the courage of their womenfolk, who kept the Scots at bay with stones and boiling water while the men put out the flames. Since the Scots had no artillery, surprise was the most powerful weapon in their arsenal, and when this failed they had little choice but to abandon the attack, which they duly did only two days after it had begun (Rothwell 1957, 272–4). A year later they returned, led by William Wallace, but this time did not even try to besiege Carlisle – Wallace, fresh from his victory at Stirling Bridge, tried to bluff his way into the city with threats of havoc and slaughter, but when the defenders showed themselves unmoved, he led his men off again (ibid, 304–5), though not before they had destroyed houses and gardens under the castle walls (PRO *E159/77* m13d). It would be some years before Carlisle would be seriously threatened again, but these raids of 1296 and 1297 had their effect, not least in a due appreciation on the part of the central government that after many years as a military and political backwater the city was once more likely to be a stronghold of importance. In 1295, as war became increasingly likely, city and castle were detached from the body of the county, forming a military unit which in 1297 came under the command of the bishop, John Halton (Kirby 1955, 134). The garrison in the castle, usually very small, was substantially reinforced in time for the attack of 1297, with 14 crossbowmen and 95 foot-soldiers being drafted in (Thompson 1913, i, 178–1), and afterwards a good deal of attention was paid to its defences; new brattices were erected round the walls, the three bridges were remade: ditches inside and outside were cleaned out, and the stonework of the walls at the gates was repaired (PRO *E372/147* m5). As well as some £20 to finance these works, the bishop was given 20 oaks from Inglewood forest for repairs to houses, bridges and battlements, and was also licensed to transfer 60 young pike to the castle moat, less, one may suppose, to provide his troops with sport in their leisure hours than to augment their rations (Raine 1873, 137).

The bishop held the castle until May 1304, when with its demesnes it was handed back to the sheriff (PRO *E159/77* m50). One reason for this was probably the administrative problems which had arisen as a result of the sheriff's diminished control of what had hitherto been the centre of royal government in Cumberland – in 1298 the sheriff went so far as to declare himself unable to produce three men charged with homicide in the court of King's Bench because they had been imprisoned in the castle, 'the keeping of which the bishop of Carlisle has by the king's commission', and though it was testified in court that in fact 'the custody of the king's prison remains in the sheriff's keeping' (PRO *KB27/154* m2), five or six years later another sheriff was complaining to the exchequer that the prison had collapsed, that he was having difficulty in obtaining access to the castle, that neither he nor the gaoler had any residence in it, and that neither in the castle nor in the city had he anywhere to hold the County Court (PRO *E207/1/3* no 13). This sheriff was John de Lucy, and since it was to him that the bishop surrendered the castle in May 1304, it may well have been this petition which persuaded the government to authorise the handover. But administrative reasons are unlikely to have been the only reason for the change in policy towards the castle. Early in 1304 Scottish resistance to English rule collapsed, apparently for good, and Carlisle's role as a strongpoint in the defence of the English borders and a military base for expeditions into Scotland must have seemed to be at an end; consequently there can have been no obvious justification for continuing to deprive the sheriff of control of the castle.

For nearly ten years, between 1295 and 1304, the castle had been administered with military objectives principally in mind. Paradoxically, however, although repairs and works are fairly often recorded during these years, they can seldom be attributed to purely military ends. Apart from those of 1297/98, perhaps only at Midsummer 1303, when brattices were constructed for the main gate and postern 'against the coming of the Scots in the march' (PRO *E101/482/22* m2) were such works carried out solely with a view to enhancing the castle's defensibility. The continuous attention given to gates, roofs and outbuildings was doubtless due in part to the perennial problems posed by wind and rain, but still more, in the years on either side of 1300, when English armies held the initiative and the Scots stood principally on the defensive, to the hard usage received by the castle in its capacity as a centre of operations for the war in southern Scotland. The castle became a depot for supplies sent from Ireland (*CDI*, no 462, 474, 487, 565; Thompson 1913, I 110–1), and its mills were used to grind flour for the troops which, with wine, was stockpiled in a purpose built storehouse erected in the outer bailey; that 174 cartloads of timber went into its making gives some idea of its likely size (PRO *E101/7/20* f8). Siege engines were kept there (*CDS* II, no 882), and so were Scottish prisoners – in 1301, following the capture of Turnberry castle, members of its garrison were brought to Carlisle and locked up in the keep, where they were secured by chains and fetters bought for the purpose and their movements further inhibited by iron bars placed across the windows (PRO *E101/482/18 verso*). Whole armies assembled at Carlisle, where for several years running their warhorses destroyed the castle meadows (PRO *E159/82* m46; *E159/83* mm44, 44d; *E368/79* m74; *E143/5/3* no 4), and the castle itself seems unlikely to have got off much more lightly. Wear and tear resulting from continuous heavy use may have been one reason for the bad state of the gatehouse – the main gate had to be repaired in 1302 (PRO *E101/482/22* m3), the prison and house above it rebuilt in 1305 or 1306 (PRO *E159/83* m45). The basic shape of the castle remained unaltered, but the unprecedented demands now being made on it must certainly have been respon-

sible for temporary or permanent additions to its component buildings – the storehouse in the outer bailey, which may have been identical with the new chamber near the mill referred to in 1303 (PRO *E101/482/22* m3), a wooden chapel for the queen when she visited Carlisle in 1307 (PRO *E101/369/11* f51), and, most striking of all, the buildings for the royal household in which the Parliament of that year assembled.

Edward I was a campaigning king, one who accompanied and led his own armies. As such he came several times to Carlisle, most notably in 1300, when he led a large force into Galloway at Midsummer and returned to Carlisle when the campaign was over, and in 1307, when he made an extended visit in the last months of his life. On the latter occasion, though he decorated the keep with the head of Thomas de Brus (Maxwell 1913, 179–180), he himself stayed in the Priory, where his comfort could probably be better ensured, but Queen Margaret stayed in the castle, where her soul was provided for by the construction of a chapel and her body by the installation of a bath (PRO *E101/369/11* f51). In the early months of 1307, as Edward I struggled against sickness and prepared to crush the rebellion of Robert Bruce, Carlisle was the centre of the realm, a fact which made it appropriate that Parliament should be summoned to meet there, at first in November 1306 but later in January 1307, remaining in session for about two months (Palgrave 1827, 181–90). The attendance was substantial, being enlarged (as was common with the Parliaments of this period) by the summoning of representatives of the lower clergy as well as of knights and burgesses to represent the commons. Even though not everybody summoned to attend did in fact do so, there may well have some 400 people in Carlisle for the Hilary Parliament of 1307. Although no source specifies the venue of this assembly, there can be little doubt that it was in the castle, in the 'great hall for the king's household' described in an inquest of 1318 (PRO *C145/82* no 9). Made of wood, with a roof of shingles, it was flanked by a great chamber and garderobe on one side and a pantry and buttery on the other, while nearby, and also made of timber, stood 'two chambers for knights and clerks', presumably those of the royal household. Unfortunately there is no evidence as to when this complex was constructed. Works on the 'great hall' are recorded in 1298 and 1301 (PRO *E372/147* m5; *E101/482/18* r), but the documents may well have been referring to the great hall in the inner bailey. Edward I made several visits to Carlisle in 1300, but they were all short (BL *Add MS* 41480; Topham 1787, lxviii), whereas his visit in 1307 had been long planned, and was only delayed because he lay sick at Lanercost for several months during the winter of 1306/7. The hall was more probably therefore put up during 1306 and afterwards taken for use by the Parliament.

When Edward I died, on 7 July 1307, although Robert Bruce was still in revolt and his fortunes on the mend, English arms still dominated Scotland, and it would certainly have been impossible to foresee that Carlisle would shortly be in the front line of resistance to Scottish attacks on northern England. Rather there must have seemed to be every reason for expecting that Carlisle would continue for some years yet to be a base for operations further north, and in that capacity to receive regular royal visits. It is this consideration which doubtless accounts for a major addition to the palace complex. Begun in August 1307, it may have been ordered by Edward I: the very fact that the great hall intended for his household was taken over by Parliament may have decided him to create extra space for his household elsewhere in the castle. It is just as likely however to have owed its origins to Edward II's hopes of being able to finish his father's work in Scotland – an expedition from Carlisle under his own leadership was planned for August 1308 but subsequently cancelled, probably for political reasons (*CCR* 1307–13, 70, 75). This addition consisted of a new stone tower for the king's chamber, situated in the south-east corner of the inner bailey, and with two little stone chambers, a chimney and two garderobes adjoining it.[1] Since this tower was pulled down, largely unrecorded, in the 1830s, practically all that is known about it must be derived from the far from detailed records of its construction, which describes it as built 'with two portcullises and double vaulting'. The former suggest a formidable entrance (appropriate for defending the king's person), presumably inside the inner bailey, with the two portcullises approached in sequence and a space between them, the latter a lofty structure with vaulted roofing on two floors, and, indeed, since the tower had reached a height of 28ft by December 1308, at which date it was obviously unfinished, and since there would be further works, at great expense, in progress until April 1312, it must ultimately have made a striking addition to the castle's skyline. The king's chamber was an administrative as well as a domestic institution. Under Edward I it was no more than the household department providing for the king's immediate needs – no unimportant responsibility – though at an informal level 'those standing about in his chamber' could give the king advice on matters of national importance (Prestwich 1980, 29). In the early years of Edward II's reign it was developed as a financial office independent of the exchequer, with an ultimately substantial revenue of its own (Chrimes 1966, 165). A large addition to the king's chamber in Carlisle castle may therefore be another pointer to the expectation that the king would be frequently resident there, and also, perhaps, that Carlisle would continue to play an important role as a centre of government, as it was briefly in 1307, as well as acting as a military base.

The castle's military function was certainly not neglected during the programme of works that began in 1307. The new tower was clearly the most important item on that programme, but the fortifications, and the equipment needed to defend them, were also attended to. The ditches outside the outer bailey were cleared out and palisades erected above them. Five springalds, arrow-throwing machines like outsize crossbows, were made, and a wooden turret was made for each of them, four to stand at the corners of the keep and the fifth to go over the 'little' postern, possibly on the west side of the outer bailey. Crossbows, quarrels and bolts were also supplied. A new, third, bridge was built, apparently at the entrance to the castle, which may well have needed additional means of access at a time when it can never have been busier, and a new cham-

ber was constructed at the main gate, with another chamber adjacent to it and two garderobes, all probably representing yet another attempt to ease the strain on the much battered and perpetually under-repaired gatehouse. Although Edward II did not after all return to Carlisle after 1307, and there was no further English expedition into Scotland until 1310, the war which continued to rage in Scotland was too far away from the Borders to give any urgency to the works at Carlisle, which therefore went on steadily rather than hurriedly. Most of it was done in the summer and early autumn months, from July to October, when the wages bill was highest, but as payments never entirely ceased it would appear that work of some sort was always in progress (PRO *E101/554/13–14*; *E101/683*, no 27). Many of the materials used were local in origin and obtained *in situ* – stone from a quarry at Wetheral, timber from Inglewood forest – but some had to be bought, perhaps in Carlisle market, things like metals, fodder for carthorses, coal, nails and resin, the last suggesting a determination to counter the destructive effects of the local climate by setting the stone in a more lasting mortar. The size and origins of the workforce is not mentioned, but from the fact that it included labourers, carters, masons, carpenters, sawyers, grooms, waggoners 'carrying stone and timber' and smiths, all under the immediate control of a clerk who supervised proceedings, kept records of their progress and paid the workmen, as well as from the scale of the works themselves, it may be deduced that it was a large one.

The ultimate director of the works was one Roland de Redynges, described as 'sent there by the king to order, supervise and attest those arrangements' and paid 3d a day for his services, and there can be no doubt that without the close cooperation of the king, or at any rate of the king's government, the work could not have gone forward. Some of the money needed came from local sources of revenue, the sheriff accounting between August 1307 and December 1308 for £335 19s received from local taxation, from the keeper of the king's victuals at Carlisle (an officer habitually used as a paymaster on the crown's behalf) and from the escheator. But since total expenditure during the same period amounted to £654 14s 8½d, the shortfall can only have been made up by grants of money from the crown, which can in fact be seen making other contributions to the works in the form of 15 horses, three carters and three grooms; the king's carters and the king's carthorses were still there in 1312 (PRO *E372/157* m32d). Cumberland was never a rich county, and its resources, which may have been considerably reduced by Scottish raids, particularly that of 1298 (PRO *E159/83* m44), were probably at no time such as to enable it to finance works such as these. Oxen and carthorses were bought by the sheriff (PRO *E159/93* m92) and another twelve oxen were taken by purveyance 'from the community of the county', but the king still had to send horses of his own, and he also had to pay out large sums of money. Following the money already spent in 1307 and 1308, almost exactly £600 more was spent between December 1308 and October 1309. Between October 1309 and April 1310 a further £146 19s 3½d was laid out, and £176 16s 7d between April 1310 and April 1312 (PRO *E372/157* m32d). In all £1579 16s 9d was spent, a sum which suggests that the castle had received the detailed restoration which it had undoubtedly needed and which was shortly to demonstrate its value.

The years of crisis 1311–1323

In 1311 came the first large-scale Scottish raids into northern England since 1298, and for over a decade they were to be almost annual events, as the English lost their grip on Scotland and the Scots tried to harry their way to independence. The war of these years was less one of sieges and pitched battles than of raids and skirmishes, and that Carlisle played an important part in it was due as much to its garrison as to its fortifications; as a stronghold it was always liable to be bypassed by the swift-moving Scots, but those same Scots could always be challenged by troops sallying out from behind the walls they had ignored. In the early summer of 1313 the sheriff was ordered to spend 100 marks repairing the houses in the castle, the justice of the royal forests north of Trent to supply 20 oaks for the king's works there (*CCR* 1307–13, 537), and there were to be other occasions on which the central government would spend money on the fortifications of castle and city, but as a rule it was more concerned with manpower, wages and victuals – in the sort of war which had now arisen, these were what mattered, at Carlisle as throughout the rest of the north of England (Prestwich 1982, 176).

It is therefore understandable that there should have been a steady build-up in the size of the garrison. In 1308 the sheriff claimed allowance for a force of only four men-at-arms and ten archers (Kirby 1955, 135), doubtless all that were needed at the time, and it is suggestive that two years later the sheriff's fee for keeping the castle and county was only £20 *per annum* (*CCR* 1307–1313, 492). In the following year, however, all this changed. Following a Scottish attack on Gilsland, in the north of Cumberland, in August 1311, the garrison of Carlisle was substantially reinforced, eight knights and 156 men-at-arms being drafted in in October (*Rot Scot* I, 106). Not all these men are likely to have stayed very long, but during the winter which followed the castle still contained ten men-at-arms and 20 serjeants 'in haketons' (leather jackets reinforced with chain-mail), while 'the vill and march of Carlisle' were held by a total of 15 knights, 31 squires, 7 men-at-arms, 6 hobelars (lightly-armed cavalry) and 100 archers (PRO *E368/83* m12d; *E101/14/22* m4). The fact that the troops were frequently paid in groups, rather than altogether, and for short periods at a time, combined with gaps in the records, often makes it difficult to tell how large the garrison of Carlisle was at any given moment, but it seems clear that it continued to be augmented. On 8 July 1314 there were four knights, 50 men-at-arms, 30 hobelars and 80 archers (another source says 100), supplemented by three small companies comprising a total of three knights and 34 men-at-arms. In September there arrived fifteen Irish hobelars, 40 Irish foot-soldiers and two troops of English foot-soldiers, one of 160 which arrived on 20 Sep-

tember, the other of 20 which came in on 24 September, while on 26 October three men-at-arms 'sent from the king's court to stay in the garrison of Carlisle vill' made their appearance, probably along with another knight and four more men-at-arms who had set out from court on the same day. Two knights and 21 men-at-arms may have departed during November, but one of the knights, Henry de Malton, seems to have returned later, since he was recorded as present in the garrison, with seven men-at-arms, in December. During that month 'Scottish enemies wrought damage in those parts', and so the garrison was further reinforced by two knights, three men-at-arms and a total of 115 archers from Lonsdale and Cumberland wards (PRO *E101/14/31*). So, although it is impossible to be certain that all these men were in Carlisle at the same time, the garrison of castle and city together at the end of 1314 could have consisted of nine knights, 87 men-at-arms, 45 hobelars and 395 foot-soldiers, a possibility which makes the proposal of October 1314, that the sheriff should command 100 men-at-arms, 30 hobelars and 300 foot-soldiers for the defence of castle and city (PRO *E101/14/30* m6), appear far from unrealistic.

This was just as well, for in 1315 Carlisle faced its most dangerous threat yet. Flushed with his victory at Bannockburn in the previous year, his rear no longer threatened by English garrisons holding out in Scotland, Robert Bruce was able to give his undivided attention to the devastation of northern England. In the campaigns of destruction which followed, Carlisle played a double role. It was a refuge for the people of the countryside, taking shelter there with as many of their goods and livestock as they could bring away with them. And it was also a base for resistance and retaliation, cavalry from Carlisle being recorded in action not only on Stainmoor, on the road down the Eden valley out of Cumberland into north Yorkshire, but also at Pennersax in Dumfriesshire (Morris 1914, 83–4).[2] As an obstacle to both the free movement of his forces and the effectiveness of his ravages, Carlisle was an obvious target for attack by Bruce, who, indeed, was said to have been so anxious to capture it that he vowed to eat no meat until it was in his hands (Rothwell 1957, 396–7). The garrison was commanded by Andrew de Harcla, a soldier of skill and enterprise who had been appointed sheriff of Cumberland in October 1311 and had led its defences ever since. There had been a good deal of confusion at the time of de Harcla's appointment, with king and council putting forward different nominees for the shrievalty (Prestwich 1982, 165), and the resulting disputes may have generated lasting bitterness – hence, perhaps, the appointment, in April 1314, of the bishop of Carlisle to 'the superior custody of the city and castle', de Harcla being ordered to cooperate with him (*CPR* 1313–17, 103). But in a crisis like that of 1315 a divided command could have been disastrous, and in fact de Harcla's leadership in that year appears to have been undisputed. The city was prepared for the Scottish onslaught; its gates had been blocked up and houses immediately below the walls knocked down so as to give the defenders a clear field of fire (PRO *E159/93* m6d; Fraser 1981, 113–14; *PRO SC8/83* no 4138), and though there had been a scarcity of victuals there in March (Maddicott 1970, 162), presumably this had been remedied by the time the Scots arrived in July, even though the harvest of 1314 was poor and that of 1315 disastrous. The size of the garrison is not recorded, but doubtless every available man was called in, and it is not likely to have been smaller than it had been in the previous December.

Fig 122 The initial letter on the royal charter of 1316 showing the castle under siege (photo: Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle)

The Scots formed the siege of Carlisle, according to the Lanercost Chronicle, on 22 July 1315 (Fig 122).[3] Their attack was directed principally on the city gates, rather than on the castle as such, but all the defenders would certainly have been engaged wherever they were needed. In their triumphant progress through the English-held strongholds in Scotland, Robert Bruce and his lieutenants had relied on speed and surprise rather than on more conventional methods of siege-warfare (Prestwich 1982, 165) – only Stirling castle had been subjected to a prolonged blockade. For Carlisle, however, they had clearly assembled all the equipment for capturing fortresses that they could find - ladders, a sow for mining, fascines (faggots) for filling ditches, portable wooden bridges on wheels for crossing moats, a machine for throwing stones, and a 'berefrai', a huge mobile tower, higher than the city walls, which the Scots planned to push up to the defences and from there launch an attack into the city. That none of these devices served any useful purpose was doubtless largely due to the energy and determination of the defence, helped as that was by the superiority of its armaments, with seven or eight stone-throwing machines to set against the Scots' one, an array of springalds to hurl javelins, and a wooden tower erected on the walls by the city carpenters to overtop the 'berefrai' of the Scots. The latter may also have owed their ill-success to one of the most notorious features of the year, its incessant rain. The 'berefrai' stuck in the mud as it was being moved up to the walls and had to be abandoned, the fascines failed to fill the moat – doubtless exceptionally full of water – and sank without trace, as did the portable bridges. Nor was the sow – a mobile shelter under which miners, protected against missiles from above, could attack the base of a wall – any more successful, the ground being probably too waterlogged for mining to be a practical proposition. The stone-

thrower worked, but that was practically all that could be said for it, and in the end the Scots reverted to the combination of force and guile which had proved so successful elsewhere. On July 30 and 31 they launched a general attack on the complete circuit of the defences, city and castle together, on the second day concentrating on the eastern side of the city; then, when the fighting was at its fiercest, Sir James Douglas and a band of 'daring and nimble' followers slipped round to the other side of the southernmost gate, the Botchergate, and tried to scale the walls there unnoticed. They almost succeeded in getting a foothold, but defenders were brought round to this new sphere of action, and the Scots were dislodged. On the following day, August 1, despairing of success and alarmed by rumours of an approaching English relief force, the Scots withdrew, pursued by the garrison as they went. Only two Englishmen were killed in the whole siege and very few wounded. The development of defensive techniques in response to the improvements in seige artillery made in the second half of the twelfth century had since restored to defence its superiority over the available means of attack, and at Carlisle this was further assisted by the advantageous conditions prevailing in 1315. The Scots returned to Cumberland many times after 1315, in a series of highly destructive raids, but, chastened by their experiences in that year, they made no further attack on the city.

For Carlisle, therefore, the most pressing problem was once again less the defence of its walls than the maintenance of manpower, supplies and wages, especially the last two. The numbers in the garrison varied, but recruitment does not seem to have been a problem. Andrew de Harcla was captured by the Scots early in 1316, and his replacement, John de Castre, manned the castle with a retinue of 25 men-at-arms, 16 hobelars, 6 crossbowmen and 40 archers, together with occasional reinforcements, for example in July of the same year when 'the coming of the enemy' led to the arrival of six more men-at-arms. The city, with its larger expanse of walls, had a bigger garrison, consisting of 7 knights, 57 men-at-arms, 58 hobelars, 16 crossbowmen and 60 archers (Soc of Antiq *MS* 120 f45v). Similar forces still held castle and city two years later, by when, in an interesting development which suggests that in their response to the mobility of the Scots the English were moving away from earlier ideas of defence as something purely static, based solely on town and castle walls, additional forces – 65 men-at-arms and 100 hobelars, all mounted men – had been levied to guard 'the march of Carlisle' (ibid, *MS* 121 ff20v, 21, 21v), where their function must have been to intercept Scottish raiders and make retaliatory raids of their own, as well as to act as a first line of defence. Maintaining all these men, victualling them and paying their wages was no easy task, and was probably made harder in a stronghold like Carlisle when it was also thronged by refugees from the countryside outside, not all of whom can have brought supplies for their own maintenance, and so had to compete with the garrison for what food was available. It may be this consideration, as much as as greed and callousness, which accounts for the charges for admission which the lords and constables of castles in North West England were said to be making on those seeking the shelter of their walls, sometimes demanding up to 6s 8d for two or three nights in safety (Prestwich 1982, 166–7). Food for Carlisle was still being brought over from Ireland in 1314 (PRO *E101/238/24* m5), but Edward Bruce's invasion in the following year stopped that. In February 1316 the constable of the castle was instructed to feed his men by taking victuals from the citizens (*Rot Scot* I, 154) – there appear to have been stores in the Priory and Dominican friary – and in July to spend 400 marks from the ransom of two Scottish prisoners on 'the munition of the castle and city of Carlisle' (*CDS* III no 497). 1316 was probably an exceptionally hard year, as famine gripped the land and bad was made worse by the activities of the Scots. By November there was 'great lack of money and victuals' in the city, and the garrison was threatening to leave; Edward II ordered the exchequer to send £200 to pay their wages, 'that they may have no reason for deserting', and though only 200 marks were actually sent, this seems to have been enough to end the crisis for the time being (PRO *E404/1/6* no 46). A year later, however, in September 1317, castle and city were said to be without victuals and the garrisons of both to be on the point of departure for lack of wages (PRO *E159/91* m12d). Two months later orders were given for stocking the castle (Soc of Antiq *MS* 121 f49v) but perhaps the amounts supplied were inadequate for in the following April there were rumours of impending treachery among the citizens (ibid f 31v).

Providing money was indeed a great problem in these years. In 1314 it was still possible for the sheriff to hand £200 from the issues of the county over to the keeper of the king's victuals at Carlisle, to be disbursed as wages to the soldiery (PRO *E159/88m183*),[4] but as the ravages of the Scots spread so those issues declined, and when in 1317 Edward II made practically all the royal revenues in Cumberland over to Andrew de Harcla, in order to pay the crown's debts to him (*CPR* 1317–21, 31) – in themselves a sign of the financial difficulties facing the king as he tried to maintain his northern shires in their resistance to the Scots – this can only have left less for distribution to the troops. The necessary money therefore had to come from the king, who sometimes ordered the diversion to Carlisle of money raised by taxation elsewhere, but more often supplied it direct. Efforts appear to have been increasingly made to regularise payments for the defence of the West March. In November 1316 Sir William de Dacre and Sir Antony de Lucy made an indenture with the king by which they undertook the defence of the 'march of Carlisle' (but not Carlisle itself) with the 65 men-at-arms and 100 hobelars mentioned above for the next months, each receiving 1880 marks (£1253 0s 8d) for his year's wages. In 1320 Andrew de Harcla made a similar indenture; there was a truce in force at the time, and so he undertook the custody of Carlisle and its march for a whole year, for which he would be paid the considerably lower fee of 1000 marks (PRO *E403/193* m3). No attempt was made on this occasion to specify how large a force de Harcla was to maintain, but in the autumn of 1322 his retinue 'for the safekeeping of the vill, castle and march of Carlisle' consisted of 240 men-at-arms and 500 hobelars, all serving at the king's expense (BL *Stowe* 553 f61). By that time de

Harcla was obviously also able to keep himself and his men supplied – in February 1323 the castle contained impressive quantities of food and drink (some of them taken from the king's victualler), including 99 quarters of corn, 197 quarters of oats, 14000 red herrings and 118 salted ox carcasses (ibid, f18v). How much this was due to his own initiative and how much to royal support it is impossible to say. In either case, ensuring an adequate supply of victuals was helped by the passing of the famine of 1315–16, which made it possible for other parts of England to resume shipments to Carlisle (*Rot Scot* I, 187–9), but it is clear that recurrent demands for money and munitions had made it impossible for Edward II, however preoccupied he might be with his relations with his barons, to neglect Carlisle entirely. He may never have visited it after 1307, but now and then he had the garrison inspected (Soc of Antiq *MS* 121 f9v; BL *Stowe* 553 ff 31, 32) and in October 1319, after his unsuccessful attempt to recapture Berwick, he sent 13 hobelars and 43 'Welsh archers of the king's household' from Newcastle to Carlisle, to reinforce the troops already there (BL *Add MS* 17362 ff23, 23v).

Although in the prevailing conditions of warfare it was obviously reasonable for the central government to be more concerned with men and provisions than with buildings, the latter could not be neglected entirely, and in fact the castle fabric soon began to show signs of strain, as the elements and continuously hard usage made their inevitable impact. Minor repairs were called for, and probably undertaken, in September 1316, John de Castre, sheriff at the time, subsequently accounting for nearly £15 spent on a variety of works (*CCR* 1313–18, 366; PRO *E159/93* m8d). Much of this money went on the 'engines' used for the defence of the castle, but 6s 8d was spent on roofing in lead part of the new tower in the inner bailey, something which may have been ordered as long ago as November 1314 (*CCR* 1313–18, 126), and there were also repairs to palisades and other woodwork, notably the roofs of the great hall and its kitchen in the outer bailey and the windows of the queen's chamber. The only new work undertaken was the building of a wooden chapel in the outer bailey, doubtless a response to the pressure on space in the existing chapel exerted by the enlarged garrison of these years. None of this amounted to much more than patching, and when Antony de Lucy took over as sheriff in August 1318 an inquest into the castle's condition revealed the extent to which its walls and buildings had deteriorated, showing above all how the weather which had helped to defeat the Scots in 1315 had also had a deleterious effect on the defences resisting them (PRO *C145/82* no 9). Again and again the inquest refers to storm damage. The turrets on the keep, the brattices on the walls, the roofs of the great hall in the outer bailey and its attendant buildings, which were made of wooden shingles, all had been carried off by the wind. The bakery, the brewery and the garderobe of the queen's chamber had been unroofed, the forge in the inner bailey was 'virtually knocked to the ground'. Most of the necessary repairs involved woodwork, above all on the roofs, though the joists in the keep, and the 'great timber' and partitions in the great hall also needed attention, doubtless where the rain had penetrated. Such works, the jurors found, would not be very expensive – all the necessary repairs to the great hall would cost only £12 – but stonework was a different matter, and here there were two points in need of urgent attention. The main gate, yet again, 'needs to be renewed'. Late in Edward I's reign William de Mulcastre, sheriff from 1304 to 1307, had become so desperate about the state of the prison and the house above it (all part of the gatehouse), described as 'totally ruined', that he had them restored, at a cost of nearly £20, without waiting for a royal warrant (PRO *E159/83* mm44–5). But additional work was now needed, on the gate itself and on the stone vaulting of the gatehouse, which would cost at least £20 more.

Much more urgent, however, was the impending collapse of part of the outer bailey wall. This was on the western side of the castle, facing the bridge over the Caldew, and since it had been on this side, near the church of the Holy Trinity in the Caldewgate suburb, that the Scots had set up their stone-thrower in 1315, it is possible that the wall had suffered the consequences of a direct hit, but it is just as likely that intensive manning, on the side where the danger was greatest, had had a similarly destructive effect. Whatever the cause, in 1318 the wall was described as 'threatened with ruin' and needing to be demolished and then completely rebuilt from the foundations up, an undertaking which would cost 1000 marks. Such an operation was naturally out of the question in wartime, so it was recommended that a covering palisade be built inside the segment at risk, which would cost only 20 marks. Had all these recommendations made by the inquest jurors been acted on, the works involved would have cost just under £70. But since the sheriff was by an order of 21 September 1318 licensed to spend only £10 (*CCR* 1318–23, 15), the castle continued to deteriorate, as was shown by another inquest made three years later, in July 1321 (PRO *C145/86* no 44). A two-year truce, made at the end of 1319, was now in force, making it possible for the fortifications of a stronghold like Carlisle to be examined in detail. It was obviously already known that repairs were needed. On 25 May 1321, the day before the issue of the writ ordering an inquest to find out what repairs were actually required, 100 marks from the issues of a clerical tax were paid over to Robert de Barton, keeper of the king's victuals at Carlisle and described on this occasion as 'appointed to supervise and repair the defects of Carlisle castle' (BL *Add MS* 9951 f51), while work would appear to have begun before the inquest was held.

There was certainly need for dispatch, since the deficiencies noted in 1318 had now become much worse. The upper levels of the keep were rotting away piecemeal, and four great joists and twenty great planks needed to be replaced. The lead roof of the new tower, barely ten years old, if that, could no longer keep the rain out and should also be replaced. The stone vault over the main gate was falling out and had had to be propped up on beams, and the boards of the gate itself were so broken that the entire gate needed remaking. There were numerous other defects in the wooden buildings in the outer bailey, in the brattices and turrets placed on the walls and turrets, and in the

stairs giving access to the walls. But worst of all was the state of the walls themselves. On the south-east side the foundations below the queen's chamber needed attention, but this was nothing compared with the plight of the outer bailey wall 'in the corner towards the Caldew bridge'. Described in 1318 as 'threatened with ruin', by 1321 it was ruined indeed, with 40 feet of wall fallen and another 120 feet about to go the same way. It was now recommended that the ruinous wall be demolished and the foundations remade with stakes to strengthen them, and a new stretch of wall built, further reinforced with buttresses, four of them small but two very large, ten feet thick. Even without an additional tower this would cost an estimated £240, not least because the stone from the old wall was considered to be too small to be re-used except as filling (a detail which points to its likely Norman date), so that 'large and new stone' would have to be employed. In the meantime, the inquest jurors once more recommended the construction of a palisade to cover the fallen and ruinous wall, a really massive one, 220 feet long and 32 feet high, which would understandably cost at least £50. All the repairs, including both the palisade and the stretch of new wall, were estimated as costing £453, and since the jurors envisaged a lengthy building campaign, their recommendations included the construction of a wooden shelter 'in the manner of a pentice', 60 feet square, in the outer bailey, so that the masons could work under cover – afterwards it could be used as a stable for the king's warhorses.

Between 21 June 1321 and 28 August 1322 nearly £220 was spent on Carlisle castle, less than half of what had been considered necessary (PRO *E372/181* m28). It is hard to tell exactly what was done, the account for the works presented to the exchequer referring only to men cutting down trees to make boards and laths and to workmen digging stones, both in Inglewood forest, and to repairs to 'the tower and the houses in the castle and of the fences and walls inside and outside it'. But even that makes it clear that a good deal of attention was paid to the decayed timberwork, notably that of the keep, and in fact it would appear that this was what received attention first. As much can be deduced from a letter sent to the king by Andrew de Harcla in October 1321, reporting that many faults had been 'well and durably repaired', but that there were still 'many great and dangerous faults, namely in the walls, which without great provision cannot be repaired', and by way of confirmation he referred the king to the recent inquest (PRO *E101/13/36* no 33). The problem, as one might expect, was lack of money to pay the workmen, who were no more eager than the garrison had been to give their services for nothing, and would depart if they did not get their wages at the end of the week. Money must have been found, because although the Scots invaded Cumberland in July 1322, and for five days lay around Carlisle, wasting the countryside at their leisure (Maxwell 1913, 239), they made no attempt to attack the city, as they might have been expected to do had there been a large hole in the castle walls. The fact that a tower on the Caldewgate side of the outer bailey could later be referred to as 'the tower called Harkeleyes' (PRO *E101/483/3*) probably indicates that repairs to the fortifications there were made at this time. But they seem to have been a good deal less extensive than the situation demanded. Since in November 1323 the walls of castle and city were said to be so fallen down that a wooden palisade would have to be erected round both until a satisfactory stone wall could be supplied (*CCR* 1323–27, 47–48), it may reasonably be deduced that the repairs of 1321 and 1322 were as incomplete as one would expect when only half the necessary money was spent on them. This is not the place to discuss Andrew de Harcla's conspiracy of 1323, his attempt to bring the Scottish war to an end by a private treaty with Robert Bruce, which would almost certainly have involved the admission of Scottish troops to Carlisle and the other northern fortresses under de Harcla's command, the better to coerce Edward II into accepting Scottish independence. But one factor determining de Harcla to act in this way and at this time may well have been the weakness of Carlisle itself, which probably appeared practically indefensible. The conspiracy failed. De Harcla was surprised and captured in the great hall in the inner bailey, condemned as a traitor, and, on 3 March 1323, horribly executed. One of the quarters of his body was set on the keep.

Neglect, decay and uproar 1323–1345

Less than three months later, on 30 May, a 13-year truce was made with the Scots, but no chances were taken at Carlisle, since it would appear that the palisade was duly built, though since it only cost £8 17s $9^{1}/_{2}$d (PRO *E159/100* m175) it cannot have been as ambitious as that proposed in the inquest of 1321, and probably only covered particularly weak spots in the defences. It was, in any case, only intended to provide temporary protection, and more extensive repairs were soon taken in hand, perhaps on the lines recommended in 1321, though the scope of the works had to be widened to include the city walls as well. Antony de Lucy, the captor of Andrew de Harcla, was appointed constable of the castle, independently of the sheriff, and paid first 200 marks and then £100 yearly (Kirby 1955, 136). In that capacity he was directed to set the repairs in motion, attending to the city walls and to the walls, houses, towers and other parts of the castle, while at least £500 from rebels' lands in Lancashire and Yorkshire were to be paid to him for the works. Not only were the implements in the castle itself to be put at the constable's disposal, but masons and stone-cutters were to be sent from Northumberland, suggesting major works on the walls. A royal clerk was appointed 'surveyor and controller of the works' in the castle and city of Carlisle' (*CCR* 1323–27, 93, 112, 115). Frustratingly, after such detailed provision for the execution of repairs, only the fact that nothing more was said to require attention for ten years afterwards can be construed as evidence that the work was actually done and the money spent, and since these were, for the borders, comparatively peaceful years, it must be regarded as possible that either the repairs were not, in the end, carried out, or that less was spent on them than had been at first intended, especially in the light of the castle's condition when that was next reported on.

In 1326, in what may have been unofficial reprisals for English attacks on Scottish shipping, some Scots made a surprise attack on Carlisle castle by night, a move which led to the garrisons of castle and city being augmented by 20 and 60 foot-soldiers respectively (*CDS* III no 882; PRO *E159/102* mm55, 59), but for much of the time the weather seems likely to have resumed its once unchallenged position as the castle's greatest enemy. On 30 December 1325 there was a tremendous flood in Cumberland, followed a week later by a storm which shattered houses and trees (Craster and Thornton 1934, 73), and it was the threat posed to the fabric by such natural enemies which may best explain how in 1333 the sheriff could be twice ordered, in March and June, to spend £20 on the castle's houses, walls, turrets and bridges, these being described, in now familiar terms, as 'ruinous and broken' (*CCR* 1333–37, 23; PRO *E159/109* mm73, 284). Yet there would seem to be a limit to the amount of damage that even the worst weather can do in less than a decade, and an inquest into the condition of the castle held in 1335 reported in such terms as to make one wonder just what, if anything, had been done since the works of 1322 (PRO *C145/134* no 10(5)). The walls round the castle were greatly in need of repair (at least they were not said to have fallen down), the New Tower seems to have been collapsing in stages, beginning in Andrew de Harcla's time, before 1323, the keep needed attention, and the prison, with the houses above the gate and the gate itself, required 'substantial and swift repair, as they are now in danger of ruin'. All the castle bridges needed repairing, as did the various wooden buildings, especially those in the outer bailey – Ranulf de Dacre, sheriff from 1330 to 1335, had used the timber from some of these which had fallen in order to repair others which were still standing. The total cost of repairs was estimated at £1000, but the more pressing ones could be carried out for £400. Both figures were probably exaggerated, but even had they not been, there was little chance of either sum being made available, as the inquest jurors doubtless realised, since they remarked that 'those defects did not come about through the failure of the wardens, but through the failure of the king's council, which supplied no remedy for them when warned by those wardens'. When there was no war in the borders, Carlisle castle was of little interest to the central government, and even when war with Scotland broke out again in 1332, as Edward Balliol, with English connivance at first and active support soon afterwards, claimed his father's throne, the north was increasingly a military backwater, its affairs overshadowed by more important events in France.

What may have been the castle's best chance of securing the attention it needed came in the same year as the report detailing its defects, in 1335, when Edward III himself visited the city, on his way with an army into Scotland (Nicholson 1965, 201–2). But though the needs of the defences of both castle and city may have made some impression on him, since in the following January orders were given within two days of one another for a survey of the former and a grant of murage for the latter (*CPR* 1334–38, 194, 219), if the survey was made it had only insignificant results, the constable being ordered to spend 40 marks on the castle in March 1336 and another 20 marks in the following August (*CCR* 1333–37, 555, 610). In fact the constable, John de Glanton, seems to have spent rather more than this, since in 1337 the Exchequer was ordered to allow him on his account sums of 50 marks and £17 9s respectively, if he could show that he had spent them on repairs (*CCR* 1337–39, 5595–6, 88). John died in 1338, probably only shortly after he had been ordered, in March of that year, to spend £40 on repairing recent storm damage (ibid, 319) – his executors could claim from the exchequer allowance of only £3 19s 10d (PRO *E372/183* m40d), doubtless all that he had had time to spend. But those executors were also licensed, on two separate occasions, to claim allowance of £50 19s and £27 9s $8^1/_2$d spent on the castle (*CCR* 1337–39, 5, 88), sums for the expenditure of which no authorisation is recorded, and which may indicate John's responses to otherwise unrecorded crises. Such sums would not, of course, have been enough to finance more than small-scale repairs, and since at this time there was no likelihood of larger amounts of money being made available for the restoration of Carlisle castle, the continued deterioration of its fabric was inevitable.

One problem was that there appears to have been a shortage of local revenue, not least from the castle itself, which might otherwise have been used to finance maintenance and repairs. In the late 1320s the king's demesnes in Cumberland, which were accounted for as part of the issues of the castle, were still showing the effects of war damage, though not by then to any very marked extent, since in 1329 they returned a rental of £62 3s $8^1/_2$d, with a shortfall of only 13s 11d attributed to the Scots (PRO *E199/7/4*). In 1334 the rental was £62 19s 3d, with no deficit at all, and though in 1335 they yielded only £53 8s 4d, the decline was due to the damage done by the king's warhorses in the pastures and meadows round the city (PRO *E372/179* m30d; PRO *E372/180* m39d), and recovery should have been speedy. Then, from 30 November 1335 castle and demesnes were committed for life to John de Glanton, the constable (who gave his name to one of the castle towers, presumably because he repaired it (PRO *E101/483/1* v), who was to pay £63 7s 7d for them, though he would receive ten marks *per annum* for his own wages and the usual wages of a janitor and a watchman (Kirby 1955, 136–7). Although these revenues were in theory to be paid to the sheriff, who would account for them to the Exchequer, they were an obvious source of money for works on the castle, and it was probably intended, or at any rate expected, that only a proportion of them would in fact be paid in at Westminster, and that the constable, as the officer in charge of the castle, would in most years finance minor repairs, at least, out of the rest, notifying the Exchequer of his expenditure in due course; no doubt it was against these issues of the castle and demesnes that the sums mentioned above as spent on repairs by John de Glanton were to be set. When John de Glanton died in 1338 castle and demesnes continued to be entrusted to a constable. The warlike bishop John Kirkby had requested a lifetime grant of the castle on the same terms as had been enjoyed by Glanton, claiming that he had nowhere to live in his diocese, but his

petition was not granted; he became constable, indeed, in June 1339, but he held the office only during pleasure and for intermittent periods, usually alternating with Antony de Lucy (Rose 1984, 74).

But though the constable still had access to the issues of the demesnes, the issues themselves were liable to fluctuate. In February 1338 the constable was ordered to pay Robert Parvyng, a Cumberland squire and distinguished royal servant who in 1341 became treasurer, 40 marks *per annum* 'from the farm of our demesne lands of our castle of Carlisle' as compensation for losses his lands had sustained from Scottish raids (PRO *E159/11* m32d), and two years later the same officer was instructed to make over to Robert all the demesnes and the fishery in the Eden below the castle walls, which Robert was to hold for life (*CCR* 1339–41, 508–9). In the end these awards were translated into a grant in fee simple of 31 acres of arable land and nine acres of pasture; their annual value was only 60s 3d (PRO *E159/125* m79) but the reduction in the total yield of the demesnes was correspondingly permanent. There were temporary shortfalls too. In 1343 the value of the demesnes was found to have been reduced by the barrenness (*per debilitatem*) of the land itself (PRO *E136/17/29* m6), suggesting a degree of soil exhaustion, and Scottish raids in 1346 cut the issues of the demesnes for that year by just over £27 (PRO *E159/124* m203d), a figure which may give some idea of the destructiveness of similar ravages in other years, like 1337, perhaps, when the Scots raided round Carlisle and burnt St. Nicholas's hospital in the suburbs (Maxwell 1913, 307). The separation of the castle from the shire implicit in arrangements like those made with John de Glanton may have made it less likely that the sheriff would be prepared to divert money from the issues of the rest of the county towards the upkeep of the castle – such maintenance had ceased to be a part of his responsibilities. But in any case the whole of Cumberland was so severely impoverished in the years on either side of 1340 that the sheriff is not likely to have had any money to spare – the assessments of the ninth of 1341 were very low throughout the county, a fact attributed to Scottish forays, sheep murrain, high taxation and the excessive frequency with which military service was demanded of the inhabitants (PRO *E179/90/9*). The castle garrison was probably run down to a bare minimum – John de Glanton seems to have been expected to use his personal retinue, which seems unlikely to have been very large – and then augmented when the need arose, as in 1339, when 12 men-at-arms and 12 archers were brought in to guard the castle 'against the hostile invasions of the Scots' in June and again in August and September (PRO *E372/184* m38d).

Only substantial amounts of royal money could have kept the castle in good repair, and these were not forthcoming; the sums of £20 and 20 marks for which the sheriff (Antony de Lucy, probably doubling as constable shortly before handing the castle over to the bishop) was claiming allowance in May 1339 as spent on repairs to the castle were trivial compared with its needs (*CCR* 1339–41, 129). It is true that between 1337 and 1349 the issues of northern taxation were reserved for the defences of the border (Harriss 1975, 348–54), but those issues were not likely to have been very high, and such money as was raised seems in any case to have gone to soldiers rather than to stonework. With the king's attention and revenue devoted almost entirely to France, the maintenance of Carlisle castle in the early 1340s (a wretched period for North West England) seems to have ground to a halt. In June 1343 commissioners were appointed to inquire into 'defects in Carlisle castle and the alleged removal of armour and other things necessary for its defence', but those responsible for the region's defences seem now to have been so sunk in inertia and indifference that the order had to be repeated in December, and then another set of commissioners assigned to the same task in the following April (*CPR* 1343–45, 93, 182, 291). At least the jurors chosen under this last commission took their task seriously. They went round the defences of both castle and city with a team of carpenters, masons and plumbers, and it is clear that each profession gave its opinion in turn as the cost of repairs was assessed (PRO *C145/152* no 4). The most important defects of the stonework (the province of the masons), in the towers, battlements and walls, would cost £200 to put right; the woodwork (the concern of the carpenters) of the keep, great hall, kitchen and other houses would cost 100 marks (£66 13s 4d); the roof of the keep (the business of the plumbers) could be repaired for £5. The reference to the 'major defects' in the masonry makes it unlikely that such works would cover everything that needed attention; the total sum of £271 13s 4d was probably what was required to make the castle habitable and defensible. Another £300 would be necessary for works on the city defences. The victuals in the castle consisted of nine bushels of oats, and the only weapons there were those 'recorded in an indenture of the bishop's', to whom they presumably belonged, the castle's armoury having been apparently emptied after Andrew de Harcla's arrest, back in 1323, and not replenished since. An account of the contents of the castle submitted in November 1345 records such treasures as three decrepit tables, a six-gallon pot, two bronze bells, seventeen old crossbows without cords, a lock without a key for the New Tower and a broken trebuchet (PRO *E372/190* m37d).

In 1344 Edward III's eyes were still fixed firmly on the Continent, and the jurors might as well have recommended the expenditure of nearly £6000 as nearly £600, for all the likelihood there was of either sum being supplied. In fact nothing was done at all, and the castle therefore continued to decay. A report on its condition in 1345 found that 'all the houses of the castle are ruinous except for two towers and one little room', that it contained no weapons, and that the only victuals in it were those belonging to Bishop Kirkby, who was once more its constable. The garrison consisted of 'eight men-at-arms and seven hobelars, the rest there were children and grooms, having nothing, and all or most of them strangers and from other parts...' (PRO *C49/46/16* no 3). Such was the state to which complete neglect had reduced the castle, and it was clearly deeply demoralising for the garrison too, for whom, indeed, matters were made worse by increasingly difficult relations with the townsfolk, a development which can also be attributed to the crown's neglect of

the castle. Bishop Kirkby incurred substantial debts in his defence of the West March, debts which the king was extremely slow to pay. Of one debt of £432 recorded in June 1343, for instance, he had received only £177 8s 11d in four instalments by February 1345 (PRO *E403/328* m16; *E403/330* mm22, 34; *E403/332* m17); another debt, also recorded in 1343, of £969 16s 8d, is not known to have been paid at all, though Edward III did give the bishop custody of three alien priories as a means of clearing it (Rose 1984, 87). Short of money to keep himself and his men in victuals and other necessary supplies, Kirkby resorted to purveyance, on such a scale that merchants from outside increasingly refused to trade with a city where their wares were so likely to be commandeered. Such a situation may not have been the garrison's fault, but nevertheless it bred great ill will between castle and city; the latter was doubly impoverished, since the maintenance of the castle garrison was at all times of great importance to the city's economic life. In 1344 the march wardens had been assaulted when they held their session in the castle gatehouse (*CPR* 1343–45, 392); in the following year it was the occupants of the castle who resorted to force. In a sudden explosion of violence following a brawl at a miracle play in the market place on 1 August 1345, the garrison (at least some of whom, judging by such names as Geoffrey de Risyngdon, William de Devynshire and John de Merkyate, were indeed strangers to the North West, with no ties of kinship or local sympathies with the people of Carlisle) set upon the citizens, killed at least three of them, wounded many more, rampaged through the streets firing arrows at every open window, and threatened to set the city alight. The bishop himself, it was reported, stood below the gatehouse in full armour, and watched while his men ran riot in the city below (PRO *C49/46/16*).

Partial restoration 1346–1378

One reason for the neglect of Carlisle (apart from the central government's preoccupations elsewhere) was the castle's lack of a clearly defined function. Scottish raids in Cumberland could be very destructive, but they were not campaigns of conquest. They aimed rather at securing booty for otherwise unpaid troops and at retaliating for English attacks on Scotland. The castle was not likely to be attacked by forces unencumbered with a siege-train, and so a large garrison was not often necessary; for the same reason, if the walls did not actually have holes in them, that was probably enough to ensure their defensibility. The fact that on the rare occasions when large English armies invaded Scotland they usually went from Berwick and the North East (Edward III's campaign of 1335 was a rare exception to this rule) also helped to make the North West a military backwater. Even so, events like the riot of 1345 could hardly be overlooked; there was danger from the Scots, who were said to have 'perceived that affray and exploit it to spy and stir up trouble on your march of Carlisle' (PRO *C49/46/16* no 1), at a time when a Scottish campaign in England was believed to be imminent, and there were also fears that the demoralisation of the citizens would cause them to change sides (*CPR* 1343–45, 492). On 8 September 1345 custody of the castle was given to the sheriff (*CFR* 1337–47, 438), for the bishop's proximity to his cathedral city came to be regarded as over-inflammatory, and when Thomas de Lucy became sheriff later that autumn, he also became constable of the castle, 'charged with £63 7s $7^{1}/_{2}$d *per annum* for that custody, as John de Glanton formerly used to pay…' (PRO *E159/124* m203d). His successors as sheriff were also entrusted with the castle and its demesnes, which may at least have made the issues of the shire more readily available for the financing of repairs to the fabric.

In the meantime, in November 1346, the keeper of the forests north of Trent was instructed to examine the castle and then to hand over to the constable as much timber as was needed to repair its defects, of which there were said to be several, 'as in bretaches (brattices), buildings, bridges, engines and other garniture' (*CCR* 1346–49, 125). But replacing rotten woodwork, however necessary this might be, hardly amounted to the extensive programme of repairs the castle clearly needed, while victuals continued to be in short supply (PRO *SC1/42* no 156), and the city defences were if anything in worse condition than those of the castle – in 1347 the citizens reported that some 33 yards of their walls were on the verge of collapse, or had actually fallen (*Rot Parl* II, 218), and in the following year an inquest found 'divers and innumerable defects' in its defences, adding significantly that 'the king is bound to do the necessary repairs', which would cost at least £500 (PRO *C145/161* no 3 (4, 6)). Nothing seems to have been done, and six years later the walls were still said to be crumbling – on this occasion 12 oaks and 100 marks were provided (CRO *DRC/1/2* f122). The English victory at Neville's Cross in October 1346 may well have seemed to the central government to have made further works unnecessary. The only difference it made at Carlisle appears to have been the purely symbolic one of the hanging of a quarter of the body of the earl of Menteith, executed for treason after his capture on the battlefield, 'in the usual place' (PRO *E159/125* m27d) – doubtless on the keep – while the onset of the Black Death three years later, when at least a third of the city's population died, probably made further work impossible, at least for the time being. In 1351 orders were given that £40 should be spent on repairs to houses, bridges and other buildings (*CCR* 1349–51, 301), but otherwise the neglect continued, and late in 1355 the 'Commune of Cumberland' informed the King's Council of 'the perilous state of the March, castle and city of Carlisle, which it appears to them are too little weighed and known', adding that 'their peril is greater and more apparent than ever before' (*CDS* III no 1590).

That action on Carlisle castle should have followed shortly after this remonstrance seems likely to have been due less to an often repeated message having at long last got through to a government that had hitherto resolutely ignored it than to political events in Scotland. Edward Balliol's surrender to Edward III at Roxburgh in January 1356 of his claim to the Scottish throne (Nicholson 1974, 161) focussed the English king's attention on his northern borders more closely than at any time since the battle of Neville's Cross. The 'Burnt Candlemas' campaign of February 1356 did nothing to

give substance to King Edward's new claim, but at least it would appear to have familiarised him with conditions in the north of England, and to have brought home to him the need to provide strongholds like Carlisle with adequate defences. Since the marches were then at war, the provision of an adequate garrison took precedence over the restoration of the fabric. In 1356 Sir Thomas de Lucy was appointed warden of the march of Cumberland and Westmorland, where he was to command a force of 60 men-at-arms and 80 archers; of the latter 60 were described as mounted, so this troop was probably often away patrolling the border, but since these men were said to be 'staying in the garrison of Carlisle castle and vill...', Carlisle was clearly their base. They are likely to have been more welcome there than some of their recent predecessors, for not only do they seem to have been entirely local men (the men-at-arms included eight past or future sheriffs of Cumberland), but they were also paid, punctually, by the king, a total of £825 for their six months' service between January and June 1356 (Kirby 1951, 137–8; PRO *E101/26/39–40*). In 1357, moreover, de Lucy received an additional source of revenue, when on 23 January he was given custody of the castle and its demesnes, 'to hold for the next five years in wartime'. In the past, the constable had doubtless used the issues of the demesnes to finance works on the castle and had claimed allowance of his expenditure afterwards when he accounted at the exchequer, but now he was to be spared this trouble, for de Lucy was yearly 'to receive up to £65 from the farms and revenues of the demesnes belonging to the castle, for the custody of the castle' (PRO *E372/203* m3). With the garrison paid directly by the crown, the constable had for once been put in the way of receiving an adequate maintenance.

In fact this arrangement did not last for long. In October 1357 the Treaty of Berwick started a ten year truce, during which the Scots undertook to pay the ransom of David II, captured at Neville's Cross, and two months later, on 7 December, de Lucy's indenture was cancelled, on the grounds that 'the king need not incur such expenses upon the keeping of that castle during those truces', and castle and demesnes were handed back to the sheriff (*CCR* 1354–60, 380–1). But a series of works which had begun in the previous year was not discontinued – the Scots did not always keep the truce of 1357, and fears of joint Franco-Scottish action against England led in 1359 to the government ordering that all the castles and fortresses in Cumberland be repaired and stocked with men and supplies during the king's absence in France (*Rot Scot* I, 844). The beginnings of this programme of works were small, with the sheriff William de Thrilkeld being ordered in July 1356 to spend up to £40 on repairs (PRO *E372/201* m40). In fact William left office soon afterwards, having spent only a little over £18, mostly on the woodwork (PRO *E372/201* m40; PRO *E101/554/17(1)*). Carpenters used timber from Inglewood forest to repair the kitchen, the bakery and the inner and outer gates, and to remake the bridge below the outer gatehouse, and there was also work on two wooden chambers. The castle ditch and the site of its bridge were cleaned out, but the only reported masonry work consisted of minor repairs – eight days' work to the inner gate, at a cost of 4s. But the government was clearly concerned now to have the castle made properly defensible. In November 1356 the bishop and prior of Carlisle were instructed to see that any money left over from the £40 which William de Thrilkeld had been ordered to spend was passed on to his successor Robert de Tilliol, to be applied to the same end (CRO *DRC/1/2* ff122–3), and in March 1358 the sheriff and the mayor of Carlisle were ordered 'to survey and have repaired the defects in the tower and houses of Carlisle castle, using timber to be cut down in Inglewood forest' (*CPR* 1358–61, 17); between April and June 1358 the same officers also received from the exchequer £100 'for the repair of defects at Carlisle castle'.

The accounts for the works which followed were not submitted to the Exchequer until 1363 (PRO *E372/208* m40d), but since no more money was made available for them after 1358 it seems improbable that the works dragged on for five years, much more likely that the repairs accounted for in 1363 were completed in 1358. A workforce of hired carpenters, masons, sawyers, plumbers and other workmen, all operating under the supervision of a clerk 'writing the details and paying wages', was assembled, and would appear to have begun work by 30 May of that year, when order was given that the prior of Carlisle should have 'all the bark from trees lately cut down for repairing the tower and houses of Carlisle castle...' (*CCR* 1354–60, 463). Most of the work, as that and other orders indicate, was on the keep, which seems to have been surrounded with scaffolding in order to give the workmen access to its upper reaches, while two windlasses and a cable were brought in for the lifting of heavy weights – only thus, no doubt, could the lead roof have been removed, taken to the great hall, and there recast for the same purpose as before. Old timber and damaged stones were taken down and new woodwork hoisted up, while the coping was replaced and deficiencies in walls, doors, windows and gutters amended. In addition, attention was once more given to the prison in the gatehouse, especially its doors and walls, and the New Tower received two lead gutters, attached to the wall under its wooden roof which thus appears to have replaced its original, rather unsatisfactory, lead one. The programme of 'repair and renewal' was also extended to the castle bridge, though it is not clear whether this refers to the alterations recorded as made to enable wagons loaded with timber and stone to enter the castle, or to some more radical and long-lasting renovation (PRO *E101/482/29*). Altogether the works ordered in 1358 cost £97 4s 8d, 55s 4d less than the £100 made available for them, though since sheriff and mayor pocketed the difference by way of expenses the treasury did not benefit even to this limited extent. The work on the keep, in particular, suggests a new determination to make fundamental and long overdue repairs to the castle fabric, but unfortunately the impetus for progress was then lost, at least for a while, and nothing more was done for a further seven years, until in May 1365 the sheriff was ordered to have as many of the necessary repairs made to the castle as could be paid for out of the issues of the castle (meaning the demesnes), valued at £63 (*CCR* 1364–68, 110). Nothing

is known of the defects which made this order necessary, or of the works which followed it, but the smallness of the sum shows that this was just one more in the series of attempts to prevent decay developing into wholesale collapse by the implementation of patch-work repairs, and it is not surprising that two years later still more works were called for.

On 18 July 1367 the sheriff of Cumberland was ordered to survey the castle and to have its defects repaired out of the issues of his county; in furtherance of the work he was licensed to impress carpenters, masons, stone-cutters and other labourers, and to set them to work at the king's wages (*CPR* 1364–67, 423). The sheriff was William de Wyndesore, a man of standing in court circles (he would eventually marry Alice Perrers, Edward III's mistress in his declining years), whose presence in Carlisle, together with the terms of that presence, suggests a renewed determination on the government's part to put the castle, and, indeed, the West March, in order. De Wyndesore undertook the custody of Carlisle castle and city for twelve months from 9 July 1367; for this he would receive 1000 marks, out of which he would pay the wages of such soldiers as he thought necessary for the safeguard of his charge (PRO *E364/2* m3). Remuneration on this scale, taken together with the commission for repairs to the castle, suggests that the English government seriously expected trouble in the North West in 1367, a fear possibly attributable to David II's policy of unobtrusively whittling away the English-held regions in southern Scotland (Nicholson 1974, 173). If so, the trouble did not materialise, but the repairs to the castle were nonetheless put into effect. Little is known about them except their cost (PRO *E364/3* m7; *E101/554/18*). From 21 September 1367 to 8 July 1368 de Wyndesore paid out £117 12s $0^{1}/_{2}$d, between 8 July 1368 and the end of that year a further £44 19s 4d. The wages of the clerk of the works for the whole period came to £15 10s, the total outlay to £162 11s $4^{1}/_{2}$d. The few details which de Wyndesore's accounts supply suggest that some, at least, of the operations he directed were on a large scale, particularly the 86 days needed for repairing the castle ditch and embanking and raising the newly-made outer and inner bridges and the 130 stones of iron bought to make chains and bands for those bridges and to hang various gates, doors and windows. In addition, a number of new locks were supplied, the keep and other towers and houses were cleaned out, and four carpenters spent twenty days working on a chamber and stable whose whereabouts was not recorded. There are no references to works on the stonework, and though masons are listed among the craftsmen employed, the fact that de Wyndesore accounted only for 'iron, nails, keys, locks and other things and various necessaries…' makes it likely that basically it was once more the fittings, rather than the fabric, of the castle which was attended to – very reasonably, if de Wyndesore took up his command at Carlisle in 1367 in the belief that a Scottish attack was then imminent.

In June 1369 the terms of David II's ransom were renegotiated and a truce with Scotland to last until 1384 agreed upon (Nicholson 1974, 173), and in the same year English campaigns in France began again after a nine-year interlude. These events might have been expected to bring the works on Carlisle castle to an end, but in fact they continued through 1369, 1370 and 1371 (PRO *E364/4* m3; *E364/10* m4; *E101/554/19*; *E101/483/1*; *E101/554/20*), and it seems likely that the condition of the castle disclosed by the works presided over by William de Wyndesore was so dismal as make further repairs the only alternative to utter collapse. The expenditure which followed was not in fact very great (a total of £182 19s 3d in three years), but that there was a measure of urgency about these proceedings is suggested by the length of some of these building campaigns. In 1370 work began in January and the walls then under construction were not covered until 9 December, 'as work then stopped for the winter' (PRO *E101/483/1*). Urgency is also shown by the fact that in October 1369 the sheriff Adam Parvyng received an additional £50 from the king 'in recompense for the costs and labours incurred by him on our behalf, both in his office and in repairing and renewing the walls, houses and other buildings in our castle of Carlisle' (PRO *E404/9/61* no 136), and by the repairs themselves, which this time entailed giving a good deal of attention to the masonry, described in terms which shed some light on its condition. In the inner bailey there was 'the repair of a great defect in the wall of a great turret' (PRO *E101/554/19* m2d), probably the New Tower of Edward II's reign, there was work on 'the tower called Glanton' (PRO *E101/483/1* v), three wagon-loads of heavy stones were brought in to make lintels for doors (PRO *E101/483/1* r), 16 men toiled at 'lifting the timber of a new house newly built and placed on the castle wall' (PRO *E101/554/19* m2) – perhaps an unusually large brattice – and there were repairs to inner and outer drawbridges and to stairs inside and outside the castle (PRO *E101/554/19* m3; *E101/483/1* v).

But the most important component of these works was the rebuilding that took place at the outer gate, with men paid 'for working on the wall of the new tower by the gate' (PRO *E101/483/1* r) and a master-mason receiving £24 'for undertaking the whole mason's work on the tower newly cleaned and built by the outer gate and for repairing several defects in it' (PRO *E101/554/20* mld) – that it was a matter of rebuilding rather than original construction is shown by payments to carpenters installing beams 'for the foundation of the first house within the rebuilt tower' (PRO *E101/483/1* v) and to workmen 'for cleaning the foundations of an old tower to be rebuilt' (PRO *E101/554/19* m3). The gatehouse had clearly continued to give trouble in spite of the works at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and it eventually came to be appreciated that mere repairs, even when they were as extensive as those of 1370 and 1371, would not be sufficient; it would have to be replaced. The fact that it also contained the sheriff's office and the county gaol would only have intensified the hard usage which made its maintenance so difficult and its restoration, and ultimate replacement, so necessary. This point was underlined by an escape from the prison recorded in 1374 (*Cal Inq Misc* 1348–77 no 919) and by an assault on the sheriff and his staff as he held his tourn in the castle in 1376 (*CPR* 1374–77; 325) – breaking into and out of the gatehouse must have seemed equally easy. In 1377 the sheriff was ordered to spend £20 on the

repair of houses in the castle, but this was just routine maintenance (PRO *E364/11* m7). With the defences of city and castle, in spite of recent expenditure on the latter, once more giving grave cause for concern – the city gates would not even shut (*Rot Parl* II, 345; III, 30, 42) – the situation called for a major programme of radical, indeed innovatory, restoration.

Notes

1 Unless otherwise stated, all information about these works is taken from PRO *E372/153* mmld, 2 (illegible detail supplied from *E352/101* m26d)

2 The identification of Pennersax I owe to Professor G W S Barrow

3 The account of the seige which follows is based on the *Chronicle of Lanercost* (Maxwell 1913), 213–16

4 Earlier in that year the sheriff had reported that 'all the issues of his bailiwick do not suffice to pay the men-at-arms staying for the custody of those parts…' (PRO *E159/87* m98)

9 Rebuilding and renewal, 1377–1399

The new gatehouse

The background to the works that began on Carlisle castle in 1378 was one of governmental weakness, with a senile Edward III lately replaced by his eleven-year-old grandson Richard II, and an increasingly unfavourable position in the north of England, where the existence of a truce intended to last until 1384 did not stop Scottish raids both on English possessions in southern Scotland and on northern England itself from 1376 onwards (Grant 1984, 40). The Scots might still hold back from open war, but since they had maintained their alliance with France, the possibility of a double attack on England was a very real one. The leading figure in English government during these years was John of Gaunt, as duke of Lancaster the greatest of the northern magnates, and his pre-eminence taken together with his interests made it unlikely that the border fortresses would be as neglected as they had sometimes been in the past. In 1376 and 1377, moreover, petitions to Parliament drew the government's attention to the weakness of the defences of Carlisle and the other principal northern strongholds (*Rot Parl* II, 345; III, 30), and a petition to the Council of around this time reported that the castle was 'open on the side next the city, and utterly destroyed' (*CDS* IV no 347 – dated *c* 1385 by its editor, but without much doubt belonging to the late 1370s). The petitioners in this last case were the mayor and citizens of Carlisle, who claimed that similar representations had 'been laid before every Parliament these ten years and nothing done'. This time, however, action followed. Perhaps the reiterated complaints had their effect, or perhaps Gaunt was moved to take action by what he saw and heard for himself when he visited the marches in the late summer of 1377 (Tuck 1973, 37). In January 1378 commissioners were appointed to inspect the defences of Berwick, Roxburgh, Bamburgh and Carlisle (*Rot Scot* II, 6), and it was doubtless their report which led to proposals for a new gatehouse for Carlisle castle, proposals which were formulated at Westminster in an indenture drawn up between the king and his chosen architect on 13 April 1378 (Salzman 1952, 456–7. See also Appendix 8).

The reference by the mayor and citizens to the castle's lying 'open on the side next the city' makes it clear that in spite of all the previous repair-work devoted to it, the old gatehouse was past salvation and would have to be replaced. Such an enterprise would certainly be costly, but it could easily be justified. The military thinking of the fourteenth century often gave the gatehouse, with its forward emplacement and consequent aggressive stance, a role of greater importance in the context of a castle's defences than was allowed to the keep; in particular, the movements of the garrison could be more easily and effectively directed and coordinated from it (Simpson 1941, 94). The gatehouse at Carlisle, moreover, also had great administrative importance, since it contained the sheriff's offices, his exchequer and the county gaol. And in 1378 the weakness of all the defences of Carlisle, with city gates which could not be shut and drawbridges which could not be raised, may have given the gatehouse an additional importance; its central position, commanding the entrance to the castle and overlooking the city, may have suggested the possibility of its being used to secure both, and especially to make the city untenable should the Scots break through its crumbling walls. Certainly, in the late 1370s and early 1380s, as the central government repeatedly received petitions and issued orders for the restoration, repair and upkeep of the defences of the north (*Rot Parl* III, 42, 63–4, 80–1; *CPR 1377–1381*, 455; *CPR 1381–1385*, 344; *Rot Scot* II, 32), the appeal of such an all-purpose solution to the problem of safeguarding Carlisle could have been considerable.

The architect who undertook to build the new gatehouse was John Lewyn, who had already been employed by the crown at Bamburgh, but probably owed his reputation to his work on the priory buildings and the castle at Durham, a reputation which was to bring him employment at Roxburgh, Bolton, Dunstanburgh, Raby, Sheriff Hutton, Lumley, Langley, Wressle, Berwick and Warkworth, as well as at Carlisle, by both the king and several of the great lords of the North (Harvey 1984, 181–4; Harvey 1941, 44–5; Simpson 1941, *passim*). His great strength as an architect has been described as 'his grasp of construction, and the splendour of massive structural work, properly carried out'; he was a 'functionalist' (Harvey 1984, 184), as, indeed, might be deduced from the low, heavy, grim outline of the Carlisle gatehouse. Nonetheless, the gatehouse was admirably designed to make the maximum use of the available space while also fulfilling its necessary military and administrative functions. Lewyn's achievement was all the greater as there was a change of plan, and the gatehouse was made bigger than was originally intended (Gilyard-Beer 1977, 191–210). The indenture of 1378 laid down that the gatehouse was to be 55 feet long, 32 feet wide and 34 feet high, with a gateway through it and a barbican (a projecting outwork) in front. On the west side of the gateway there was to be a turret with a cellar at its foot and two vaulted '*mesons*', on the east side a prison and a chamber. On the floor above there was to be a kitchen (in the upper levels of the turret), with a hall and a chamber off it. But in the event the gatehouse was 77 feet long and 43 feet wide, and contained eleven rooms rather than eight. On the west side of the entrance the kitchen tower appears to have been extended both to west and south, a fact which may explain why, although the gateway itself was constructed as ordered, the barbican was six feet longer than planned. From the 1378 indenture were kept the two rooms on the ground floor, the one a sort of vestibule, the other providing lodgings for a gatekeeper, and above them the hall with its attendant chambers. But whereas the original plan prescribed only a kitchen at the west end of the hall, the extra space created by the extension of the tower allowed the kitchen to go over what was in effect a new prison block, a room with its own entrance from the gate-passage and with a prison below it which was entered through a trap-door in its roof. A service area, not mentioned in the indenture, was installed between the

kitchen and the hall, and it was also found possible to add an extra chamber above the west end of the hall.

R Gilyard-Beer, in an article published in 1977, attributed the change in plan to a realisation that more spacious accommodation would be required to house the warden of the march, who from 1381 onwards was increasingly likely to be a great lord, rather than the mere knight who had usually held that office before (Kirby 1955, 138–9).[1] Observing that Richard Lord Scrope of Bolton became warden of the west march in February 1381, and that Scrope had already entered into an agreement with John Lewyn under which the latter was engaged to carry out substantial works on Bolton castle, Gilyard-Beer argued that it was at Scrope's suggestion, and largely for his own convenience, that changes were made in the Carlisle gatehouse's plan (Gilyard-Beer 1977, 207–8). A re-examination of the evidence, however, leads to different conclusions. For one thing, it seems quite inconceivable that a man of Scrope's eminence, one of the great northern lords and chancellor of the realm both before and after his term on the marches (Tuck 1973, 49, 55) would have been willing, or perhaps even able, to live in a structure as small as the gatehouse, even if it was all at his disposal, which it was not. The first and second floor rooms, for such a man, would have made up less 'a miniature manor-house' (Charlton 1985, 32) than an inadequate bed-sitter, in which there would have been no room for the retinue with which he would certainly have expected to surround himself. Nor is it easy to imagine him contentedly occupying quarters in which he could expect to be continually disturbed by the opening and shutting of the gates, the working of the portcullis (from the hall), the movements of prisoners, and the intrusion of servants carrying water to the kitchen – since there was no well in the gatehouse, every drop of water used in the kitchen would have had to be brought up the stairs and in through the hall and service area.

And there are chronological objections to Gilyard-Beer's theory as well. Changes in the plan began to be made early, long before Scrope became warden, almost as soon, indeed, as building work began. There is nothing in the indenture to suggest that it was not intended to lead to the appearance of an entirely new structure, yet operations in 1378 included, as well as the removal of the gatekeeper's former residence, 'underpinning a solar in the king's gaol beside that gate' (PRO *E364/13* m2d) showing that one of the present gatehouse's most interesting features, the preservation of the eastern end of its predecessor and its incorporation into the rest, had been decided on very soon after work began, though the rooms preserved, at 15 feet square, were slightly larger than those provided for in the indenture. And a reference in 1380 to payment for timber 'to make the new tower for the outer gate of Carlisle castle' (PRO *E101/39/11* m3) shows that work on the west side of the gate-passage too was well advanced before Scrope came to Carlisle. In fact, all the signs are that work was hurried on as fast as possible. In 1378 it was agreed that Lewyn should receive 500 marks (£333 13s 4d) for his work; the king would provide the stone and timber, but Lewyn was to have the stone cut, supply lime and sand (for mortar) and provide transport for the materials. But a writ of privy seal issued in June 1379 ordered the sheriff 'to have carriage made of the timber and all the other things needed for those works' (PRO *E364/13* m7).

More than the gatehouse was now involved, and as the Scots became more aggressive and the English marches less secure (Nicholson 1974, 194–5), there was a corresponding extension in the range of the works at Carlisle, which led in turn to a greater degree of involvement in them by the king's government. Not only did the king pay for stone from Adam Parvyng's quarry at Blackhall and for the purchase of eight fothers of lead, he also met the costs of the carriage of timber and the making of scaffolds, as well as paying for nails, locks, chains, iron bands for doors and windows, hooks and bolts (PRO *E364/13* m7). It is impossible to tell exactly how much money was spent on the Carlisle gatehouse. Between 1378 and 1385 John Lewyn spent a total of £2322 0s 5¾d on works at Carlisle and Roxburgh (PRO *E364/21* m7d). This included 500 marks paid him for 'making a gate, a barbican and a tower over the gate, with various vaults and other works in Carlisle castle...' Almost exactly £1750 was certainly spent at Roxburgh, but that still leaves about £250 which could have been spent at Carlisle. In all probability at least some of it was. Nor was that all. Expenditure on the castle by the sheriff in 1379, amounting to £97 1s 11d, appears to have covered the gate as well as other buildings, in 1380 occurred the payment to the carpenter for wood for the new gate's tower referred to above, while all the £134 0s 7d accounted for by the sheriff as laid out on works in the castle in 1381 and 1382 seem to have been spent on the roof and fittings of the gatehouse (*E364/13* m7; *E101/39/11* m3; *E101/554/24*). Precision is unattainable, but the total cost of the gatehouse could easily have been between £500 and £600.

So why, if the new gatehouse was so badly needed for military reasons that it had to be put up with such urgency and at such expense, was it not built to the original design? The answer can probably be deduced from the decision to retain the rooms east of the gate-passage, which itself reflects the various functions which the gatehouse performed. For it was not just a defensive strongpoint. Although it is impossible to tell how the previous gatehouse was laid out, John de Lucy's petition of 1303/4 suggests that it contained residences for the sheriff and a gaoler, a prison and a meeting-place for the County Court (PRO *E207/1/3* no 13), while the inquests into the riots of 1345 make it clear that the king's exchequer for Cumberland was housed in a room over the outer gate (PRO *C49/46/16* no 9). Government must go on, the sheriff's offices and the prison below could not be demolished, so they were kept up at the same time that the rest of the building was coming down. There is nothing in the reference of 1425 to the 'house called Cheker Howse off Carliolle' (PRO *E368/197* m246d) to suggest that it was not where it had always been. Perhaps it was the loss of the room at the east end of the hall to administrative uses which made it necessary to construct a replacement over the other end of the hall. The new gatehouse was needed, it may be suggested, primarily for defensive purposes. But it was extended because it

served civilian purposes as well, and because it was decided that the structure proposed by the 1378 indenture would be too small to enable it to meet all the demands likely to be made on it.

Far from being the warden's residence, the gatehouse was the sheriff's preserve, as it had been at the beginning of the fourteenth century and would be afterwards, perhaps with a constable under him to direct its military use. When Lord Scrope finally came to Carlisle early in 1381, he was certainly involved in the works, the sheriff being later said to have made payments for them from the issues of the county *de avisamento et ordinatione Ricardi Lescrope* (PRO *E364/18* m2d), but this was because he was warden of the march, not because he was living in the gatehouse. It would, in fact, have been militarily unusual if he had been, the captain of a fortress did not usually occupy the front line of its defences, since in the event of its fall his capture would certainly lead to a demand for the surrender of the rest (not to mention a ransom) as the condition of his own personal safety. The addition of an extra prison to the gatehouse may, indeed, have been made necessary by the presence of the march warden, but not necessarily by that of any particular warden. His was an office which had developed only since the beginning of the Anglo-Scottish wars, that is, long after the first gatehouse had been built, and it may well have created the need for an additional gaol. When breaches of march law were established at march days in this period, it would appear that the warden of the relevant march himself paid any financial penalties incurred, and recovered what was due to him from the offender afterwards. He would therefore have needed a lock-up both for defaulting debtors and for suspected law-breakers, such as the completed gatehouse provided. But though the warden's presence in the castle could thus have added to the uses for which the new gatehouse was built, and provided another reason for the departure from the initial plan, it seems most likely that he himself lived in what was then known as the New Tower, the tower built early in Edward II's reign at the south-east angle of the inner ward. A royal building, it was very much better suited to an aristocratic warden's needs and standing, particularly as from it he had easy access to the palace buildings behind. Here he could live in a manner befitting his rank, while at the same time being able to supervise the defence of the castle's south front. It is strongly implied that the New Tower was occupied by a sizeable household in the indenture in which Lord Clifford, as keeper of the castle, surrendered his charge to the sheriff in 1383 (PRO *E199/7/11(1)*) for among its contents were 'in the chamber in the new tower two great tables and two pairs of trestles and three locks on the three doors of the new tower'. The two new latrines roofed with board, mentioned in 1383 immediately after a new screen and shutter for the new tower, may also have been constructed for the convenience of the warden and his household. No doubt it is significant that by the early sixteenth century this tower had come to be known as the Warden's Tower (PRO *C47/2/51* no 1).

The indenture with John Lewyn is dated 13 April 1378, and work began the same year, with 'the removal of a house in which the gatekeeper of the castle used to live, to another place within the castle' (PRO *E364/13* m7), a phrase which probably refers to the demolition of the old gatehouse west of its gate-passage. At some point a new 'chamber' with a wooden roof was built for the gatekeeper (PRO *E199/7/11(1)*); this appears to have been at the gate, as one would expect, and was probably not intended to be permanent. In 1379 stone was being brought in from the quarry and scaffolding made for the works (PRO *E364/13* m7), while the reference cited above to the procuring of timber for the 'new tower for the outer gate' in 1380 suggests that the kitchen tower was in process of construction during that year (PRO *E101/39/11* m3). In the two years following the gatehouse received its roof, made of Lord Scrope's Wensleydale lead, its woodwork fittings in the way of doors and shutters, and all its defensive equipment (PRO *E101/554/24*). On 5 July 1383 Lord Clifford, the retiring warden, was able to hand over to the sheriff 'all the chambers at the new gate, well roofed with lead...the new gates, well bound and locked with iron' (PRO *E199/7/11(1)*), none of which had been mentioned in similar handovers made in 1381 and 1382 (PRO *SC6/1268/1*; *E101/39/31 verso*). The appointment of commissioners in October 1383 'to survey a gate and a tower upon it, which John Lewyn, mason, contracted to build in Carlisle castle, and to report on any defects in it' (*CPR 1381–1385*, 353) indicates that the gatehouse was now regarded as finished.

The completed structure was protected by 'two pairs of great gates' and a portcullis, obviously then, as now, in the gate-passage, with a pair of gates at each end and the portcullis, worked by three iron chains, between them (these and other details from PRO *E101/554/24*). The outermost of these gates was probably identical with 'le Newyate', described as a 'great gate', which had a wicket attached. Heavily reinforced with nails and iron bands, it was locked with a swing-bar of iron as well as by sundry bolts. Access to the rooms on either side of the gate-passage appears to have been through sliding double-doors. The numerous doors and the shutters which covered windows were all strengthened with iron bands. There is an interesting reference to 'locks, bands, bolts and hooks bought for three doors in the prison in the foot of that tower', suggesting that the prison (whichever side of the gate this one happened to be on) involved more than a hole in the ground, and probably included the chamber above as well. There were degrees of imprisonment and different sorts of prisoner. When people could find themselves detained as debtors or sureties, or for breaches of march or forest law, it would have been improper to treat them all as suspected felons, and some would have received a lighter confinement than others. Even so, when thirty or forty suspects might appear at a single Carlisle gaol delivery, there must sometimes have been considerable problems of space, and some prisoners would surely have had to be kept elsewhere, in the keep, perhaps, or in some of the wooden buildings dotted about the outer bailey.

Other building works

The gatehouse was not the only work in progress between 1378 and 1383, other repairs and replacements were made, in a programme which continued after 1383 and altogether amounted to a comprehensive refurbishment of the whole castle, while there were also works on the defences of the city, with at least £300 spent on them between 1379 and 1388. Inevitably, it is not always easy to see what was done. References to work on a 'new tower', for instance, can be ambiguous, because in the years round 1380 there were two so named, the older built at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the more recent part of the new gatehouse. But when in 1379 the sheriff accounted for lead bought 'for covering the tower called the new tower, now roofed with board' (PRO *E364/13* m7), the fact that work on the gatehouse was still very far from complete, that lead was also required for roofing the great hall (which in 1383 contained four tables and four sets of trestles, with eight benches, and was doubtless occupied by the main body of the garrison), and that in 1363 the old New Tower had been described as having a wooden roof (PRO *E101/482/29*), makes it certain that it was with the older building that the sheriff was concerned.

The reroofing of the New Tower was not the only work to be undertaken in the inner bailey. In 1379 up to ninety stones of lead were used to repair the top of the keep (PRO *E364/13* m7), the turrets of which also needed attention; an old turret was repaired in 1384, and in the following year carpenters were paid for 'making and repairing a watch-tower on the great tower...' The gates of the keep appear to have been replaced, and 200 great spike-nails were bought to strengthen planks and joists (PRO *E101/40/6* mm1, 10). Rebuilding took place, too, on the Captain's Tower at the entrance to the inner bailey, and on the wall adjacent to it, while the ditch in front of it was cleaned out (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). And there was work on the eastern, outer wall of the inner bailey, possibly where it had needed attention as long ago as 1321, 'below the queen's chamber' (PRO *C145/86* no 44). A mason was paid for making 'a part of the wall between the royal hall and the new tower of the inner bailey', and its battlement was later refurbished (PRO *E101/40/6* mm1, 10). Less can be said about the buildings of the outer bailey, because fewer can be identified as such. Three chambers and a stable recorded in 1384 (PRO *E101/40/6* m10) probably stood in the outer bailey, and 'various chambers' in it were repaired in 1385 (PRO *E101/40/6* m1); there is no way of telling what these were, but they could have included the kitchen, stable and 'houses for the castle's hay' referred to at various times (PRO *E364/13* m7; *E101/40/6* m1). There was a chamber and a turret near a prominence called Haughoushill or Haukehoushille (PRO *E101/554/17(1); E101/40/6* m10), which appears to have been at the northern angle of the outer bailey, while three 'garrets', which seem to have been watch-towers, being often found near posterns and other points potentially at risk, were made in 1384 (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). It is not clear if the old wooden hall of Edward I's latter years was still standing. In 1385 two carpenters were said to have spent two and a half days repairing an old chamber 'in the lower (*inferiori*) bailey of the castle by the king's hall there...' (PRO *E101/40/6* m1). There certainly were wooden chambers close by the old hall, but this could only be said with confidence to have been that hall if it could be shown that *inferior* was not a mistake for *interior*, and that *inferior* in this context meant outer anyway. If this was the old wooden hall, the reference of 1385 represents its last appearance.

It is probable that there were a good many 'chambers' and storehouses in the outer bailey, which is not likely to have been left entirely empty, though the buildings erected in it, being made of wood, were doubtless continually replaced, not necessarily always on the same site. There was a stable under the great hall in the inner bailey (PRO *E199/7/11* f1), presumably for the horses of the sheriff, his staff and the peacetime garrison, but the strengthening of the garrison in the early 1380s must have created a demand for more space for horses, and another stable, a large one, using thirty wagon-loads of timber and needing a week to make, was constructed in 1385 (PRO *E101/40/6* m1). This can only have been built in the outer bailey, which was also still used as a pound – in 1356 the keeper of the castle was ordered to give the sheriff 'a fit place in the outer bailey of the castle where the distraints taken by him and his bailiffs for the king's debts may be detained and kept safely' (*CCR* 1354–1360, 259). Any empty spaces in the outer bailey were probably taken up by horses and cattle, with all the noise, dirt and smell that that would have entailed. The walls of the outer bailey were also taken in hand. In 1384 part of the wall near the Haukehoushille was said to have 'completely fallen down' and so needed to be rebuilt (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). This may have been on the western side of the castle, where there had been trouble before and would certainly be trouble again, since late in 1387 three masons undertook to rebuild 'a section of stone wall, surrounding one of the gardens of Carlisle castle on the west side', while part of the city wall on the other side of the Caldewgate also needed restoring at this time (PRO *E101/483/3*). Seven years later, in 1394, reference was made to 'the repair of a part of the castle wall suddenly fallen down' (PRO *E364/29* m7), but nothing was said to show where this was. And there were other, less radical, repairs to the walls, doubtless often of the sort that can be summarised as pointing; in 1385 a mason spent 22 days working on the outer bailey walls, a task which included putting shutters on windows, and a labourer spent two days 'repairing and renewing the castle walls and blocking openings with stones...' (PRO *E101/40/6* m1).

The openings blocked up in 1385 were probably redundant windows, or perhaps simply places where stones had fallen out, but there were also several posterns, in addition to the main gate in the south-facing curtain wall. Documentary references to these only occasionally give any idea where they were. Lord Clifford's indenture of 1383 refers to an inner and an outer postern, and to the 'postern of the new tower'. The last of these was probably the so-called Dacre postern at the eastern end of the south curtain. The inner postern may have been another way from the inner to the outer bailey, or it may have been the doorway visible in old

paintings at the foot of the east-facing wall of Queen Mary's tower (Charlton 1985, 11). There are two candidates for the identity of the outer postern. There are two candidates for the identity of the outer postern. One is the 'postern towards the castle mill' and the 'postern of the outer bailey towards the Caldew' (PRO *E101/40/6* m10); these refer to the same structure on the west curtain wall (Fig 29 p 26). The other candidate is the blocked postern on the north curtain wall towards the Eden (Fig 31 p 27). In 1380 the outer postern was given the added protection of watch-towers and railings (PRO *E101/39/11* m3), a fact which strengthens the likelihood of its being identical with the postern 'towards the Caldew', since the latter was said in 1384 to have a watch-tower which had been repaired. The Caldewgate side of the castle was probably the most vulnerable, and the most likely to be attacked – it had taken the brunt of the Scottish artillery in 1315 – and a postern on this side would certainly need extra defences. In 1384 it would appear to have been given an iron gate.

In front of the castle, occupying the land between the south curtain and the palisade which separated the city from the castle, were the gardens. These would appear to have come right up to the walls, though unevenly divided by the castle ditch a few yards away from those walls,[2] and to have been enclosed by railings which presumably ran down to the gatehouse on either side of the track giving access to the castle (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). This track may have had a gate, reinforced with thick iron bands, at its southern end (PRO *E101/40/6* m10),[3] while two wooden gates certainly gave access to each side of the gardens (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). It is improbable that there were also gardens flanking the castle, references to gardens on its east and west sides (PRO *E101/40/6* m1; *E101/483/3*) seem more likely to refer to the two divisions of the one garden in front. There was a postern-gate in the garden until 1384, when it was blocked up (PRO *E101/40/6* m10); wherever it was, its disappearance would have made whatever was grown there less likely to have been trodden down by passing soldiers. In fact the contents of the garden were probably vegetables and fruit trees, providing food for the castle kitchen; the fish pond (PRO *E101/40/6* m10), which may also have been in the garden, its conduit connecting it with the moat, would similarly have existed to supply food. There are several references to a mound, which received a good deal of attention in the 1380s. Probably a new feature (no earlier references to it have been noticed), it was strengthened with piles, heightened with earth from Fisher Street in the city, a quarter of a mile away (PRO *E101/40/6* mm1, 10), and surrounded by a 'hegge' (PRO *E101/40/6* m1). Although a mound was usually a feature of an arbour or a pleasure-garden (McLean 1981, 104–5), this one seems more likely to have been an additional defence for the approaches to the castle (there appears to have been another one on its north side (PRO *E101/40/6* m1)). It may have been identical with the 'artificial bank which should be removed' shown as fronting on Annetwell Street in a plan of 1746 (BL *K Top X 17c*). The gardens were an extension of the castle, and their defensibility had to be seen to; there was a watch-tower in their eastern part (PRO *E101/40/6* m1), probably covering the postern in the New Tower, and attention was given both to their flanking walls and to their ditches, the castle's first line of defence on its southern front.

Both castle and city were protected by ditches. In a wet climate they were doubtless for ever falling in and in need of constant attention. Although in 1380 four workmen were paid 'for cleaning and repairing the moats round Carlisle castle' (PRO *E101/39/11* m3), it seems unlikely that there was a complete circuit of ditches, when the north side, in particular, was already protected by the running water of the river Eden. When in 1384 40 workmen were paid £8 'for making anew a great ditch by the new tower on the eastern side of the castle' and £10 13s 4d for 'making a ditch on the west side of the castle' (PRO *E101/40/6* m10), it is possible that these were moats running parallel to the east and west curtains, but more likely that what was described were the two parts of the ditch immediately in front of the south curtain. In 1387 orders were given for 'repairs to the walls and towers and the making of ditches round the city and castle' (PRO *E101/483/3*); it may well have been now that ditches were made to protect the approaches to all three city gates (*CPR* 1385–1389, 42–3; PRO *E372/229* m6d; *E199/7/16* m2), but there is no evidence that more work was done on the castle ditches, and the phrasing of the order may in fact have been a purely conventional one, intended to convey the scope, rather than to prescribe the exact details, of the work to be done. There was also a ditch inside the castle, in front of the inner gatehouse; in 1384 28 men spent two days cleaning it out, and its bridge, like that outside the main gatehouse, was repaired. Both were drawbridges, operated by ropes (PRO *E101/40/6* m10).

War and peace in the borders

The background to these works, the building of the new gatehouse, the restoration of fallen walls, the scouring out of ditches, was not at all a peaceful one, and it says much for the importance of the project that it was carried through. The Anglo-Scottish truce remained nominally in force until 1384, but the years of refurbishment and renewal were nevertheless years of war in the marches, and far from being left peacefully to workmen and builders, the castle was several times under threat and was manned by an ever-increasing garrison, a fact which no doubt accounts for much of the extra work besides that on the gatehouse. In May 1378, in the aftermath of 'a misadventure then suffered by our people of the west march of Scotland at the hands of the Scots, whereby our people of that march were enfeebled and the Scots strengthened' – probably the defeat of a raid from Cumberland into South West Scotland (Riley 1863–4 I, 373) – the sheriff, Sir John de Derwentwatre, who was then occupying the castle with his retinue (his *mesnee* – a glimpse of what was doubtless the castle's usual garrison), and had already brought in two extra men-at-arms, each with a squire and two horses, and four archers, each with a horse, now added six more men-at-arms and ten more archers, who stayed there for the rest of the year (PRO *E159/155 brevia directa* Trinity rot 7). As in the reign of

Edward II, the growing danger from Scottish raids led to a build-up of the garrison of city and castle. In 1380 the West March was defended by a force of 3 knights, 40 men-at-arms and 50 archers (PRO *E404/12/77* no 39), not all of whom, however, will have been resident in the castle. At the end of 1381 'castle and west march' were defended by 2 knights, 21 men-at-arms and 27 archers (PRO *E364/15* m9d), and there was a similar force of 20 men-at-arms and 30 archers in the castle the following year (PRO *E199/7/11* f7). The Scots had continued to attack North-West England; in 1380 they sacked Penrith and drove off cattle from Inglewood forest (Riley 1863–4, II, 437–8), in 1383 they shot fire into Carlisle and burnt down one of its streets (Lumby 1895, II). But destructive though they were, such incursions were little more than large-scale forays, and the real danger was only to come in 1384, when the truce, nominally in force since 1357, was due to expire.

In January 1384 it was decided that Carlisle castle should have a garrison of 50 men-at-arms and 100 archers, and shortly afterwards the city was said to be manned by 40 men-at-arms and 80 archers (*CDS* IV nos 320, 326). Together these made up the biggest garrison Carlisle had had for many years, but even so it may soon have looked inadequate. As soon as the truce expired the Scots took Lochmaben in Annandale, the last English outpost in South West Scotland, leaving no barrier between themselves and Cumberland. The English response was to raise yet more men for the defence of the West March; in June 1384 it was agreed that John Lord Neville, as warden of that march, should command 120 men-at-arms and 240 archers for the protection of Carlisle castle and city (PRO *E404/13/88* no 43). Half this force was for the safeguarding of the city, half for that of the castle; if a peace or truce was made, only 60 men-at-arms and 120 archers would be retained, for the defence of the castle – still a substantial garrison. It would be some time before it became possible to lay off men with any confidence, indeed, the garrison agreed on in November 1385, totalling 360 men, was the same size as that of June 1384 (Storey 1957, 598). This was not surprising, since earlier in 1385 the Scots had invaded in force. Passing down the west coast as far as Cockermouth, they turned inland, burnt Penrith, and probably ravaged in north Westmorland, before moving back north up the Eden valley (Laing 1879, 29–30; Lumby 1895, II, 205; PRO *C143/407* no 20). Early in September they were before Carlisle, and made a heavy attack on the city, with ladders and siege engines, according to Higden, with artillery, according to Froissart (Lumby 1886, 66–7; Froissart 1848, II, 54). Any siege train the Scots may have had with them is unlikely, in view of their recent mobility, to have been very large, and if they did have guns, so too did Carlisle.

The earliest reference to cannon at Carlisle dates from 1380, when Richard Potter, a householder in the city, was paid £4 for making two guns from a bronze wedge (PRO *E101/39/11* m3). Doubtless these were among the *artillaria* which Lord Scrope handed over to the sheriff when he resigned his wardenship at the end of 1381 (PRO *E364/15* m9d). But these guns may not have been very satisfactory (they were probably small), for in 1384 Richard Potter made three more, two of them described as 'great' (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). They would appear to have been cast in bronze, and then to have been strengthened by having iron strips bound round their barrels. Set up on substantial wooden platforms (seven oaks were needed to make these), the two larger guns were mounted on the keep, the smaller in the northernmost corner of the outer bailey. Sulphur and saltpetre were bought in York and presumably mixed with charcoal from Inglewood to make gunpowder at Carlisle; in the following year gunpowder seems to have been bought ready made, as the emergency of that year probably required (PRO *E372/230* m6d). The cannon fired stone balls, 120 of which were made by a mason in five weeks; if each working week contained six days, he would have averaged only four gunstones a day, so they would appear to have been large ones. How effective the new guns were in 1385, or even if they were fired at all, is not recorded. The Scots soon withdrew, scared off, according to one account, by the miraculous intervention of the Virgin Mary, Carlisle's patron saint (Lumby 1895, II, 205). In 1388 they were back in Cumberland and devastated it thoroughly. The parts around Carlisle were among those ravaged (ibid, 297–8; PRO *E159/166 brevia directa* Michaelmas rot 17), but there is no evidence for an attack on the city, which was probably now too well defended, thereby justifying the works of the previous ten years. There were further raids on the North West in March 1389 (Lumby 1886, 205–6), but in September of that year the Scots became parties to the Anglo-French truce of the previous June (Nicholson 1974, 216), and the borders remained ostensibly at peace until the end of the century.

The years between 1378 and 1389, in particular, were a period of considerable upheaval, with a background of menace from Scotland, the build-up of the garrison, and the work on the defences, and the city must often have been full of strangers. In times of Scottish invasion there would be refugees from the countryside, while the labourers John Lewyn was licensed to press might come from all over northern England (*CPR* 1377–1381, 257), and John Neville's following of 1384, so it was laid down, should come half from Cumberland and Westmorland and half from other parts. The enlargement of the garrison is likely to have dictated some of the works of the 1380s. Thus, since both men-at-arms and archers were mounted, there would have been a need for extra stabling, which was met by the purchase of Reginald Meke's granary in Caldewstones. In 1385 this was demolished and its timber re-used to make a stable; since it supplied 30 wagonloads of timber, the completed building was evidently a large one. It is not recorded where the workmen lived, but at least some of the soldiers had to be billetted on the citizens. This had happened before, in Edward II's reign, and then, as in the 1380s, the troops did not always pay for their accommodation (PRO *E159/93* m127); in 1386 orders were given that they should pay 'a reasonable farm' (*CPR* 1385–1389, 110), but those who could, avoided entertaining the soldiery altogether (*CCR* 1381–1385, 542). The proximity of a castle to a city or town could easily give rise to friction; this had happened at Carlisle in the 1340s, but relations were not always bad. When in 1390 quarrels broke out between the bishop and some of the cathedral canons,

the latter were able to enlist the support of 'some soldiers of the town and castle of Carlisle' (*CPR* 1389–1391, 218–9) – perhaps they had been billetted in priory buildings or on priory tenants.

It seems unlikely that gaining access to the castle from the city was usually difficult. The two continued to form a single defensive system, and when the city walls needed repairing, the work might be directed and supervised by the keeper of the castle (PRO *E364/30* m6d). The works on the castle might for their part involve inhabitants of the city, both as suppliers of material, like Reginald Meke, whose granary provided timber, and Robert de Cokermuth, who gave sand (PRO *E101/40/6* m1; Kirby and Kirby 1959), and as craftsmen and labourers. The gunsmith Richard Potter lived in Carlisle, and so did John de Bakhus, John Kirkeby and John Stele, employed to cut wood and wattling-rods (PRO *E101/40/6* mm1, 10). The city itself became a contributor to the works, in the most literal possible sense, when in 1384 120 fothers of earth were taken from Fisher Street to heighten the garden mound (PRO *E101/40/6* m10).[4] The restoration of the cathedral, not yet completed after its near-total destruction in 1292, was still in progress in the 1380s, and the castle works made use of at least one of the facilities which the cathedral workshops provided. In 1378 the sheriff had made a furnace in the castle (PRO *E364/13* m2d), but in 1381/82 and again in 1384 lead for the castle was smelted at 'the abbey' (PRO *E101/554/24*; *E101/40/6* m10), an intrusion which, together with the impressment of available labour, may have been one reason why the cathedral took so long to finish. However productive its gardens and fishponds, a high proportion of the castle's supplies of food and drink must have come from the city, while the fact that the castle was the centre of the king's government in Cumberland was another factor making for continuous contacts. When in 1338 a prisoner from the castle refused to plead to a charge of robbery, twelve 'neighbours to the gaol' were produced, able to testify that the suspect 'spoke today and can still speak if he wants to', after which he was remanded to the *peine forte et dure* reserved for prisoners who stayed silent (PRO *JUST/3/132* m4d). In 1408 a man was convicted of stealing a rosary from the castle, though he escaped hanging by claiming benefit of clergy (PRO *JUST/3/184* m60), while some 100 years earlier a woman gave a circumstantial account in the court of King's Bench of how when she and her husband were in the castle's outer bailey, her husband had been set upon and literally brained by no less a figure than the keeper of the king's victuals (PRO *KB27/155* m4d). She failed to convince the jury of the truthfulness of her accusation, but her implicit description of Carlisle castle as a complex of buildings easily accessible to outsiders tallies well with other evidence.

Techniques and workforce

The accounts for the works on Carlisle castle in the late fourteenth century contain a good deal of information about how the work was done. The workforce, as already observed, was largely assembled by pressing. John Lewyn, who at this time also had works in hand at Roxburgh, Bolton and Dunstanburgh, could hardly have used an already-formed team of craftsmen for all these projects at once (even had he possessed one, which is improbable); he would have had to employ whoever could be found in the vicinity of each. At least one of his Carlisle employees, William Wright, a carpenter, came from Lancaster (PRO *E101/554/24*), and none of the other master-craftsmen, the masons and carpenters, can be identified in Carlisle's return to the Poll Tax of 1377. But whatever their place of origin, it is unlikely that the entire workforce was assembled at once. Work on Carlisle castle had its seasonal ebbs and flows. Building stopped for the winter, but some of the workmen may have been kept on all the year round. During the construction of the New Tower in 1307 and 1308 payments of wages continued through the winter, but at a low level, perhaps only to men hewing and scappling stone for the following summer's building campaign (PRO *E101/554/13,14*; Knoop and Jones 1949, 133). When existing buildings required refurbishing, work inside them, on walls, doors, windows and other fittings, could presumably also be done throughout the year. Some of the craftsmen named as working at Carlisle appear in the accounts for more than one year, and so perhaps efforts were made to retain the services of skilled men by finding them continuous employment. Among the masons John Grene and Robert Waterygg were employed in 1384 and 1387 (PRO *E101/40/6* m10; *E101/483/3*), the carpenter William Wright in 1380 and 1381 (PRO *E101/39/11* m3; *E101/554/24*), Alexander Emson, another carpenter, in 1384 and 1385 (PRO *E101/40/6* mm1, 10). But as a rule a campaign took time to get going, and the workforce for it was built up gradually.

The surviving accounts suggest that first of all the necessary tools would be bought. By 1432 the castle had storehouses where building equipment, like a hook and hawser and a 'bordbarowe', could be kept (PRO *E364/74* m14), but there is no evidence for this 50 years earlier. The cost of barrows, spades, shovels, of the mattocks, iron hammers and axes used in the quarries, of wedges for splitting stones and heavy ropes for lifting them, was not very great, and appears to have been incurred each year (PRO *E101/483/1* r; *E101/554/19* m1). The work began in the quarry. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the stone had come from Wetheral (PRO *E372/153* m2), in the 1380s it came from Unthank and Blackhall (PRO *E101/40/6* m1; *E101/483/3*), both near Dalston and so within the bounds of Inglewood forest, which was also the main source of timber. In 1369, when work began at the end of May, the only labourers paid for the first three weeks were a quarrier and six workmen under him; not until the fourth week did three masons appear on the payroll (PRO *E101/483/1* r). In June of the following year the first week's work was devoted to collecting timber and cutting stone, and four masons began work in the second week (PRO *E101/554/19* m1). A good deal of work on the materials was done *in situ*, before they were conveyed to the castle. This particularly applied to the timber. In 1321/22 boards and laths were specifically said to have been made in Inglewood (PRO *E372/181* m28), and in 1384 24 'stubbes' were cut up in the forest to make palings and railings, which were

then transported to Carlisle in that form (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). Piles and planks were likewise cut in the forest. It is clear that the trees so dismembered had only just been felled; no more at Carlisle than anywhere else in medieval England was it cause for concern that these expensive works were using unseasoned timber, which was bound to warp (Salzman 1952, 237–8) – doubtless one reason why the woodwork so frequently needed renewal. Some awareness of the problem was shown in 1391, when Carlisle was almost entirely destroyed by fire and the king gave the citizens 500 oaks to help make good their losses, by the order that the trees taken should be 'dry at the top, not carrying leaves' (PRO *E364/31* m6); but this apart, nothing appears to have been done to improve the quality of timber used. The stone was broken up in the quarry, but seems to have been shaped at the castle, having been carried there in wagons, which were also liable to be commandeered for the king's use from local people (PRO *E364/4* m3). The weight of these imposed a considerable strain on the castle's bridges, which might have to be protected with layers of heather and sand (PRO *E101/482/29*).

Most of the materials used on the castle and its surrounds were local in origin, sometimes very local indeed, as with the earth from Fisher Street for the garden mound and the granary in Caldewstones broken up to make a stable (that, at least, should have been made of seasoned timber). Mortar for setting stones was made of sand and lime. The sand came sometimes from Caldewstones (PRO *E101/40/6* m1; *E101/483/3*), and sometimes from Blackhall (PRO *E101/40/6* m10), while lime was brought from Bolton Fell, 12 miles north-east of Carlisle. Only one reference has been noticed to the use of cement (PRO *E101/40/6* m10), though resin, which could be used to make cement, was bought in 1381/82 (PRO *E364/18* m2d). Thatch for roofing might also come from the parts north of Carlisle – in 1385 thatch was cut at Blackford near Westlinton (PRO *E101/40/6* m1) – but material of this sort more often came from Inglewood forest, from places like Blaze Fell in Lazonby parish, which supplied piles to reinforce the garden mound (PRO *E101/40/6* m1), Cummersdale, which gave wattling-rods and hurdles (PRO *E101/40/6* m1), and Hutton-in-the-Forest, which provided laths (PRO *E101/40/6* m1). There is little evidence for the use of stone for roofs at this time, though tilers are listed among the craftsmen employed in 1384 (PRO *E364/20* m1). In 1304 the citizens had petitioned the crown for licence to take stone from Inglewood to cover their houses, as an attempted safeguard against fire (*Rot Parl* I, 166–7), and a reference in 1335 to 'sklatestone' as having been brought to the city from the Chalk Beck region in Inglewood (PRO *E101/18/35* m5) shows what might be available. But the preferred alternatives seem to have been thatch and wooden shingles for cheap roofing and lead for important buildings. The latter was expensive and in short supply at Carlisle, perhaps rather surprisingly, given the proximity of the mines at Alston. The inquest jurors recommending repairs in 1321, and estimating that one and a half cartloads of lead would be needed, sounded an almost apologetic note in reporting 'which lead cannot be bought in the neighbourhood of Carlisle for less than 100s' (PRO *C145/86* no 44). When a roof wore out, it was not thrown away but smelted down and used again (PRO *E101/482/29*). For the late fourteenth-century works, lead was supplied from Lord Scrope's mines in Wensleydale, an estimated 72 miles away; five fothers were sent in 1381/82, costing £5 6s 8d each, four more, each now costing £1 less, in 1384. On the latter occasion the cost of carriage amounted to £4 13s 4d (PRO *E101/554/24*; *E101/40/6* mm1, 10), or rather more than that of an extra fother, so given the expense of both the material and its transport, it is not surprising that it was used sparingly, and recycled when necessary. Ropes on one occasion came from Penrith and Naworth (PRO *E101/554/24*), the tools probably from Carlisle, where smiths are often recorded and may sometimes have become involved in the works, like the man paid 4s in 1370 for sharpening tools (PRO *E101/483/1 verso*). And there was always the possibility of borrowing equipment or facilities in the city, like the use of the cathedral furnace for smelting lead, or the cable and windlasses supplied by Thomas de Lucy in 1363 (PRO *E101/482/29*).

The stone, unlike the timber, appears to have been cut at the castle, by masons doubtless working under cover, either temporary, like the pentice whose construction for this purpose was recommended in 1321 (PRO *C145/86* no 44), or permanent – there were masons' sheds by 1434 (PRO *E364/74* m14). The masons did not work alone, but had assistants (as a rule about one *per* mason), described as workmen or servants, whose job was 'ministering stone, mortar and other necessaries to the masons' (PRO *E101/483/1* r). The carpenters, who were responsible for all the woodwork, big and small, were the most important craftsmen after the masons. They seem to have worked as a team, with a master carpenter directing the operations of 'lesser carpenters' (PRO *E101/554/19* m1) and receiving a higher rate of pay, and they too might have servants. And there were scythers who cut thatch, plumbers who smelted and cast lead, smiths to sharpen and repair tools, and large numbers of labourers to fetch and carry, dig, hoist and hawl. The numbers of these last were greatest when there was work to be done on the ditches. Forty men toiled continuously for 16 days in 1384 to make a ditch on the west side of the castle (perhaps in one of the gardens), while for cleaning out another ditch during that same year as many as 62 men were required, though only for one day (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). In 1363 two masons were each paid 2s 6d a week, and carpenters received the same wage, except for two men, doubtless master carpenters, who earned 3s a week; two servants, on the other hand, earned only 2s a week, or 4d a day (PRO *E101/482/29*). On the whole these rates of pay continued for the rest of the century, with masons and carpenters still receiving 6d a day, or 3s a week, and workmen 4d a day, or 2s a week, in the mid 1380s. In 1370, however, labourers were earning 5d a day, masons and carpenters 3s 4d a week (PRO *E101/483/1*); Carlisle had been attacked by plague in the previous year, so it seems reasonable to assume that the temporary shortage of labour which resulted had allowed the survivors to claim higher wages, if only for a while. As

a rule, the men worked a six-day week, stopping only on Sundays, but on important saints' days, too, no work was done; the feasts of Ss. James, Peter *ad Vincula*, Barnabas, Peter and Paul, Bartholomew, Cuthbert, Lawrence and the Beheading of St. John the Baptist came into this category.[5]

The techniques used were inevitably primitive by modern standards, but the works at Carlisle seem to have had most of the labour-saving devices of the age. To give masons and carpenters access to the upper reaches of the buildings they repaired, and to enable work to proceed as new buildings grew upwards, the carpenters supplied scaffolding, sometimes made of hurdles – a common practice (PRO *E101/554/19* m2; Salzman 1952, 320) – or occasionally, when something substantial was required, of 'great timber' (PRO *E101/554/19* m2). Centrings were used to support vaults and arches until the mortar set (PRO *E101/483/1 verso*). The movement of heavy materials along the ground was facilitated by the use of trundle-wheels (PRO *E372/208* m40d), the hoisting of stone and timber by the use of windlasses (PRO *E101/482/29; E101/40/6* m1), and also by means of the cable, pulley, axletree and iron hook which together made up the characteristic medieval '*verne*' for lifting great weights (PRO *E101/40/6* m10; Salzman 1952, 324). Less can be said of the work itself, indeed, its frequently lamentable condition probably says everything necessary about its quality. The local climate was not kind to masonry and woodwork (that, for instance, the autumn of 1365 should have been remarkable for storms and rain (*VCH Cumb* II, 135) may have been an important reason for the works carried out in 1367 and 1368). But at least techniques were known for giving buildings as much security as possible. In 1321 it was recommended that the foundations of a new stretch of outer bailey wall should be buttressed by stakes (PRO *C145/86* no 44), and in 1385 the garden mound was reinforced with piles hammered in by an iron '*drywell*' (PRO *E101/40/6* m1), obviously a sort of punch, while when work stopped for the winter, unfinished masonry was covered over to protect it against frost and rain (PRO *E101/483/1* v; Salzman 1952, 91–2). Care might be taken about the appearance of the work, too. Late in 1387 an agreement was made with three masons for rebuilding a short stretch of wall flanking the castle garden on its west side. Not only was it to be 'sufficient and secure in foundation, breadth and height', it was also to be 'in crenellation matching with the old wall adjacent to it' (PRO *E101/483/3*).

For the interior fittings a great deal of wood was used. Window openings were covered by wooden shutters rather than glass (no reference to glazing has been noticed in any account from this period, though glass windows had been ordered for the chapel as long ago as 1244 (*CLR* 1240–1245, 220–1), partition walls were made of upright stakes (*stowryng*), which were then coated over with daub and presumably whitewashed (PRO *E101/40/6* mm1, 10; Salzman 1952, 190). Something stronger was called for in the prison, however, and there in 1363 three carpenters worked at 'making the prison walls with wood within the stones' (PRO *E101/482/29*), which probably gave a timber-framed effect. Warmth was supplied by fire-places in the walls, of the sort still visible in the keep and particularly in the new gatehouse, which had no less than seven of them, as well as the heat from the kitchen. Rain was carried off by gutters, doubtless made of lead like those put under the New Tower roof in 1363 (PRO *E101/482/29*), while as for human waste, the indenture for the gatehouse provided that it was to contain five privies, though in the end it only had four. In the inner bailey there may have been something like a public convenience, since the contents of the castle listed by Lord Clifford in 1383 included 'two new latrines roofed with planks' (PRO *E199/7/11* f1). Although drinking water would still have been supplied by wells, there was no source of running water to clean out these and the other latrines, and their reeking contents would have had to be cleared out at intervals by gangs of labourers, as, perhaps, was done in 1384, when eight men earned a total of 8s for three days' work 'carrying muck from the inner bailey of the castle outside the castle walls...' (PRO *E101/40/6* m10). No doubt it finished up, along with most of the other rubbish produced by the castle, in the river Eden.

Organisation and finance

The work was carefully supervised. For the works of the 1360s and 1370s, before the arrival of John Lewyn, a master mason might be retained in a consultative capacity, receiving a year's fee of 26s 8d 'for having his advice on the mason's work and on occasions overseeing and ordering and instructing the work...' (PRO *E101/483/1* r; *E101/554/19* m1), and when the workmen were out in wood and quarry, and so not directly under their paymaster's eye, a subordinate would be employed to keep them under supervision (PRO *E101/554/19* m3). Work in the castle was probably superintended as it had been in the early years of the century. Just as then there had been a clerk paid for 'guarding and supervising the workmen and writing rolls and indentures for the works...' (PRO *E372/153* m2), so in 1367 and 1368 a clerk of the works was employed, at wages of 8d a day (PRO *E364/3* m7). The old principle that the works should be checked upon by surveyors or comptrollers was maintained, even after John Lewyn had taken over. In 1379, for instance, the prior of Carlisle was appointed both 'surveyor of the works...and controller of payments for it' (*CPR 1377–1381*, 352), and in 1384 the prior was appointed surveyor again, though this time he was to act with the advice of Lord Neville, the warden (PRO *E101/40/6* m3). When the work was completed, as with the gatehouse in 1383, there might be another, doubtless more rigorous, examination (*CPR 1381–1385*, 353). Even when the warden was a famous soldier, there was still no escaping surveillance. In 1390 no less a figure than Henry Hotspur, instructed to see to repairs for castle and city, had to act 'under the supervision and controlment' of Sir Richard Redmayn (PRO *E159/172 brevia directa* Michaelmas rot 10), who was both sheriff of Cumberland and a royal retainer.

Behind the comptroller was the exchequer, and the king's officers at Westminster clearly scrutinised Carlisle's building accounts with some care. They would send for the controlment roll if they found a discrep-

ancy, as in 1388, when following an order that £80 be spent on repairs, it was reported that a total of £81 5s 4d had been laid out (PRO *E101/483/3*), and they did not hesitate to disallow expenditure which seemed unjustified or had not been licensed, even though the sums involved might be very small. In 1369 not only did they cancel a payment of 6s 8d for the food, drink and other necessities of 16 men who had hoisted timber up the wall, as made without warrant (presumably the terms of work only licensed the payment of wages), but 2s 6d paid for canvas to make aprons for the masons was crossed out in the account with the comment 'the masons take sufficient wages' (PRO *E101/554/19* mm1, 2). Such an attitude might seem like straining at gnats while swallowing camels; it is difficult to be precise as to exactly how much money was spent on Carlisle's defences in the reign of Richard II, but it would appear that about £1540 was spent on the castle and the city walls during that reign's 22 years. Yet since all that money either came directly from the exchequer or had been diverted from it, it was only right and proper that it should be accounted for to the exchequer. The receipt of the exchequer was the most usual source of funds for the Carlisle works, but there were others, probably depending on the scale of the programme at any one time. Thus in May 1369 Adam Parvyng was ordered as sheriff to have repairs paid for out of the issues of the county, the resulting costs amounting to £57 18s 5d (PRO *E364/4* m3), and a similar order was given to Roger Clifford in 1377 for an expenditure of £20 (PRO *E364/11* m7). John Lewyn's undertakings, which were certainly on an altogether bigger scale, appear to have been financed directly from Westminster, except for a payment of 20 marks to Adam Parvyng for stone from his quarry, for which the issues of the county were once more drawn upon (PRO *E364/13* m7), and those same issues provided the £134 0s 7d which John de Derwentwatre spent in 1381 and 1382 on works ancillary to those of John Lewyn (PRO *E364/18* m2d). The works of 1384 and 1385, on the other hand, which cost a total of £209 13s 11d, were paid for out of money received from the exchequer (PRO *E364/20* m1) – the ravages of the Scots are likely to have severely reduced the king's revenues from Cumberland. Later on, however, local sources of revenue were once more utilised. In 1386 it was ordered that Carlisle's feefarm of £80 be divided between city and castle (PRO *E364/30* m6d), and in the following year another £80, 'from the issues of the county and the feefarm of Carlisle', were to be spent on repairs (PRO *E101/483/3*).

In 1385 the sheriff was found to have spent some of the issues of the castle demesnes on fortifying the city against the Scottish attacks of that year (*CDS* IV, 346), suggesting that this revenue, too, was still liable to be used for defensive purposes; hence, perhaps, the petition of 1397 by the earl of Huntingdon, who was then warden, for the demesnes to go with the castle (PRO *SC8/253* no 12639). The policy of leasing out portions of the demesnes to individuals for terms of years was by then over forty years old. The rents were paid to the sheriff, who accounted for them to the exchequer, so he, at least, should still have had the income from them, as well as from those unleased, amounting to over £40 *per annum*, at any rate in peacetime. But by the 1390s it was the warden, not the sheriff, who controlled the castle and therefore needed control of the demesnes as well; in due course some of them would be entrusted to him. The development of this policy of leasing suggests that as a source of food the demesnes were less important than they had been. In the 1340s some still grew crops, corn, barley, rye and oats, as well as serving as meadow and pasture (PRO *E159/124* m203d), and they may have still done so later, but their value in this respect would obviously fall considerably if they were destroyed by the Scots, as often happened. In the early fifteenth century supplies were still being obtained from Ireland (PRO *E159/181 brevia irretornabilia* Michaelmas (unnumbered)), and since in 1376 the keeper of Lochmaben was ordered to buy victuals there (*Rot Scot I*, 975), while in 1381 Lord Scrope, in his capacity as warden, obtained a year's protection for Robert Karlell (a Carlisle citizen) and his ship 'La Clement' of York, supplying victuals to the castle (*CPR 1377–1381*, 604), without much doubt in western waters, it seems safe to assume that Irish food and drink continued to come to Carlisle throughout the fourteenth century. But when houses could be commandeered for the garrison, and labourers and carts impressed for the works, it is likely that a high proportion of the supplies required for the castle were either bought or obtained by purveyance in Carlisle itself, though as there is no sign of the bitterness in the 1380s which informed castle-city relations in the 1340s, prises were probably paid for in good time and with due regard to the value of the goods purchased. In fact the policy which developed after 1381 of entrusting the castle to a warden who was also a magnate must have helped to maintain good relations in this respect, since such a warden, who would have had considerable resources of his own, would consequently have been able to pay in cash to meet his own and the castle's needs, without having to wait for money from the exchequer. When in 1384 the exchequer was ordered to pay £100 to Lord Neville because of 'the scarcity of victuals at present in Carlisle and the parts around…by reason of the costs sustained by him because of that scarcity' (PRO *E404/13/18* no 44), it was clearly reimbursing him for money paid from his own pocket to meet a temporary crisis.

The rising level of his fees would also have made it easier for a warden to take such steps. From the 400 marks (£266 13s 4d) paid to Roger Clifford for his wardenship of twelve months from 5 July 1382 (PRO *E101/39/31* r) the rate of pay rose substantially as war engulfed the borders. The earl of Northumberland was to receive £266 13s 4d for just six months from September 1384, while in November 1385 Ralph Neville and Thomas Clifford agreed to keep Carlisle, with its garrison of 360 men, for a whole year for 8000 marks (Storey 1957, 598). With the coming of peace the rate of pay inevitably fell, but the £1500 *per annum* received by Hotspur during his years as warden between 1390 and 1396 – with the promise of £6000 should war break out again (ibid, 600) – was still a far from insignificant income, and no doubt it was intended, or at any rate expected, that he would finance essential repairs or buy necessary supplies out of the issues of his wardenry and claim his expenses at the exchequer after-

wards. The independence, the freedom of manoeuvre, which such a procedure gave to the warden foreshadowed later developments, when the power of the northern magnates would become a threat to the crown that paid them so generously. But in the meantime Richard II kept a close watch on his northern borders, where the truce with Scotland in the last ten years of his reign enabled him to curtail the power of the Percies, a policy which ultimately went far towards costing him his throne (Tuck 1973, 201–2). Nor was his successor neglectful of Carlisle's defences, for in November 1399 the newly-installed Henry IV, 'considering that Carlisle castle and town have great need of repair', granted £200 from taxation in Cumberland for the necessary works. That so large a sum should have been needed so soon after the major works of the 1380s is yet another demonstration of how quickly masonry and woodwork deteriorated when heavily used in an inclement climate, and there can be no doubt that finance on this scale, at close and regular intervals, was what the castle really needed if it was to be adequately maintained. Unfortunately, the money granted in 1399 was apparently never spent as proposed, and over 20 years would pass before the castle received any further attention.

Notes

1 In the pages which follow I dissent strongly from Gilyard-Beer's conclusions as to the reasons for this change of plan. But his article retains its value for the quality of the structural survey it contains.

2 This is how I have interpreted 'the ditch of the castle between the castle gardens' (PRO *E101/40/6* m10), though it could have been a ditch running alongside the approach to the castle.

3 'the outer gate of the castle by the garden of the same castle'

4 Inhabitants identified from Kirby and Kirby 1959, 110–17.

5 For an example of a day's wages being stopped from a week's pay specifically because a saint's day had fallen during it see PRO *E101/554/19* m3 (week 14).

10 The period of Warden control, 1399–1537

The Percies and the Nevilles 1399–1426

The usurpation of Henry IV brought important changes to Carlisle and the borders. Not only did the Percies return as wardens of both marches, but Richard II's policy of peace with Scotland was abandoned. In 1400 the new king himself led an army into Scotland; he achieved nothing, and thereafter neither he nor his successors concerned themselves directly with the marches, which were left instead under the control of their wardens (Brown, 1974). The crown undertook to pay the wardens, but during most of the fifteenth century had little say in how the latter spent the money they received. A warden might find it necessary to use part of his fee to pay for routine maintenance to a fortress like Carlisle castle, but he was under no obligation to tell the exchequer about it; large-scale repairs would be funded by the crown, but there may well have been a good deal of minor repair-work of which no record survives, and evidence for the condition of the castle during the fifteenth century is generally scanty. The renewal of Anglo-Scottish hostilities would certainly have led to its being more intensively used. In August 1400 orders were given for the drafting of 600 men to reinforce the castle and city garrison (*PPC* I, 125), and similar reinforcements were probably called in two years later, when a Scottish force invaded England near Carlisle and did 'what evil they could' (ibid, 187); it was probably on this occasion that the castle demesnes were 'entirely wasted and destroyed by the Scots, the king's enemies' (PRO *E199/7/16* m1). The Scots are not in fact said to have attacked Carlisle itself, but the defences of castle and city were nonetheless exposed to the ravages of an equally dangerous enemy, the weather. The rain which in 1402 so destroyed the harvest in North West England that it became necessary to buy wheat in Ireland to victual the Isle of Man and Carlisle and Cockermouth castles (PRO *SC8/167* no 8343) is not likely to have been more merciful to timber and stonework. The warden, the earl of Northumberland, should not have been short of money had he wanted to pay for restoration-work. Appointed warden for ten years in October 1399, he was to receive £1500 yearly in time of truce or peace (£1000 of this was specifically said to be for the custody of the castle and the city, underlining the pre-eminence of Carlisle in the West March), and £6000 yearly in wartime (PRO *E404/15* no 52). He may not have received all the money he was owed, but every effort was nevertheless made to see that he was adequately maintained (Bean, 1959) and went on being made right up to 16 July 1403 (PRO *E403/576* m16), by when the Percies were in revolt; non-payment of their wages was one pretext, though in the circumstances a fairly specious one, for their rebellion. Among those who followed the Percy standard was the porter of Carlisle castle (*CPR* 1401–1405, 253).

In the aftermath of his son's defeat and death at Shrewsbury, the earl of Northumberland lost the wardenship of the West March, which was given instead to the king's loyal supporter Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland, whose family was to dominate North West England for most of the next 70 years. Neville had been granted Carlisle' s feefarm of £80 *per annum* by Richard II in 1395 (*CPR* 1391–1396, 568), and this may have constituted a useful extra source of revenue at a time when his receipts from the crown were not such as to be likely to leave him much over for the upkeep of Carlisle's defences. For whereas Northumberland had been left free to choose how he would spend his warden's salary, Westmorland, when he accepted the custody of the west march in August 1403, agreed to maintain a fixed retinue, a force of 50 men-at-arms and 100 mounted archers in times of truce, and double those numbers in wartime (Storey, 1957, 603–4; PRO *E159/183* Trinity *brevia directa* rot 15). Since it was for these men that he would be paid by the crown, there would be little or nothing left over for the maintenance of the castle and the city walls. And in fact he very often did not get paid. The new system was far more expensive than the old, so that in 1410, although there was a truce in force at the time, the estimated cost of Carlisle and the West March was just over £2400 (*PPC I*, 349), some £900 more than would have been paid to the earl of Northumberland in the early years of the century, and payments were often in arrears. In July 1404, less than a year after he had become warden, Westmorland was owed £2580, and although the earl was given assignments on the customs in ten different ports to clear this debt (PRO *E159/181* Michaelmas *brevia directa* rot 23), by February 1409 things were even worse, since the crown now owed him £3878 (PRO *E28/23* no 24).

Like many of the king's creditors, Westmorland commonly received payment in the form of assignments on future revenues, only to find that others had got there first, so that he had to go back to the exchequer and receive other assignments on other sources of income, a frustrating and time-consuming business. Yet he may have done better than most, in that he was sometimes able to secure payment of at least part of what was due to him out of the issues of national taxation, lay and ecclesiastical. In May 1407, for instance, he received £400 from the subsidy granted at the end of the previous year, and a month later Henry IV ordered that he be paid a further £180 from the same source (PRO *E403/591* m3; *E404/22* no 544). But this did not stop the king's debt to the earl from mounting up. Shortage of money was a problem that bedevilled the whole reign of Henry IV, and it is not surprising that in 1411 a new indenture between king and earl brought a reversion to the old method of paying the latter's fees, which were, moreover, now set at a markedly lower rate than they had been in 1399, £2500 *per annum* in wartime and £1250 in time of truce (Storey 1957, 603–4). This represented a great saving for the crown, yet even the peacetime rate may have been beyond its means, since in March of that same year it was found that only £7500 was available for the defence of both Scottish marches, Ireland and Guyenne, when £20000 was needed (Kirby 1970, 235).

These financial difficulties meant that there was little money available for the fortifications of Carlisle,even though bad weather and hard usage by a large garrison

must have had their effect. Although £200 had been granted for works on the defences in 1399, enquiries ten years later revealed that the men appointed to carry them out had never, on their own admission, 'spent one penny nor concerned themselves in any way with such repairs...' (PRO *E159/186 recorda* Michaelmas rot 28d). The investigations which brought this surprising fact to light were probably themselves prompted by the discovery, some months earlier, that Carlisle's defences were once more in an advanced state of decay. In fact it was the city walls that needed, or at least received, attention first, when in February 1409, it having been reported that 'lately the gates and a great part of the walls have fallen to the ground and the greater part threatens ruin', the citizens were granted £13 *per annum* for the next ten years from the king's customs in Cumberland (*CPR* 1408–1413, 40), supplemented in 1418 by a grant of 50 marks from the proceeds of a subsidy in the diocese of Durham (Dobson 1973, 179). But no more than in the past could the defences of the city be kept apart from those of the castle. The expenditure authorised in 1409 was to be supervised by the warden, and applied, in the terms of the grant, to 'the king' s castle there' as well as to the city's gates and walls. This extension was probably purely titular, but the extent to which city and castle still made up a single defensive unit is well brought out by the appointment in September 1402 of one Robert Tyntour to be 'serjeant of the watches of the town and castle of Carlisle' (*CPR* 1401–1405, 167). Robert, whose appointment was made by the earl of Northumberland as warden and only confirmed afterwards by the king, was to live in the city, where, as the warden's representative, he would probably have directed the military activities of the townsmen and coordinated them with those of the garrison – the two were clearly intended to work together. 1402 had been the year of a Scottish invasion of Cumberland, and in spite of a succession of truces the borders remained uneasy. In July 1413 the newly-crowned Henry V had both marches reinforced, the West March by 25 men-at-arms and 50 archers (PRO *E404/29* no 6), and when the renewal of the Anglo-French wars two years later raised the possibility of Franco-Scottish cooperation against England, the retinue of John Neville, who had succeeded his father as warden of the West March, was increased again, this time by 60 men-at-arms and 120 archers (*PPC* II, 178).

Henry V was not always any more successful than his father had been when it came to paying the march wardens what was due to them (*PPC* III, 73–4), but the Nevilles were loyal to the house of Lancaster and stayed at Carlisle, Richard following John as John had followed Ralph. Their lieutenants, when they had occasion to leave Cumberland, were usually chosen from the members of their own family (Storey, 1957, 606). They put down roots in North West England, and since the West March was not greatly involved in the fighting that periodically erupted on the border in the reign of Henry V, they may have used their augmented military resources for their own benefit, building up their influence by interfering in local feuds – in 1415 some 200 soldiers from Carlisle were said to have been deployed by one William Blenkinsop in an attack on a neighbour near Appleby (Storey, 1954, 73–4). This particular outrage is only recorded because it was the subject of a petition to the Chancellor, but the ordinary processes of civil justice continued to be observed, and it was the report of the king's justices of assize, visiting Carlisle some time before 1424, which led to £20 being spent on the 'Cheker Howse', probably then, as earlier, in the castle gatehouse (PRO *E368/197* m246d). It may also have been this report which in December 1421 led to two commissioners being appointed to survey all the defects both in the castle and in the city walls and report on them to the king and his council (*CPR* 1416–1422, 408), though if the castle fabric was indeed giving serious cause for concern, it is just as likely that it was the warden, who might have to live in it, who made the necessary representations to the crown. Whatever fears were voiced, the report of the commissioners would appear to have confirmed them, since it was followed by the first programme of repairs to the castle for over 20 years. Unfortunately, nothing whatever is known about them except that they cost a total of £286 16s $8^{3}/_{4}$d spent between May 1422 and May 1426, and that they embraced the city as well as the castle (PRO *E364/61* m2d); since, however, the average annual rate of expenditure during the four years involved would have been only about £71 10s, it seems unlikely that anything very radical was undertaken. The same conclusion is also suggested by the fact that further works soon followed. A seven-year truce with Scotland had been concluded in 1424, but Anglo-Scottish relations remained poor, and the truce was often violated (Griffiths, 1981, 156–9). The security of England's northern defences was therefore a matter of some urgency, so much so that new methods were adopted for achieving it. After Carlisle's feefarm of £80 (now once more paid to the exchequer since the earl of Westmorland's death in the previous year) had been assigned to the repair of Carlisle castle and city in December 1426 (*PPC* III, 221), one John Skipton was on 16 February 1427 appointed clerk of the works for Berwick, Roxburgh and Carlisle (PRO *E101/503/6* no 2). The reason for this innovation was doubtless economic. When money was urgently needed for the war in France, to entrust the upkeep of the fortresses on the Scottish border to a single man, rather than to the wardens of the two Marches and the keeper of Roxburgh, would end a situation in which three royal officers competed for scarce resources, and would ensure that such money as could be found was spent where it was needed most.

The period of Neville dominance 1426–1461

Between his appointment in February 1427 and his death on 12 February 1434, John Skipton received nearly £3100 for the three northern fortresses (details and figures, unless otherwise stated, from PRO *E364/74* m14; *E101/483/8; E101/328/8; E101/503/6* nos 3, 5, 8, 10–13). As far as Carlisle was concerned, this appears to have included the £240 granted to the mayor and citizens in 1429 from the city's feefarms of the next three years, which were to be spent, under Skipton's supervision, on the repair of their walls and gates, said to be 'so ruinous and defective, that if any hostile

invasion were made, the city would probably be lost' (*CPR* 1422–1429, 538), and the further £240 given from the same revenues and to the same end in 1431, since 'the gate towards Scotland is not yet half made and the great part of the walls of our said vill are in no way repaired' (PRO *E404/47* no 179). The castle is occasionally mentioned along with the city as subject to Skipton's attentions, but the greater part of these £480 must have been devoted to the latter's defences. Where the castle did benefit from the king's munificence was in its armaments. In March 1430 100 marks (£66 13s 4d) was paid to Skipton so that he could buy 'cannons, lances, gunpowder and other things necessary…', and later that year city and castle acknowledged receipt of his purchases. Richard Neville, now earl of Salisbury and warden since 1420, appears to have been absent, since it was the constable, as his military representative, who in September took possession of stores which included 100 longbows, 1200 arrows, six crossbows, 'six iron cannon with eighteen chambers bound in iron for the same on stands', 428 gunstones, a barrel of gunpowder and a barrel of saltpetre. The bronze guns of the 1380s were probably worn out or broken by now (the lifespan of an early gun usually seems to have been short (Salzman, 1923, 162)), and in any case the early forms of cannon made of bronze were at this time increasingly coming to be replaced by iron guns, made of long strips of that metal welded together to form the barrel, which was further strengthened by iron rings round it (Contamine, 1984, 142–3). Doubtless the Carlisle artillery was of this up-to-date sort. The mention of chambers shows that it was breech-loading; the chamber was a cylinder, shaped rather like a tankard, which had the powder and shot packed into it and was then inserted into the base of the barrel and held in place with a wedge (ibid, 244; Koch, 1978, 206). Its advantage was that since such chambers could be prepared in advance, guns equipped with them could be fired much more rapidly than muzzle-loaders; the disadvantage was that it proved impossible to secure an accurate join for chamber and barrel, so that ignition always entailed a wasteful and dangerous leakage of flame and power. There is no evidence as to where the six cannon were placed; given their likely shortcomings, however, it is not surprising that longbows and crossbows, the traditional means of defence for siege warfare, should still have been required as well.

The city, too, would appear to have had guns by now, since later in 1430 the mayor ackowledged receipt of sulphur and saltpetre for making gunpowder, a total of 543 gunstones, and a 'catcheper' for making more of them. The cannon themselves were presumably already *in situ*. And as in the castle there were also more old-fashioned weapons, 108 longbows, 48 dozen bowstrings for them, 1300 arrows, 240 steel quarrel-heads and 'a big crossbow with its apparatus' (probably a springald) for the Rickergate. The Scots certainly had artillery in the 1430s, and used it, though to little purpose, at the siege of Roxburgh in 1436 (Balfour-Melville, 1936, 230, 264–5), but problems of distance and terrain probably made it unlikely that guns would be employed in an attack on Carlisle. Indeed, given the firepower now available to its defenders, the danger of a direct attack on city or castle must have been slight. Perhaps the sort of smash-and-grab raid which had allowed the Scots to gain a brief possession of Berwick in 1378 (Ridpath, 1848, 241–2) and Wark in 1419 (Storey, 1961, 153) posed a greater threat. The warden was certainly aware of this danger, for when in 1425 he obtained custody of the sheriff's net fishery, or Frithnette, in the river Eden, it was on the grounds that it was 'most profitable at night, and it lies so close under the castle that it cannot at all be occupied by strangers without great danger to the castle and great fear for the wardens who are charged with its safe-keeping' (PRO *E159/202* Hilary *brevia directa* rot 22). Perhaps the fishing was conducted along the lines described by Sir Walter Scott in *Guy Mannering*, where the salmon are hunted with barbed spears or tridents and most commonly at night, 'when the fish are discovered by means of torches, or fire-grates, filled with blazing fragments of tar-barrels, which shed a strong though partial light upon the water'; if so, one can easily understand why the warden did not choose to have scenes 'which might have befitted the regions of Pandemonium' right under the castle walls. With the fishery, the warden also obtained custody of the meadows and pastures round the castle. These doubtless supplied provender for the garrison's horses, and perhaps for cattle and other livestock intended for its larder as well. But nothing is said of the other demesnes producing other sorts of food. Supplies now appear to have been obtained from local victuallers, who, as the warden's lieutenant pointed out when he petitioned for arrears of wages in 1423, stood to suffer considerable impoverishment when the garrison's wages went unpaid (*PPC* III, 73–4). Until the early fifteenth century, local shortages of food had been offset by imports of victuals from Ireland (*CPR* 1399–1401, 430; *CPR* 1401–1405, 61, 189). In 1433, however, when floods and 'pestilence of beasts and herds' led to scarcities (*CFR* 1430–1437, 180–1), the warden was licensed to buy barley and malt in Lincolnshire and East Anglia 'to victual and stock the castle and town of Carlisle' (*CPR* 1429–1436, 327). Ireland's own problems would have left less available for export, and Scottish piracy may have made the passage of the Irish Sea dangerous. In 1449 the West Marches had to be defended by sea as well as by land (PRO *PSO/1/17* no 866).

The restorations and re-armings of the years round 1430 were followed by a period of financial difficulties, as the central government, overburdened by the insatiable demands of the French war, moved towards bankruptcy. Wardens' fees were consistently underpaid (Storey, 1961, 160), and though when the earl of Salisbury undertook the wardenship of both marches in 1434 he made the payment of 'the sommes to hym due for the kepyng of the castel et toune of Carlele and westmarches' and the proper provision of revenues for his maintenance during the coming year, a condition of his accepting this office (*PPC* IV, 270, 272–3), the government was unable to meet its obligation to him, and he resigned in 1435. Lord Dacre, who aspired to succeed him, and offered to hold the wardenship for 800 marks *per annum* less than had been paid to Salisbury, undertook to 'dwell within the castle of Carlisle, where no warden afore this time hath made no continual dwelling within the said castle…' (PRO *E315/52* no

258; Dunning, 1968, 95–9). The allegation of Salisbury's non-residence was probably exaggerated, but the exchequer's failure to pay him cannot have made the earl more eager to take up an under-financed residence in the king's castle on the border when he could doubtless live in greater comfort on his own estates elsewhere. In spite of a brief outbreak of open war in 1436, there was little money available for Carlisle castle. Marmaduke Lumley, the bishop of Carlisle, who was appointed warden to succeed Salisbury in preference to Lord Dacre, received on average about £150 *per annum* less than was due to him, and at the end of his seven years in office was owed £883 2s 1d (Griffiths, 1981, 403–4; PRO *E403/759* m2). Successive clerks of the works for the defences of northern England were appointed after John Skipton's death, but they had immense difficulty in getting any money (*CPR* 1429–1436, 501; *CPR* 1436–1441, 152; *CPR* 1441–1446; Brown *et al* 1963, I, 197), and what they did obtain does not appear to have been spent on Carlisle.

It was left to the earl of Salisbury to have necessary repairs made – as a magnate he was doubtless better able to extract a grant of funds from a hard-pressed government than an inevitably less influential government employee. In 1439 he petitioned for the return of his wardenship when Lumley's term expired in 1443, professing himself willing to take a yearly fee of just £1000, and he also requested £200, to be received in four £50 instalments from the yearly issues of the county, for the repair of the keep, which he claimed was in danger of falling, 'but if hasty reparation thereof be made, will cost you £1000 and more…' (PRO *E28/63* no 40). Salisbury's fee was cut to £983 6s 8d, and nothing was said about the keep, but since in 1444 the sheriff was cleared of £50 due from the issues of Cumberland on the grounds that the money had been paid to the earl 'for the repair of the dungeon of the castle', and in at least two other years the earl was expected to account for similar sums received from other sheriffs (PRO *E372/289* m42; *E368/228* m198d), it seems clear that the money was found and the repairs carried out. Even if the keep was not in fact on the verge of foundering, it may well have been in need of attention; for since John Skipton's works had been concentrated on the city walls, nothing appears to have been done for the castle fabric since the mid-1420s. Nor was anything further done for many years. In July 1448, with war once more threatening, Ralph Percy and John Lematon (the latter being now clerk of the works) were commissioned to press labourers and purvey materials and carriage (to pay in cash for all these things was obviously beyond the government's means) for works at Berwick, Roxburgh and Carlisle (*CPR* 1446–1452, 183), but there is no evidence that anything was done, at any rate at Carlisle, and the war may in fact have prevented it, since there was fighting and devastation round the city, whose suburbs were burnt (Griffiths 1981, 409–10). In April 1449 the king ordered that Salisbury be paid £1000 out of taxation 'for the safeguard of the said marches' (PRO *E404/65* no 126), and during his second wardenship, or at least in its early stages, he was much more successful in securing payment of his fees (Storey, 1966, 117), which should in turn have meant that there was money available for the maintenance of the castle as well as of its garrison. But in the 1450s the ever-increasing financial difficulties of the king's government, and then his own growing identification with the anti-court party of the duke of York, led to a marked decline in his revenues (Griffiths 1981, 410), and this, together with the development of the political strife which was to become the Wars of the Roses, meant that as in the early 1430s, Salisbury was less often at Carlisle.

An indenture made in 1457 between the earls of Salisbury and Warwick, who were now joint wardens, and Sir Thomas Neville, one of Salisbury's younger sons, whereby Thomas became lieutenant on the west march for the next three years, sheds some light on the organisation of Carlisle and the West March at this time (PRO *E327/183*). Thomas was to be paid £333 6s 8d yearly in peacetime, £500 should war break out, and out of this income which, in peacetime at least, was to be paid entirely out of what were essentially royal revenues in Cumberland, like Carlisle's £80 feefarm, he was to 'bear and sustain of his own proper costs the whole charge of the household that shall be kept within the said castle…', as well as the wages of the constable. The latter was only ten marks *per annum* (*CCR* 1441–1447, 96), and the garrison, as in the past, seems likely to have been as small as was consonant with security. Since in 1415 the cost of 60 men-at-arms and 120 archers for just over six months had been £1140 (*PPC* II, 178), the number of men who could have been maintained at the same wages for 12 months out of only £333 6s 8d would have been considerably fewer, probably less than fifty. The possibility of fighting, even of incursions into Scotland, was certainly borne in mind, since arrangements were made for the disposal of Thomas's 'winnings of war', but it seems unlikely that Salisbury envisaged anything more serious than the familiar routines of border raiding and skirmishing. Should war break out in earnest, no doubt the garrison would have been reinforced by bands of Neville retainers, and perhaps by the arrival of Salisbury or Warwick with a retinue of fighting men; if either of those earls, it was laid down in 1457, should come to Carlisle 'and take his lodging within the said castle, he shall pay to the said Thomas for the costs of him and all them that come thither with him to meat and drink…'. It was with a skeleton staff that Thomas Neville was to hold Carlisle and the West March, and the money he would be paid was not enough to support another household in the castle. But as long as there was peace in the borders Carlisle could be kept on the cheap, leaving the senior Nevilles free to devote their attention and resources to national politics elsewhere.

Carlisle and the Wars of the Roses 1461–1470

But full-scale war did break out, both within England and between England and Scotland, and Carlisle was engulfed in it. A conflict between the Nevilles and the Percies for control of the West March which had begun in 1449 became part of the wider conflict between York and Lancaster. After the latter's defeat at Towton in March 1461 Henry VI and Queen Margaret fled to

Scotland; they had already undertaken to surrender Berwick in return for Scottish help, a promise they honoured as they crossed the border, and now they offered to give up Carlisle as well if the Scots would help them to capture it (Gillingham 1981, 137). In 1453 Henry VI himself had described Carlisle as the stronghold 'wherein resteth the defence of this our realm from the danger of our enemies of Scotland' (PRO *E404/69* no 210), and the Scots were certainly no less aware of its importance. The possibility of capturing it with English help made this an opportunity not to be missed, and in the late spring of 1461, probably in May, an army of Scots and Lancastrians formed the siege of Carlisle. Very little is known about it, but damage to the city walls in 'le Sege' (CRO *Ca4/1/138*) suggests that the invaders may have had guns, a reference to damage to priory property in Carlisle (Davey 1972, 74–5) that they eventually broke into the city. The 'eminent services' for which Richard Salkeld, a Neville retainer, was later rewarded, which included 'rescuing the city and castle of Carlisle from the rebels' (*CDS* IV no 1370), probably entailed getting himself and his men into the castle and there prolonging resistance until a relief force could arrive. Eventually the earl of Warwick's brother, John Neville, Lord Montague, led an army into Cumberland; the siege was 'broken' and the invaders defeated, 6000 of them being improbably said to have been killed (Gairdner 1910, II, 13). The damage in and around the city was considerable, so much so that Carlisle's feefarm had to be cut by half, to £40 *per annum* (*CPR* 1461–1467, 82).

Among the consequences of the defeat of the Lancastrians was the return to Carlisle of the Nevilles, who had lost control of the West March in 1460. Now the earl of Warwick was appointed its warden for no less than twenty years, during which he would receive the fees his father Salisbury had enjoyed before 1435, £2500 per annum in wartime and £1250 in time of peace or truce (ibid, 422). His commitments elsewhere, however, were such as to prevent his often residing at Carlisle in person, and so first his brother, Lord Montague (Durham, *Locellus* 25 no 19), and then, apparently, his brother-in-law Lord FitzHugh (CRO *D/AY* no 137) acted as Warwick's lieutenant on the West March. The placing of Montague's and Warwick's arms on a stone at the top of the keep (Bouch 1948, 167) may indicate that some repairs were carried out in the early 1460s. No documentary evidence has been found for this, but Warwick certainly had means sufficient to enable him to finance any works that were necessary; his already immense wealth was continually being augmented by royal generosity (Ross 1974, 437–8), and he does not appear to have had much difficulty in obtaining payment of his warden's fees (eg PRO *E404/74/2* no 116). Warwick's control of the North West must have appeared complete, and as relations between him and Edward IV became increasingly strained in the late 1460s, the city and castle of Carlisle probably looked like being as important a bastion of the Neville cause as they had been in the days of the earl of Salisbury.

Carlisle may have played a part in the Neville-inspired disturbances which broke out all over northern England early in 1470 (Ross 1974, 141), which would certainly explain what happened next. Suppression of those disorders brought Edward IV to York between 22 and 27 March (ibid, 144), and it can only have been on this occasion that he gave verbal orders to Edward Story, the bishop of Carlisle, 'for the reducing of the castle of our said city out of the possession of our rebels and enemies'. The king's orders were passed on to the mayor, Robert Skelton, and executed by him and the citizens, 'to and at our singular pleasure and desire' (PRO *E404/75/3* no 56).[1] Skelton may have been a committed Yorkist (in 1462 he had captured the Lancastrian Sir William Legh and handed him over for execution (Scofield 1923, I, 233–4)), while the reduction of their feefarm in 1461 probably helped to persuade the citizens to support their king against the Nevilles. No doubt a surprise attack, coming from a totally unexpected quarter, was enough to overcome any resistance; the whole operation only cost £20, so any hostilities must have been brief. The Nevilles had lost a vital base, and Edward IV was able on 7 May 1470 to appoint Sir William Parr to be 'lieutenant of the castle of the city of Carlisle and the west marches towards Scotland' (*CPR* 1467–1477, 209). Parr had been a follower of Warwick's (Goodman 1981, 62), but the fact that his lord was by now a fugitive traitor obviously led him to change his allegiance. These rather obscure events in the North West proved to be of some importance. Lord FitzHugh's rising of July 1470 in North Yorkshire and Cumberland was clearly intended to be a coordinated pro-Neville revolt on both sides of the Pennines (Pollard 1979). FitzHugh himself had probably been Warwick's lieutenant at Carlisle, while among the rebels was Richard Salkeld, described as 'late constable of the king's castle of Carlisle' (*CPR* 1467–1477, 214) – he was probably dismissed from this office when the citizens captured the castle. The Nevilles had doubtless been counting on control of Carlisle and the support of its garrison, and their rising would certainly have been even more dangerous than it ultimately was, had Carlisle still been in their hands. As it was, Sir William Parr was able to put some, at least, of the North West's military resources at the disposal of Edward IV for the campaign in which he won the battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury (Ross 1974, 164).

The rule of Richard of Gloucester 1471–1485

With the fall of the Nevilles, a new power arose in the North West, that of Richard of Gloucester, Edward IV's youngest brother, who as both the king's representative and the heir to the Neville interest in the right of his wife Anne, Warwick's younger daughter, came to dominate the region. He had become warden of the West March in 1471, and in 1475 was granted what were in effect all the king's revenues in Cumberland outside Inglewood forest, including 'all the demesne lands of the castle of Carlisle' (*CPR* 1467–1477, 556). These last were clearly now seen as a source of rent rather than of supply, and victuals were obtained instead from merchants, who might not even be natives of the region, from men like Henry Grindelle, a citizen of London, who in 1472 was said to be in the company of the Duke of Gloucester 'for the safe and secure

custody, defence and victualling of the said Marches' (*Rot Scot* II, 434). Only in 1482, when there was famine exacerbated by war, did Gloucester need to maintain himself by purveyance (*CDS* IV no 1472). That war had begun in 1480, when after several years of truce Anglo-Scottish relations deteriorated sharply in 1479 and then broke down altogether (Ross 1974, 278–81). In December 1479, with war now a distinct possibility, Gloucester was given 100 marks for the walls of Carlisle, and a year later he received 50 marks more (Macdougall 1982, 145; PRO *E405/58* m5d), while the city was also strengthened by being supplied with bows, arrows, two steel crossbows, a serpentine and an arquebus, both of brass, and four small barrels of gunpowder (CRO *D/Lons/L* C61).

That there was work on the castle at the same time is largely a matter of inference. In the late sixteenth century William Camden recorded the existence in Carlisle of a castle 'of a good large compasse, which King Richard the third, as appeareth by his armes, repaired' (Camden 1637, 778). He was almost certainly referring to Richard's White Boar badge on the Tile Tower, half way along the curtain wall flanking the western section of the castle gardens; tile in this context means brick, and there undoubtedly were important works in brick in Carlisle at this time. In 1483 Thomas Nevylle, appointed 'to do make for us certain brickwork at our town of Carlisle and other places...', was licensed to impress such 'artificers, expert in bricklaying, and labourers to serve them...' as he thought necessary 'for the speedy advancement of our said works' (Horrox and Hammond 1980, 20). This was clearly no small-scale undertaking, and may have lasted for some years. Land belonging to John Blenkynsop just outside the city was taken over 'for makyng of Breke', its owner being paid £10 yearly by way of compensation (ibid, 143–4). The west curtain wall, and its continuation down to the city wall at the Caldewgate, may have been rebuilt in brick at this time, together with the Tile Tower (Charlton 1985, 9–10) – perhaps to be identified with the 'tower called Harkeleyes' which had been repaired in the 1380s (PRO *E101/483/3*). The latter was now equipped for modern warfare, with gunports in its basement; the need to provide for artillery, in a way that would not shake the masonry to pieces when it was fired, may have been one reason for the rebuilding.

The use of brick should not be taken as evidence for a need to economise on essential repairs. Past experience had shown that there was plenty of building-stone to be found in the neighbourhood of Carlisle, and that quarrying it was neither difficult nor expensive. The use of brick may in fact have been a sign of extravagance on Gloucester's part – there is no evidence that he was averse to splendour, rather the reverse (Ross 1981, 140–2) – matching that of other fifteenth-century builders like Sir John Fastolf, Lord Cromwell and Lord Hastings, who also used brick when creating splendid new castles for themselves (Brown 1976, 166–9). The background to the works at Carlisle must include not only the war with Scotland of 1480–1484, but also Edward IV's grant to his brother in 1482 of a huge palatinate made up of Cumberland, Westmorland and as much of South West Scotland as he could conquer. This grant, which included 'the Castell, Cite, Towne and Lordshipp of Carlile' (*Rot Parl* VI, 204; Ross 1974, 202), presupposed not only prolonged fighting on the borders but also the elevation of Carlisle to the status of a capital within the hereditary principality thus created; in such circumstances the combination of up-to-date defences with visual magnificence had an obvious appeal. In the end, of course, Gloucester's usurpation of the throne in 1483 made all plans for a separate lordship in North West England redundant, but King Richard III did not therefore lose interest in Carlisle. He himself remained titularly warden, appointing Humphrey Lord Dacre his lieutenant (*CPR* 1476–1485, 485–6), and saw to it that the garrison at Carlisle was adequately maintained, in October 1483, for instance, ordering the payment of 500 marks 'for thexpenses of our housholde at oure Castelle of Carlile' (Horrox and Hammond, 1980, 28). Since hostilities with Scotland persisted until September 1484 (Nicholson 1974, 517), the security of the West March demanded no less.

The Wardenship of Thomas Lord Dacre 1485–1525

When Richard III was overthrown at Bosworth in August 1485, there was a three-year truce with Scotland in operation – though this did not stop some Scots enlisting in Henry Tudor's army (Ross 1981, 194) – and Henry VII soon showed himself anxious to extend it. The new king wanted peace both for its own sake and as a means of restricting the power and independence of the northern nobility, whose indispensability in times of war made them hard to control. Like his predecessor, he retained the wardenship of the West March in the crown and, perhaps after some hesitation, appointed as his lieutenant the young Thomas Lord Dacre, who had probably fought against him at Bosworth (ibid, 160). But he kept Dacre extremely short of money, and control of Carlisle he gave to Sir Richard Salkeld, who for £200 *per annum* was to hold city and castle with a garrison of 'twenty persons on horseback defencibly arrayed', the latter's wages being largely (later entirely) paid from the issues of the lordship of Penrith and the forest of Inglewood (PRO *E404/80* no 267). Neither Dacre nor Salkeld would have anything like enough money to enable them to pay for any repairs to Carlisle's defences, which could therefore only be financed by the Crown; the result was that works at Carlisle tended to coincide with fluctuations towards bellicosity in the flow of Anglo-Scottish relations. Thus when the aftermath of civil war in Scotland in June 1488 looked briefly like prompting English intervention (Nicholson 1974, 532), Henry VII ordered that steps be taken 'in all haste for the behoveful, requisite and necessary reparations of our castle of Carlisle', and that 'some witty men' be sent to inspect the fortresses of northern England, Carlisle among them (PRO *E404/79* no 139; *CDS* IV no 1542). Similarly it was against a background of conspiracy between Henry VII and the earls of Buchan and Angus against James IV (Nicholson 1974, 538–9) that Henry Wyot, the keeper of the king's jewel house, was sent up to Carlisle in May 1491, on his way handing over to the Prior

of Durham £1000 for the defence of Berwick and Carlisle against the Scots (Conway 1932, 36). That money would have been intended principally for the payment of soldiers, but there was work on the defences too, since Wyot had 100 marks to be spent on repairs to Carlisle castle (Colvin *et al* 1982, 666).

It was doubtless in connection with these works that in June 1491 Henry Wyot was appointed overseer of the castle and of the city walls and ditches (*Rot Scot* II, 500–1), which meant in turn that he briefly replaced Salkeld in command of the castle – at Michaelmas 1491 Salkeld received £73 8s 8½d. 'for money owed him for the custody of the city without the castle of Carlisle' (PRO *E403/2558* f31). Nothing is known about the repairs carried out on the castle, but that Wyot took the work seriously may be deduced from his arrangements for the defence of the city (details from CRO *D/Lons/L* D72, D73). On 16 August 1491 he handed over to the mayor the city ditches, now thoroughly cleaned out, the walls, 'well appointed and void of all manner of woods, trees, ivy or other things…', and their six towers, 'pailed' with board (presumably on their roofs) and with doors hanging and locked. The Botchergate, too, had received attention, its chambers being now 'well covered with lead', while minute instructions were given for keeping it in repair, instructions which probably give some idea of the measures needed to keep the castle in good repair. The gutters were to be cleaned out at least once a month, and any grass or weeds were likewise to be removed at monthly intervals. Faults in the lead were to be repaired by the mayor 'if it exceed not the monthly charge of 12d.' Chamber windows were to be kept shut, 'so that no 'dowses' nor other fowl enter nor breed in them', and things moist or wet were not to be stored in the rooms. For the defence of its walls Wyot left the city with seven guns, three small barrels of old gunpowder, 20 bows and perhaps 160 sheaves of arrows. The castle was then handed back to Salkeld, only to be taken over again by Wyot in 1494 when further works were needed. On 24 March, the castle being said to be 'greatly decayed for lack of reparation', Wyot received £40 for works and £10 for his travelling expenses (PRO *E404/81* – unnumbered); since Salkeld was paid 100 marks 'for the safekeeping of the vill without the castle' between 1 May 1494 and 30 April 1495 (PRO *E403/2558* f46), Wyot would appear to have been in control of the castle for a whole year, suggesting an extended building campaign. With the King of Scots in contact with Perkin Warbeck by 1495 and assisting the pretender in an invasion of northern England in 1496 (Nicholson 1974, 550–2), there could be no doubt as to Carlisle's potential importance in these years; 'the keye of these partes', Wyot called it in 1496 (Conway 1932, 236–9), while two years later Henry VII described Carlisle as 'one of the chief keys and fortresses to the defence of this our realm' (CRO *Ca2/105*). But by then things had changed; Warbeck had been discredited, and after an unsuccessful invasion of Northumberland in 1497 the Scots made a seven-year truce with England, to be followed five years later by a marriage alliance and a treaty of perpetual peace (Nicholson 1974, 552–4). The threat to the English borders must have seemed to have been lifted for good.

This diplomatic revolution had significant consequences for Carlisle castle. In March 1499 Henry VII was still cautious enough about the prospects for lasting peace to renew Sir Richard Salkeld's indenture for a further two years (PRO *E101/72/6* no 19), during which Salkeld was to keep the castle and city of Carlisle with fourteen horsemen and six gunners, but some time between 1499 and 1503 there came a change of policy. Peace with Scotland having so greatly diminished its military importance, the thrifty king was doubtless pleased to be rid of the cost of Carlisle's upkeep, and so in effect he sold city and castle to Lord Dacre, who was willing to pay £200 'so he may have the keeping of Carlisle' and undertook 'to repair the town walls and the castle at his charge' (PRO *E101/415/3* f292). Perhaps the handover was made at around the same time that Lord Dacre, on 29 January 1502, was given custody of the lordship of Penrith snd several other royal manors in Cumberland, from the issues of which he was to pay, among other expenses, 'all the wages, fees, rewards of all soldiers and other officers of or within the castle of Carlisle…' (PRO *E40/14638*). Dacre needed to control Carlisle if he was to be fully master of his wardenry, but in promising to maintain its defences he had made a commitment beyond his power to keep. His personal means were limited, and his receipts from the crown were small. In May 1487 it had been agreed that he was to be paid £133 6s 8d *per annum* as lieutenant of the West March, with an extra £20 yearly for the four commissioners who would attend March Days for the maintenance of border law, all this money to be paid to him by the sheriff out of the issues of Cumberland (PRO *E101/72/3* no 1062). From 1493 at the latest the commissioners were being paid from the exchequer, but Lord Dacre is not recorded as having been directly paid anything by the Crown until Easter 1504, when he received £133 6s 8d as lieutenant of the West March (PRO *E403/2558* f116). It is possible, however, that his fees had still been paid, as was originally intended, out of the issues of the county, for in 1503 the sheriff received reimbursement of £240 which he had paid to Dacre for the custody of the West March during the two years ending at Michaelmas 1499 (ibid, f113), while at Michaelmas 1507 it was decided that Dacre should in future be paid at the receipt of the Exchequer, and no longer out of the issues and profits of Cumberland (ibid f144).

But even if he was regularly so paid, a yearly fee of £133 6s 8d was a very low one, not to be compared with the munificent rates of pay received by earlier wardens, and certainly nowhere near enough to enable him to finance works on a major fortress like Carlisle castle. Indeed, if Dacre did ever have any money to spare for building works, he was much more likely to spend it on his own castles, on Naworth, Drumburgh and Askerton, all of which were either built or substantially rebuilt by him (Cott 1971, 11). Nor were his resources sufficient to allow him to maintain any sort of garrison, hence, no doubt, the leasing out of the castle demesnes to his own tenants, so as to give him a supply of reliable fighting men stationed close at hand (Spence 1984, 74–5). For the same reason the traditional obligation laid on the townsmen to keep watch on their own walls may have been extended to

cover the castle as well, an early sixteenth-century law-suit in the city court being concerned with a debt of 4s alleged *pro vigilacione super muros caustre* (CRO *Ca3/1/13* f9). The Crown, satisfied to have rendered the warden harmless both by paying him as little as possible and by obliging him to enter into a large number of bonds and recognisances guaranteeing his future good behaviour on pain of forfeiting large sums (*SP1/1* ff71v–72), took effectively no interest in the defences of North West England for over twenty years[2], and Lord Dacre, inadequately paid and under-supervised, did the same. The result was what might have been predicted: when Carlisle next came under threat, city walls and castle alike were on the verge of ruin.

Although its military importance declined in the latter years of Henry VII's reign, the castle remained at the centre of Cumberland's civil government. Commissions of assize and gaol delivery for Cumberland were regularly appointed, at any rate until 1505 (*CPR* 1494–1509, 502), and Carlisle castle certainly still held the county gaol, though it is impossible to be sure that it was always delivered at Carlisle. The castle garrison, moreover, might be employed for purposes either pacific, like escorting bishop Bell to Haltwhistle on his journey across the Pennines (CRO *DRC2/28* r), or pacificatory, as when early in Henry VIII's reign Lord Dacre sent the constable and 12 soldiers to Dalston in order to settle a quarrel among the bishop's tenants there (CRO *DRC2/25* v). Relations between castle and city seem to have been good, perhaps helped by both coming to be under Lord Dacre's command. The castle lay outside the jurisdiction of the city, as is shown by a gaol delivery case of 1408, where a man suspected of theft within the castle was said to have been indicted before the keepers of the peace for Cumberland rather than before the mayor and bailiffs, as would have been the case for a crime committed in the city (PRO *JUST/3/184* m60). But separate jurisdictions do not appear to have precluded administrative cooperation. In 1487 an ordinance of civil government forbade the inhabitants of Carlisle to let pigs 'goo at lardge' in the streets on pain of forfeiting the errant beasts; animals so wandering would be seized on by the city bailiffs, except in 'the Priore or the Castill warde', where they would be 'taken by thandes of the said priore and Constable…', who would apply the issues as they saw fit (Ferguson 1894, 118–9). Although it would be enforced by different officers to the profit of different authorities, it would appear that this ordinance was accepted as applying to the whole geographical city. Similarly, although the castle, as the centre of the socage, had a court of its own for that socage, this did not prevent its steward, its janitor, its miller and one of its gunners from suing in the court of the city (CRO *Ca3/1/13* f6; *Ca3/1/25* f3v/d; *Ca3/1/32* f4; *Ca3/1/38* f1; *Ca3/1/39* f1v/d). Good relations could not be taken for granted – there was to be friction in the mid 1530s, for instance – but in the years round 1500, at least, it would appear that Carlisle castle and city were united by more than a common defensive interest.

At the end of Henry VII's reign England was at peace with both France and Scotland. The bellicose young Henry VIII, however, was anxious to enjoy the glories of war and not much troubled by the thought of its cost, and in 1513 he invaded France, a move which prompted the Scots to invade northern England in support of their ancient ally. For all the completeness of the English victory at Flodden in September of that year, it was diplomacy rather than English arms which kept the Scots out of the North of England during the years that followed. Not until 1522 did the duke of Albany, as governor of Scotland on behalf of the young James V, plan an attack on the North West as part of a renewed Franco-Scottish alliance (Donaldson 1965, 17–20). When that happened Carlisle found itself in the front line, and now the results of decades of neglect by kings and warden alike became fully apparent. There was no disguising the fact that the condition of its defences was deplorable. Town and castle were 'weak in walls and ditches, wanting all manner of artillery and ordnance' (*SP1/26* f 7; *LPH* III Part II no 2524(i)). Lord Dacre claimed in the following year that in all the time he had been warden (since Henry VII' s fourth year, 1488/89, according to himself) he had received no ordnance, shot or powder from the king, but had had to supply what was needed 'of mine own provision, which is now all gone…' (BL *Add MS* 24965 f151v). The earl of Shrewsbury, the king's lieutenant-general in the north, regarded Carlisle as 'defenceless' (*LPH* III Part II no 2523). The enemy could only be resisted 'with power of men' (BL *Calig B III* ff156, 156v), and volunteers, according to Dacre, were few and reluctant, '…those that come forward come with the worst will that ever did men…' (BL *Calig B II* f326v). Fortunately for Carlisle, Albany, having got within a few miles of the city with a siege train which Dacre reported as consisting of 'above 45 pieces of brass and a thousand hagbusshes carted upon trestles, besides hand-guns innumerable' (ibid), found the Scots unenthusiastic for another invasion of England so soon after Flodden, especially one seen as being made in the interests of France, and allowed Dacre to persuade him to withdraw. Wolsey saw Albany's retreat as a miracle, *'operatio dextrae Excelsi'* (*LPH* III Part II no2537); had he persevered, Dacre thought, 'Carlisle and Cumberland must have been destroyed' (*LPH* III Part II no 2536).

Obviously something needed to be done about the defences of Carlisle. In January the king sent his master gunner, Thomas Hart, to inspect the castles and towns of Berwick, Wark and Carlisle (*LPH* III Part II no 2796) the last of these was duly 'viewed', and recommendations followed (Colvin *et al* 1982, 666). In keeping with the military thinking of the period, which inevitably gave increasing consideration to the growing importance of artillery, Hart proposed the construction of six substantial bulwarks round the city, at least one of them to be protected by a double ditch, which would probably cover the gates and other likely points of attack. Such bulwarks, which were usually semicircular outworks made of earth and strengthened with timber, perhaps with a facing of hurdles, had been invented in response to the appearance of siege artillery; they acted as shields for gates, and also as advanced positions for the guns of the defence, being particularly valuable as a means of providing flanking fire against enemies trying to storm the walls (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 11th Edition (1910–1) Vol X 684). After

the narrow escape of 1522, such additions to Carlisle's defences would have constituted a worthwhile, and probably inexpensive, precaution against future attacks. Hart also showed his appreciation of the value of cannon-fire in his rather less practical proposal that the castle keep should in effect be turned into a gun platform, being demolished until its stump was level with the battlements, at which point the 'Rove' should be flattened so that ordnance could be moved from one side to another. This last suggestion would have been unrealistic at any time, in wartime it was utterly out of the question, and may in fact have served to discredit Hart's more useful suggestions, for there is no evidence that his visit was followed by action. In October 1523 the earl of Surrey could describe Carlisle as 'nothing fortified' (*LPH* III Part II no 3415), while a month later Dacre was complaining that apart from Hart's visit of inspection he had had no answer to his numerous letters of complaint about the state of the castle (*LPH* III Part II no 3544). By then Albany had threatened Carlisle for a second time. Earlier in the year the mayor and citizens had asked Dacre for weapons and for help in repairing their fortifications, 'which are in ruins' (*LPH* III Part II no 2931) and in October Dacre reported that 'men may be had with difficulty to lie in the same, but there is neither in it bows, arrows, guns nor gunpowder' (BL *Add MS 24965* f183v). Eventually he managed to get hold of 'sixteen good iron guns' (*LPH* III Part II no 3415; BL *Add MS 24965* f187) , but it must still have been with great relief that he saw Albany take his army to the east march, for a futile attack on Wark (Donaldson 1965, 21). Carlisle, Dacre told Wolsey, 'has been twice in peril and has stand upon a hazard', and he requested that the king be asked 'that the said town and castle may be furnished and helped' (BL *Add MS 24965* f194v).

Nothing happened. In 1524 the Duke of Albany left Scotland, and though the borders were severely disordered, at least there was no open war. Dacre's services ceased to be indispensable, and in 1525 he was dismissed as warden, being replaced by the earl of Cumberland (*LPH* IV Part I no 1727) – he was nominally deputy-warden, under the Duke of Richmond. The commissioners who handed the castle over to the earl reported to Wolsey on its condition (*LPH* IV Part I no 1896). They were struck by its lack of ordnance, 'very smale for the defence of hit', and by the dilapidation of the outer bailey walls, which were 'decayed' in various places and so narrow for lack of 'flayke' stone (flags?) that two men could not walk abreast along them. But nothing was done to supply a remedy, although the borders were as unruly as ever. When the earl of Cumberland became warden, he received, as Lord Dacre had once done, the custody of the lordship of Penrith and several other royal manors and estates in Cumberland, undertaking from the issues of these 'to make repairs and pay the wages of the soldiers in Carlisle castle' (*LPH* IV Part I no 1700). But it may be doubted whether his revenues from these lands were anything like sufficient to finance repairs on the scale that Carlisle castle now needed. In 1527 the earl of Cumberland was dismissed after an unsuccessful tenure of the wardenship, to be replaced by William Lord Dacre, son of Thomas, who had died in 1525 (Fig 123). The earl retained control of Carlisle, however, the central government having perhaps reverted to Henry VII's policy of dividing powers and responsibilities as a means of exercising greater control over the North West (Harrison 1981, 30). But this policy was not now a success. There were riots in and around Carlisle (*LPH* IV Part II no 4835), provoked by bitter quarrels between Dacre and Cumberland over the castle and its demesnes, which in 1525 the latter had said 'must be had for the pay of the soldiers' (*LPH* IV Part I no 1763), and when in August 1528 Dacre summoned the castle garrison to join him in pursuit of a raiding party of Scots from Liddesdale, they 'wold not in no wise com furth' (Armstrong 1883, Appendix XXII). Sir Thomas Magnus, a royal servant with a wide experience of the north of England, offered Wolsey his opinion that it was a mistake 'to have thoos offices devided as thay be betwene thaym' (*SP* Part IV, 516–7), and in the following year the castle passed into Dacre's hands. As had often been the case in the past, commissioners were appointed to survey the castle at the time of the handover, and their report shows only too clearly the consequences of some 35 years of consistent neglect.

Carlisle Castle in 1529

The report, dated 22 September 1529, also contains a good deal of information about the layout and contents of the castle, and, together with an account of the escape of Richie Graham, a suspected traitor, in March 1528, makes it possible to say something about the way it was used, as well as about its condition.[3] The commissioners concentrated on the buildings and said nothing about the walls, though three years earlier the latter had been said to be in a bad way. But a single passing reference to 'the utter bulwark' shows that the castle had at some time received at least one of these outworks, large enough to hold three guns; it could have been a product of Thomas Hart's recommendations in 1523, but it could just as easily have been an earlier or later construction, intended to keep attackers away from the increasingly fragile walls, and it is not possible even to speculate as to where it was. The position of the outer gatehouse, however, presents no problems. Entered through wooden gates, now described as 'clean consumed and gone', it had a roof and gutters of lead, which were so far 'cut and gone' that the rain had rotted not just the roof beams but the floor below as well, and had then dripped down into 'the kyng's gaiol of the schire of Cumbreland', where it wrought such havoc that the gaol and its accompanying chambers were in grave danger of falling down (a detail which indicates that the gaol included buildings above ground as well as the subterranean vaults). It is hardly surprising that prisoners should sometimes have been kept elsewhere. Richie Graham was confined at first in the keep; later he was moved to the gatehouse, where he was ironed to another prisoner, but then he was transferred again, this time to the inner bailey, where he was allowed to hear Mass in the chapel and dine in the great hall. Nor is it cause for wonder that only two rooms were described in terms suggesting that they were lived in. One, referred to as 'the lowest house', which had two doors and con-

Fig 123 The tomb of Thomas Lord Dacre at Lanercost Priory, Cumbria (photo: Carlisle Archaeological Unit)

tained a bed, was probably the gatekeeper's residence in one of the chambers on the west side of the gate-passage at ground level. The other, with one door, and recorded as containing 'two almeryes in the walls to put in books', may have been the chamber off the eastern end of the hall over the passage, which received a new fireplace in the early sixteenth century (Gilyard-Beer 1977, 199). But there is nothing to suggest that it was occupied in 1529, or that the gatehouse sheltered anyone except the janitor (and presumably some prisoners).

In the outer bailey was the ordnance house (perhaps identical with the 'store hous') which was roofed with stone, probably slate, used now as it had apparently not been in earlier centuries. The artillery and ordnance, said the commissioners, was 'of small effect and litill in value'. Apart from one big iron gun called a 'slayng' (a sling, a long gun,[4]) which was broken, the most important components of Carlisle's artillery were 26 serpentines, one made of brass and the rest of iron. These were probably not very large (three were only a foot long), and would appear to have been breech-loading, since there were also 45 iron chambers, used to insert charges of gun-powder at the breech. But they were by no means all in good order. Six had the iron axletree pins which were essential parts of their mounts, or beds, and these shared four wedges, used to secure their chambers once these had been inserted into the guns. But eight were described as 'ill-stocked' and eleven as 'unstocked', so that the latter, at least, could only have been fired if improvised mounts were made for them. There was also a 'pott gunne' made of brass (this was a sort of mortar), said to be well stocked, except that it had no axletree pin, and two pairs of small 'organne pipes', described as 'metely well stocked'. Since the keep (probably) contained 'four small gonnes in a stock called organnes pipes', these were clearly the devices called ribaudkins or clustered guns (Salzman 1923, 156), firing off several barrels either simultaneously or in quick succession. At the inner gate were 'two grete irne gunnes called bombardes with their stockes'; these were early forms of large cannon, and had been regarded as essential for the defence of Carlisle and Bewcastle in 1488 (*CDS* IV no 1542), but they may have been nearing obsolescence forty years later. The only other firearms in the castle were four 'hagbusshes', or arquebuses (these were forerunners of the musket), and two of these were defective. There was some equipment for moving guns. Five new axletrees and five pairs of new wheels may indicate an attempt at modernisation in this field, and likewise two windlasses for 'hors ordinaunce', but against these should be set fifteen and a half pairs of old 'sled wheles', worthless except for their iron (which the commissio-

ners conscientiously valued at 4s), another valueless set of wheels, 'unshod and naught', four old gunstocks and thirteen 'old cart bodies, consumed and naught for age'.

There was also a certain amount of ammunition. The ordnance house contained 560 lead pellets for serpentines (another indication of the probable small size of these guns) and 60 for the arquebuses, while the 'certain shote of stones' found in the malthouse may have served for the larger guns. In the keep there were two small barrels of gunpowder, both full, one large one, also full, and another large one, only a quarter full. It was, indeed, an unimpressive collection of guns, powder and shot, and the store of other weapons for hand-to-hand fighting was equally inconsiderable. The malthouse contained two chests half full of arrows, some of them without heads, and 'in the toppe of the toure' (probably the keep) there were more arrows, in similarly decayed condition, being old and worm-eaten, 22 elm bows described as rotten, 15 morris-pikes, also rotten, and 8 'archer-stokes', yet again 'all rotten'. As a fortress Carlisle castle in 1529 was in much the same state as it had been in 1522; if attacked, it could be defended only 'with power of men'. Very little was said about the buildings of the outer bailey, which may not in fact have contained many. A map of Carlisle in the mid-sixteenth century shows only three buildings in the outer bailey, two against the west curtain, separated by a postern, the other against the north curtain.[5] Since in 1529 two posterns were mentioned, one of iron and the other, 'being within the ordnaunce house', of wood, the building against the north curtain was probably the ordnance house, with the postern invisible inside it. One of the other two in the outer bailey may have been the malthouse, which is not mentioned elsewhere.

From the ordnance house, whose roof had 'almoste fallin downe' (small wonder the gunpowder was kept in the keep), the commissioners moved to the inner gate. The gates themselves were 'substanciall of irne', but the lead roof and gutters were 'sore rotted and decayed', so that the rain poured through into the two 'houses' below, rotting their timberwork and floors, which were consequently 'in jeoperdie of fallyng'. It looks as if in the early sixteenth century, as now, there were two rooms on each of the two upper stories. The top storey, as one might expect from its condition, was probably left unoccupied, but on the first floor, 'over the innergate', there were two chambers containing three beds and a total of four doors. There was also a 'loge' for the porter, presumably at ground level, with its own door, lock and key, and a bed for the occupant. Inside the inner bailey, as well as the keep and the three principal domestic buildings, Great Hall, Great Chamber and New Tower, there was a large number of service rooms, some free-standing, others apparently parts of larger structures. The first of these described in 1529 was the kitchen, which had a stone roof, said to be 'clene gone down and the timber rotten and redy to fall'. Nevertheless it contained a certain amount of cooking gear. There were pots and pans, some of them 'decayed', various boards, an iron bar with hooks from which to hang pots, two long spikes and a small round spit, so that altogether the castle had the means of boiling, frying and roasting meat and other victuals. There were also a pantry and a buttery. Usually these two flanked the kitchen, all three standing at the end of the great hall opposite to the dais on which its lord ate (Girouard 1978, 34–6). But at Carlisle the pantry appears to have stood above the buttery, for the stone roof of the pantry being 'almost gone down', the rain was coming in 'throughe the floor of the same into the butterye', with results equally disastrous for both. The pantry supplied the household's bread, so it was natural that it should contain a 'large bynne for bred', while drink came from the buttery, which therefore had gantries for 'bere and aile'. Wine, however, was kept in the basements of the keep (probably the better to preserve it for the warden), where there were two 'houses' containing three gantries 'to couthe (*sc* cool) wyne on' and a separate 'wyne seller'.

The castle had its own cook, and seeing that he was kept supplied with the necessary raw materials for the garrison's food and drink was the responsibility of the steward, who by 1529 had his own chamber, containing a bed, a press for clothes and two benches (formes). There were also at least three other 'little chambers' nearby, possibly used for storage, though none of them was recorded as having any contents. All may have been covered by the same stone roof, which like the others was now 'clene gone down', leaving its timbers rotten and ready to fall. The steward at this time was Robert Briscoe, a member of an important Cumberland family (Nicholson and Burn 1777, II, 202–4), and it was as steward that in around 1530 he sued in Carlisle city court, claiming a debt of 12s for tallow supplied to William Kytchynge, a cordwainer (CRO *Ca3/1/33* m4), who would have used it to dress his hides. A high proportion of the castle's food supply must now have come from the city, but this action suggests that commercial relations between them could be a two-way business. Perhaps the steward obtained butcher's meat in the city shambles, or he may have kept beasts on the pastures which formed part of the castle demesnes and had them slaughtered as required, but in either case it would appear that he disposed of the non-edible residue to city craftsmen, doubtless for his own benefit. A castle miller is also recorded (CRO *Ca3/1/25* m3d), indicating that even if grain was usually bought in Carlisle market, the process of grinding it into flour would have been controlled by the steward. Other buildings concerned with the storage and preparation of food and drink, and doubtless also administered by the steward, were the bakehouse, whose stone roof was 'almost down', the dry larder, the wet larder, the brewhouse and the 'paistrye'. Nothing was said of the condition of the last four, so probably they were adjuncts of other buildings, perhaps on lower stories or under the great hall, where the stable mentioned in 1383 (PRO *E199/7/11(1)*) was not recorded in 1529, so that they had not yet been seriously imperilled by the ruin spreading above.

The bakehouse only contained two 'molding bordes', doubtless for the kneading of bread, the 'paistrye', which served the purpose its name suggests, two kneading troughs and a small vat. The dry larder is not said to have contained anything at all, but the contents of the wet larder say something about the castle's diet,

in that one of the latter's principal ingredients, as one might expect in a predominantly cattle-rearing region, seems to have been beef. There was a large lead cistern 'to pile beef in', a great 'ark' for salt, and two boards 'to smyt on beef'. Regular consumption of salted beef would certainly have generated a considerable thirst, so it was appropriate that the brewhouse should be equipped to provide a plentiful supply of beer, with its 'large brewing lede sett in a furnes', a copper pan similarly 'sett in a furnes', three great 'masshing fatts' for mixing malt with hot water to form wort for brewing, a big trivet on which such vats were set over the fire, a cooling vat and four small lead vessels, also used for cooling. Water to make beer or to drink undiluted, for washing and for other domestic uses was drawn up from a well with a bucket and chain. Nothing was said of the gardens in 1529, but the mid-century map shows that they were still there, their contents now mostly trees, which doubtless supplied fruit, although a pattern on their western side was probably intended to represent vegetable gardens. So with meat, bread, beer, fruit and vegetables, in addition to what the city could supply, the basis for an adequate diet existed. Meals were eaten in the Great Hall, which contained six tables and nine benches for the purpose, as well as an 'almery', or small cupboard, for cups. It was there that Richie Graham dined after his release from the outer gatehouse. A dispute between England and Scotland in 1531 over the allegiance of Canonbie, on the river Esk, not far from Liddel Strength, produced the information that the inhabitants of Canonbie 'pay yearly to the captain of Carlisle...all the 'tree vessale' that is used in the castle...' (*LPH* V no 465 (4)), suggesting that meals were now eaten off wooden plates rather than the 'trenchers' of bread which would once have been used. Unfortunately, the lead roof of the hall was in the same deplorable condition as that of the other buildings, being 'in sore decaye', with rain coming through and rotting roof-timbers and floor alike. Beef and beer must sometimes have been consumed in some discomfort as the rainwater descended from above.

The east end of the hall was joined to the Great Chamber beyond by a gallery. This gallery was said to be 'clean gone down', and the Chamber was not much better off. It had a stone roof, which had fallen, so that here too the rain was pouring in and rotting the 'sellering' (ceiling – the Chamber was the only room said to have one under the roof timbers). Nevertheless it contained a board on trestles, three benches, a cupboard and a 'turned chair'. The Great Chamber was originally the state-room reserved for the king after he had left the hall, but no king had visited Carlisle since 1335, and though the warden may sometimes have used it, he now had his own apartments in the New Tower. The 'turned chair' was probably intended for the ease of the constable, who appears to have represented the warden when the latter was away (*LPH* IV Part I no 705) and to have been responsible for the day-to-day running of the castle. Doubtless he slept in one of the two beds in a little chamber off the Great Chamber. The latter was not, in fact, a single large room but a small complex of rooms centred on one big one. One of these satellites was the chapel, which had at least one accompanying closet, another was a parlour, apparently situated in the usual position for such informal sitting and eating rooms, under the Great Chamber (Girouard 1978, 58–9) – the chapel, like the Chamber, had a stone roof, most of which had fallen, and the fireplace (chymney) in the closet next door was in a state of imminent collapse, threatening to ruin the parlour below. The chapel may originally have been intended for the private devotions of the king and his retinue, but by the sixteenth century it would seem that the whole garrison worshipped there, together with lightly-confined prisoners like Richie Graham. It contained no less than five 'almeryes', perhaps for storing books, plate, vestments and other liturgical necessities. There was a desk for the missal and two iron candlesticks for tapers, while in a city dedicated to the Virgin it was appropriate that there should also be 'an image of our ladie of tymber'.

There was then another gallery between the Great Chamber and what had once been called the New Tower but was now known as the Warden's Tower. The gallery, which may have contained a chamber with a bed in it, was 'clene gone down' while the lead roof of the tower, being 'full of holes and consumed' was 'redye to fall'. The rooms of the Warden's Tower are not always easy to pick out among all the details of the report. There was certainly a little 'wardroom', probably a watch-tower, on the top of one side of it and in the same dismal condition as the rest of the building; here, perhaps, was the 'large watche bell in the hight of the towre', though this could also have been in the keep. The tower, which in the early nineteenth century consisted of a ground floor with two storeys above it, each floor making a single large room (PRO *WO44/553* plans dated 22 October, 24 December 1834), would appear to have contained at least six chambers in 1529, suggesting that the floors were partitioned to make smaller chambers within them, the party walls being subsequently removed, perhaps when the tower was converted into barracks. One room, specifically called the Lord's chamber, contained two beds, an old table, two trestles, two benches and a cupboard. This probably stood on the first floor. Immediately off it was a closet, in which somebody had seen fit to stockpile 17 bills, or halberds. Above the Lord's chamber was another room, also containing two beds, with perhaps next to it the 'new' room whose identity is unfortunately concealed by the illegibility of the manuscript. One of the other rooms was named as the old parlour. This was probably situated on the ground floor, as convention dictated, but unlike many parlours of this period it contained sleeping accommodation, in the form of 'a standing bedstock, a whole bedstock'. Next to it was another chamber, containing two more beds. With so many beds, the Warden's Tower had domestic qualities which the rest of the castle rather obviously lacked, at any rate in the unappealing conditions revealed in 1529, and this is underlined by the existence in it of a 'norcye', or nursery. It is certainly hard to associate Carlisle castle with the rearing of young children, and in fact the days when the Warden's Tower had echoed to the sound of infant voices would appear to have passed. A chamber with three doors, the nursery was now 'clean gone down'; its roofing

and floors 'all waisted and gone', its only contents 'a grete wode troughe for messhing'.

The Warden's Tower, as its name would lead one to expect, was clearly the residential centre of the castle, containing as it did ten of the nineteen beds recorded in the report. When Lord Dacre was given custody of Carlisle in 1529, he was required to employ a company of 20 horsemen (*LPH* IV Part III no 5906(6)). Where these men lived and slept is not recorded; some of them may have waited on their lord in his lodgings, though Lord Dacre would certainly also have had servants of his own, while others were doubtless accommodated in such of the other buildings as were reasonably weathertight. There certainly seem to have been more than just 20 people and the warden in the castle; accounts of Richie Graham's escape refer to the presence of, among others, the constable, the sheriff's gaoler, the castle gaoler (perhaps the keeper of the warden's prison), the steward, the keeper of the postern, the cook, a servant of Lord Dacre, a servant of one of the soldiers and Thomas Wright, 'a vagabond belonging to the castle'. Probably there were usually a lot of people around at any one time, more than could have been accommodated in 19 beds, even when these were shared, as was often the case in the sixteenth century. Some may have had to lie on woven pallets (Girouard 1978, 54–5), or in the straw on the floor.

There are surprisingly few references to the keep. No doubt the fact that it stood apart from the other buildings in the inner bailey made it convenient to use it as a powder store; otherwise it probably stood empty for much of the time. Thomas Hart would hardly have suggested demolishing most of it in 1523 had it been in continuous use. The basements were used as a wine-cellar, and, rather surprisingly, the roof too appears to have been used for storage, since there is said to have been a 'wardrop' on the leads, containing presses for clothes. This seems all the stranger because the lead roof was said to be 'broken and consumed', allowing the rain to penetrate the three 'houses' below. But this did not stop the keep being sometimes used as a prison. Richie Graham was held there for a while, and so, perhaps, was the unknown man responsible for one of the most remarkable survivals from the medieval castle, the carvings at the entrance to the small chambers set in the east-facing wall of the keep's second storey (Field 1927). Some are little more than scratches, true *graffiti*, but many are deeply and skilfully cut, and these would appear to be the work of a single hand. The evidence suggests a date of around 1480, when Richard of Gloucester (whose badge of the boar appears three times) was warden of the West March, with his rule there supported by the Percies (their badge of the fetterlock a recurrent feature), and with the Dacres, whose various emblems appear again and again, prominent among his followers. The plate armour worn by the men, and the conical headdress on a woman's head, likewise point to a late fifteenth-century date.

The carver seems to have been more interested in heraldry than war; an armed man brandishing a sword, a few helmeted heads, and a single scene showing two men quarrelling take up all the space he devoted to the military arts, whereas the emblems and devices of the leading northern families are liberally scattered over the walls. But religion would appear to have interested him as much as heraldry (could he have been a chaplain rather than a prisoner? Would a prisoner have been allowed the use of hammer and chisel?), for among his enrichments of the walls appear a fine St George and the dragon, a Crucifixion with Christ on the cross between two female saints, the emblem of the Sacred Name of Jesus, a figure with a wheel who may be intended to represent St Catherine, and a number of crucifixes, all standing on what look like bases of stones and perhaps meant to evoke wayside or market crosses. The appearance (twice) of a mermaid holding a mirror – as such the traditional symbol of vanity – points to that side of medieval religious life which drew inspiration from folk lore (the mermaid is also carved on one of the fifteenth-century misericords in Carlisle Cathedral), the various fantastic beasts and the curious scene in which a fox's head, grinning in anticipation, looks out of a bag at two small birds, seem to belong to folk lore proper. Inevitably the castle was occupied very largely by men. Perhaps it is a reflection of the strains which resulted that a number of the carvings should have been of naked women. In one scene a woman is shown pierced by six large arrows, while above her another female is suspended by her manacled wrists; the fantasies of the medieval male, like those of his modern descendant, could have their dark side. All the same, the existence of these carvings, and their variety of subject, show that the men who lived in Carlisle castle did not think only in terms of battle and war, and that mind and imagination might also have their place there.

Repair and rebellion 1529–1537

The occasion of the report of 1529 was the transfer of the castle from one warden to another, after the earl of Cumberland and his men had departed with their belongings, but probably before Lord Dacre and his retinue had taken up their residence there, so the apparent bareness of the rooms should not therefore be regarded as entirely typical, although the quantity and nature of their fittings is surely a reasonable guide to the extent to which the various rooms were used. And the overall impression of the castle given by the report is certainly a consistent one, of a complex of buildings which were cold, wet and uncomfortable. Life there cannot have been at all healthy, and it is hardly surprising that when young William Dacre and his wife were in residence in February 1524 (surely in the Warden's Tower, there would hardly have been space for them anywhere else), two of the latter's gentlewomen and a laundress should suddenly have died, one on each of three consecutive days, or that Lord Dacre should forthwith have seen to the young couple's removal 'into fresh air and to a clean house...' (BL *Add MS 24965* f237v). That his own failure to honour his earlier undertaking to maintain the castle was largely responsible for their being at risk probably never occurred to him. The commissioners concluded their report, however, with recommendations for the future rather than recriminations about the past, advising that artillery be provided 'in breif tyme', for the

castle 'standeth right dangerous if any imminent danger shuld therunto com'. But since a five-year truce had been agreed with the Scots in 1528 (Ridpath 1848, 365), the English government once more saw no need to pay any attention, and in May 1532 Lord Dacre was still reminding the king of 'the great decay of Carlisle castle' (*LPH* V no 1054). This jogging of the royal elbow seems to have been effective, though an outbreak of hostilities in the borders during that year doubtless underlined the point (Ridpath 1848, 367). The king, having received 'sundry representations by Dacre of the decay of the fortifications', sent a further commission of inspection to Carlisle (*LPH* V no 1629), and it was probably their report which by October 1532 had led to Dacre's being sent £500 for works, of which £100 went to Bewcastle and the rest to Carlisle. He laid in supplies of lime, sand and stone, so he clearly intended to carry out repairs to the masonry, but his need for 'certain devisers of works' may have held him back from making a start (*LPH* V no 1394), for in December Cromwell was writing to Dacre telling him that the king wanted to be informed about the progress of the works, and to be sent the 'platt' (*sc* plan) which the commission of inspection had made of the fortifications (*LPH* V no 1629).

In his correspondence with the king, Dacre had doubtless stressed the need to build up the garrison in order to compensate for the inadequacies of the defences. Early in 1533 the king offered him a choice, 300 men as a permanent garrison, or '150 workmen for the repair of the town and castle of Carlisle, and 150 persons able for war' (*LPH* VI no 117) – remarkably high figures in either capacity, suggesting that the central government was at last taking the problem of Carlisle's war-readiness truly seriously. The former was no doubt intended as an alternative to the radical and expensive restoration which the defences needed, though in the long run it would surely have been much the most expensive of the two possibilities, and though Dacre's opinion on the offer is unknown, that not long afterwards Cromwell's papers should have included a memorandum 'of necessary ordnance preparatory for the supporting and fortifying of Carlisle and Bewcastle' (*LPH* VI no 299 (iv)) suggests that the government, at least, had opted for stonework rather than soldiers. The wisdom of this choice may have become more apparent when in July 1535 disturbances were reported in Carlisle, with 'dyvers and sundry grudges and quarelles...bytwene the Constable and other sowdyours of Your Gracys castell of Carlille and the commoones of the towne there' (*SP* Vol V, 26–7). The underlying cause of these uproars was probably the renewal of the quarrel between the earl of Cumberland and Lord Dacre after the latter's trial for treason in 1534; against all the odds Dacre was acquitted, but was replaced as warden by Cumberland, in a series of political manoeuvrings which generated great and lasting bitterness (Harrison 1981, 31–42). But the garrison was probably larger than usual, to enable the new warden to resist the local pre-eminence of the Dacres, and at a time when there may have been problems of supply (the harvest of 1535 was a failure, and though this should not yet have caused scarcities, fears of a shortage may have strained relations between the castle and the city which supplied it), the dangers to public order that could arise from underemployed and underfed soldiers making themselves obnoxious to the townsmen probably provided another reason for investing in masonry.

But it was not just local disorder that finally moved the crown to take in hand a thoroughgoing restoration of Carlisle's defences. The Pilgrimage of Grace of 1536–37 called in question the king's government in the whole of northern England, and brought home to Henry VIII and his advisers just how loose their hold on a substantial portion of the realm really was. It also emphasised the value of fortresses like Carlisle, as centres of royal power within England as well as defences against enemies from without (Colvin 1968, 226). In spite of a good deal of wavering, Carlisle stayed loyal to the king, largely due to Thomas Clifford, the earl of Cumberland's son, who was set upon by the rebels as he made his way towards Berwick and fled to Carlisle, where he lay low in the castle for four days, before emerging to lead the townsfolk in resistance to the Pilgrims (*LPH* XI no 927). The castle, for all that it was as 'decayed' as the city walls (*LPH* XII Part I no 71), was the centre of such royal authority as remained in north Cumberland at this time, the soldiers in its garrison being regarded with some awe by the ill-armed Pilgrims (ibid, no 687). So when the rebellion was suppressed, after an unsuccessful attack on Carlisle in February 1537 – a sortie by Thomas Clifford, doubtless followed by the castle garrison, helped to complete their repulse (ibid, nos 448, 1217) – it is not surprising that the usual reports on the weaknesses of the castle and the city should for once have been followed by remedial action.

Notes

1 The date of the order for payment of the citizens' expenses is here given as 4 July 9 Edward IV, but this must be an error for 10 Edward IV. The king visited York in September 1469, but since he was still cooperating with Warwick at this time, he is hardly likely to have antagonised him by ordering an attack on Carlisle castle.

2 The order that the defences of northern England be inspected which is printed in *LPH* I Part I no 827 and there dated to 1511, in fact belongs to 1488, cf *CDS* IV no 1542.

3 Unless otherwise stated, this section is based on PRO *C47/2/51* (the inquest of 1529) and *LPH* IV Part II no 4134 (the escape of Richie Graham).

4 For information about guns I have used Blackmore 1976.

5 I have used the reproduction which supplies the frontispiece to Creighton 1889. John Speed's map of 1610 – reproduced in Webb 1979, 77 – shows the only building visible at the west end of the outer bailey as some way in front of the curtain, and unreliable though his map undoubtedly is, it may in this respect have been more accurate than its predecessor. On the evidence of later maps and plans buildings were not in fact set directly against the west curtain.

11 The Tudor castle: 1537–1603

Modernisation and renovation 1537–1550

The Pilgrimage of Grace produced in the English government a renewed appreciation both of Carlisle's military importance and of its present weakness, an appreciation that was intensified as the danger grew of war with Scotland in alliance with France (in 1536 James V had successfully negotiated his own marriage to Francis I's daughter Madeleine, and then, when Madeleine died in the following year, to another French princess, Mary of Guise (Donaldson 1965, 25–26)). In April 1537, therefore, orders were given that the castle be inspected and repaired (*LPH* XII Part I nos 863, 930, 1091). The results of inspection were the first to appear, in reports which shed a dismal light on the condition of the castle and of the city's other defences. The castle lacked guns and gunners, victuals and a mill (ibid nos 993, 1038). The town was so weak that in the Duke of Norfolk's opinion 6000 defenders would be needed to protect it (PRO *SP1/118* ff 152v–154), and his views were shared by the Earl of Cumberland, who described the castle and city as 'without any manner of force or strength to withstand any power unless it be defended with great power and strength of men and that great provision be made for ordnance, powder, guns, artillery and other things requisite for the sure fortifying of the same'; if Carlisle was attacked in the near future, he thought, 'there will be no remedy but take the field and make battle upon them' (PRO *SP1/118* f 239). In September of the same year Sir Thomas Wentworth, the captain of the castle, was if anything even more discouraging, describing his charge as 'sore in ruin and decay', with 'sore decayed' guns; repairs, he thought, would cost at least £1000. It was too late in the year to start on them now, but he asked for £100 or 200 marks for the repair of the gates, the bridge into the inner ward (both these were 'clean down') and the posterns (PRO *SP1/124* ff 184, 184v). A little money must have been made available, for in July 1538 Wentworth signed a bill for repairs costing £53 0s 6d (*LPH* XIII Part II no 1280, p 533).

In the meantime the king and his ministers were giving further consideration to the problem of the nation's defences. The context of their deliberations was their concern for the security of both the North and the South of England, still under threat of simultaneous attack, so that the Channel coasts and the northern borders were equally in need of attention. Money was not unlimited, but at least Carlisle's requirements were being taken seriously. In April 1538 the Duke of Norfolk was at Carlisle, where he 'thoroughly perused and viewed both the town and castle' (PRO *SP1/150* f 109). He knew the region, having played a prominent part in the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace there, and he was an experienced soldier (in an earlier letter he had estimated Carlisle as being 'very little less than Calais', where he had served in 1522 (PRO *SP1/118* ff 152v–154)), so it is not surprising that his proposals should have won acceptance. The city walls had collapsed to such an extent that they could no longer be repaired without 'very great charges'; the castle, however, could be made tenable 'with a right reasonable cost', while instead of city fortifications Carlisle could be held by a 'fortress... as a small citadel, that if the town were won none shall dare remain within the same...'. In spite of the eminence of its originator, it took time to get this suggestion transformed into action. In 1539 orders were given that Carlisle be 'furnished' and that its officers take up residence there (*LPH* XIV Part I, no 400), and the fortifications of Carlisle were included among Cromwell's 'Remembrances' in 1539 and again early in 1540 (ibid, no 655; *LPH* XV no 195). But not until later in that year did serious work begin, with some £500 being made available in about June (*LPH* XV no 746), while in November 1540 the bishop was referred to as the paymaster for 'the new fortresses at Carlisle' (*PPC* VII 1540–1542, 88).

What were these 'new fortresses'? One was the citadel at the southern end of the city, and the other was the castle at its northern end. This might seem a strange way to describe a building which was now some 450 years old, but the works of the 1540s were intended to have a transforming effect on the castle. The age-old arrangement whereby city and castle composed a single defensive system was to be brought to an end. Instead, Carlisle was in effect to be held by two citadels, one at each end of the city, intended to make it untenable by any enemy able to breach the crumbling city walls. The new arrangement was summed up by a note on a plan of c.1541 giving the length of those city walls *'qui inter Arcem e(t) Arcem includunt totum oppidum...* (*LPH* XXI Part II Appendix no 27). Castle and citadel in this new format were to be of equal importance and would serve the same function, so it was appropriate that the same Latin word should be used to define both. The note is in the hand of the Hungarian land-surveyor Stefan von Haschenperg (see O'Neil 1945). Regarded, for no very good reason, as an expert engineer, it was he who from 1541 to 1543 was responsible for implementing the new arrangement, for which he was paid 4s a day. The plans themselves, however, were almost certainly not his, for work was already in progress when he arrived, perhaps in June 1541.

Those plans entailed considerable changes to the castle, in terms both of its structure and of the way in which it was conceived of as fulfilling its function. As with the proposals of the 1520s, it was necessary to take into consideration developments in the use of artillery, and the need was all the more urgent because of the weakness of the walls. Very little documentary evidence survives from the 1540s, however, and it is structural analysis and Haschenperg's surviving plans which provide the clearest indication as to what was done.[1] The great problem was the castle's lack of outworks. In 1538 Norfolk had remarked on the threat posed by mines ('which is to be kept most secret, for few know that danger'); without outworks, the enemy could come right up to the walls. The same defences would also serve to keep heavy guns as far away as possible from the walls behind them. The site of the castle permitted no space for bastions of the sort later constructed at Berwick. The danger from cannon-fire was therefore countered in the first place by the con-

struction of outworks to protect the east curtain wall (it was also proposed to erect two large earth mounds outside the south-east and north-west corners of the outer ward, but there is no evidence that these were ever put up). Two bulwarks were built, small circular structures made of stone, connected to the curtain wall behind them by apparently battlemented passage-ways, and to one another by another rampart, which in the plan looks likely to have been of stone also. These bulwarks each had six gunports, and their fire would have served to keep any enemy approaching Carlisle over the Eden bridge at a respectful distance from the castle, at any rate for a while.

But two small bulwarks could only have given temporary protection, and that only on one side; if the city fell, they would become largely useless, as the attack would then have fallen on the south curtain. In the twelfth century the city had been an outwork for the castle. In the sixteenth century the weakness of the city led to the outer ward of the castle, even more than previously, becoming just the outwork for the inner ward, and it was in the latter that the castle's defences were now to be concentrated. Three principal developments resulted. The roof of the keep was altered, its battlements being lowered and embrasured, to enable it to carry heavy guns. The walls of the inner ward were reinforced by a massive rampart of earth, which at one point, at least, was 20 feet broad and 30 feet deep (*CSPS* II 1563–1569 no 733). The rampart was held in place by a retaining wall behind, while huge buttresses were built against the outside of the east curtain to enable it to sustain the extra weight. Although this was an innovation partly intended to serve purely defensive purposes (it seems likely that the battering of the outside of the wall on either side of the Captain's Tower was carried out at the same time), its principal function was to act as a gun platform, on which cannon could be freely moved round the entire circuit of inner ward walls (alterations were made to the Captain's Tower so that it did not break the ring). And a half-moon battery and parapet were constructed in front of the Captain's Tower; the latter, rather than the outer ward's curtain, probably now represented the castle's first serious line of defences. The semicircular half-moon battery stood immediately in front of the Captain's Tower. There was a ditch in front of it, which soon filled with water, but not so deeply as to prevent the use of guns from the lower levels of the battery, which were built down into the ditch. The battery was on two levels. The lower level, which was entered by a stairway down at the northern end of the battery (that is, at the end furthest from the outer gatehouse, that being the direction from which an attack was most likely to come), consisted of a loopholed gallery, from which muskets and other handguns could be fired at anyone trying to cross the ditch. Above it stood a stone parapet, pierced by three embrasures facing north, west and south, from which cannon-fire could have been directed to all corners of the outer ward, supported at the same time by the guns on the Captain's Tower and its flanking walls behind. This parapet continued to the south (and possibly to the north also), leaving only a narrow passage for entrance to the inner ward from the outer gatehouse. The visitor passing in from the latter would have found a wall or palisade immediately in front of him. There was an opening in it giving access to the outer bailey, but if he had business in the inner ward then he would have had to turn first right and then left, making his way along between the wall behind the ditch and the inner bailey wall until he came to the Captain's Tower. On all sides,and in all possible ways, guns and reinforced fortifications were laid out so as to hold attackers at arm's length and obstruct their access to the inner ward; there, now, lay the nerve-centre of the castle's defences, while the keep's function seems to have dwindled to that of an elevated gun-platform.

It is difficult to pin any of these works down to a particular date. Numerous payments for works at Carlisle are recorded in the early 1540s. After an initial sum of about £500 had been paid in June 1540 (*LPH* XV no 746), £2000 was received in May 1541 (BL *Add MS* 5754 f 92), followed by £1000 in July (*LPH* XVI no 1009) and £1000 in October (ibid no 1295). Work probably continued over the winter, if at a lower level of intensity, as another £1000 was paid in February 1542 (*LPH* XVII no 258, p 132) and £1000 in the following August (CRO *D/AY* no 190). Then between September 1542 and May 1550 a further £7291 5s $3^1/_2$d was spent on Carlisle's defences (PRO *SP10/15* ff 21, 21v), a total which probably includes some smaller sums, totalling some £260, recorded separately during those years. So nearly £13800 was spent altogether. But since Wentworth had reckoned the likely cost of repairs to the castle as a sum in the region of £1000 only, it seems certain that most of the money went on the citadel. The best evidence for the scope of the works on the castle, even though the sum involved was only £20 9s 1d, is an account drawn up late in 1543 (BL *Add MS* 5754 ff 95–96). Some of the works recorded in it involved the erection of new structures. The ordnance house of 1529, described then as 'almoste fallin downe', appears to have been given up, as a new one was now built, with partitions dividing it into stores; the walls were plastered, and it had windows and chimneys (probably fireplaces), as well as (it would appear) an accompanying chamber. References to 'digging the smithy' and to work on the smithy chimney suggest that this, too, was a new structure.

Below the castle, on its eastern side, work was in progress on the bulwarks, which were made of stone, with wooden railings round them, and gutters to keep them 'from the danger of the water'. A good deal of timber was needed for this, for the railings and for the passage-ways giving access to the bulwarks from the castle. It would certainly have been better seasoned than medieval timber usually was, for it came from the recently dissolved Greyfriars, whose buildings were later said to have been applied by the warden of the West March 'to the king's buildings, both in and on the king's castle of Carlisle and on the walls of the same city...' (PRO *SC6/Henry VIII/7377* m2d). And there were repairs to old buildings. It would appear that little had been done to many of these since the report of 1529 disclosed their sad condition; indeed, a report on the contents of the castle made in October 1541 suggests that by then very few rooms were still in use, since it only mentions the kitchen, undifferentiated chambers containing three pairs of bedstocks, the lord's cham-

ber, the prison and the chamber over the inner gate (Bain 1890, no 102). But now two pavers and six labourers were paid 'for paving the kitchen in the castle for the avoidance of water there', and three wallers earned 9s 'for making of gutters to the spout for the avoiding of water in the castle'. Some of these works were on a considerable scale, and in themselves involved temporary alterations to existing buildings. At least 24 wagon-loads of timber came from the Greyfriars, while the ordnance appears not to have been kept in the castle, and had to be brought in once its new accommodation had been completed. Not only did the city's bridges have to be given a protective covering against the weight of these loads, but the outer gate had to be widened to allow them to enter, hence the payment for 'hewing the walls' to enable the gates, and the ordnance house doors, to open wider. It was as part of this process that three men were paid 'for working and breaking the wall in the porter's lodge and setting in crooks in the walls in the dark prison and pledge chamber...'; the latter, described in 1540 as 'a strong house' in which prisoners could be kept in irons (PRO *SP1/157* ff 177, 177v), was probably the chamber in front of the porter's lodge on the west side of the gate passage, the dark prison the cell beneath it. The damage done on this occasion may have taken a long time to repair properly.[2]

The works were accompanied by all sorts of difficulty. Haschenperg was basically a land-surveyor, who was probably out of his depth when dealing with fortifications according to a plan not his own. His relations with his colleagues and superiors were certainly far from easy. In March 1541 one Thomas Gower had been sent to Carlisle 'for the setting forth and accomplishment of such our fortifications and works as we have appointed to be made there' (BL *Add MS* 6362 f 2). But when Haschenperg arrived as Gower's colleague the two men may have fallen out, as Haschenperg certainly did with Sir Thomas Wentworth, the captain of the castle, whom he accused of 'ungentle and indiscreet using of the said Stephen' (ibid f 3) and of 'ill-using the workmen' (*LPH* XVI no 958). Gower was transferred to Berwick, and Wentworth was instructed to 'use himself more temperately'. But the work seems to have gone on no better. In December 1542 the warden and the bishop were ordered to inspect 'the proceding of Mr. Stevins in the Kinges Highnes buildinges and fortifications att Carleil', and Haschenperg himself was ordered to report to ths king on his plans for the following year (*APC* I 1542–1547, 59). His employer was obviously dissatisfied with what he then saw and heard, for in May 1543 Haschenperg was dismissed, having, it was subsequently declared, 'spent great treasures to no purpose' (O'Neil 1945, 147), a charge to which the details of expenditure given earlier would appear to lend some countenance. William Garforth took over the direction of the works, and in November 1543 was officially appointed 'clerk of th'ordnance, the works and store there',[3] though he was probably only intended to be a stop-gap until John Rogers could arrive from Hull, where there had been similar works in progress.

One of Haschenperg's problems may not have been his fault, for there was a lack of roofing materials. The mines at Alston clearly did not produce enough lead to meet the needs of the castle works. In the 1380s lead for roofing had had to be brought in from Wensleydale, just as in the 1570s it would have to be obtained at Kendal. In September 1543 it was reported that 'the Kinges new wourkes...be fallen in such decaye by rayninge to theim, that if they be not shortely sene to, they woll be utterly loste...' (Bain 1892, 80–1), and two months later it was recommended that lead be obtained from the lately dissolved monastery of Shap (*LPH* XVIII Part II no 395). But this was not the only trouble. Nor was Haschenperg the only person to quarrel with Sir Thomas Wentworth; indeed, he may have been drawn into a dispute between the captain and the warden. The latter was Sir Thomas Wharton, appointed in June 1537 as part of a shake-up of northern government in the aftermath of the Pilgrimage of Grace; an able man, he was also hard and difficult. There had been problems in 1539, when Wharton intercepted rents from royal demesnes which were usually applied to the maintenance of the castle garrison, and paid none of them over to Wentworth (*LPH* XIV Part I no 895). Then early in the following year one Andrew Bell, suspected of march treason and imprisoned in the castle, escaped from the captain's custody. Wharton, who in a letter to Cromwell described how in spite of his orders that Bell 'should remain within the precinct of the castle walls as a prisoner...Master Captain there did divers times bring the traitor to the church of Carlisle in his company, and in the town he was sundry times with his servants without my consent...', and how Bell feigned sickness with such success that he was confined only to the porter's lodge, where 'lady Wentworth herself did give him meat...saying he was most sick...' (PRO *SP1/157* ff 177, 177v) probably made what Wentworth considered an excessive fuss about the escape, for when in September 1541 the warden sent another prisoner to the castle, the captain refused to receive him (*LPH* XVI no 1203). During the same year the two men also appear to have been at odds over which of them had 'the right of fishing about Carlisle' (ibid, no 914).

The problem was only solved when in October 1541 Wentworth surrendered the castle to Wharton (Bain 1890, I, no 102), who in the following December was appointed captain-general of the city and the castle (*LPH* XVI no 1488). But the double office was a great burden, as Thomas Lord Dacre had found, and in March 1544 a new captain, Sir John Lowther, was appointed (*LPH* XIX Part I no 223). Wharton had tried to ensure that his subordinate would be a man he could get on with, by submitting for the king's choice a panel of four names, all of men acceptable to himself (BL *Add MS* 32646 f 266). Lowther he described as 'a man of good wit, great experience and conduct of matters in these parts and would be under me as he hath said. He is something moved with the gout and a man in mine opinion meet to have a charge'. But no sooner had Lowther been appointed than further trouble arose, for Wharton, once in the castle, made great difficulties about giving it up, leaving Lowther in considerable discomfort in a house in the city (*LPH* XIX Part II no 433); only in April 1545 did Lowther finally move into the castle. Against so contentious a background, it is

not surprising that there should have been difficulties about finishing the works; in April 1545 the outworks still needed covering, even though the stone for this was ready in the quarry, and the ramparts (presumably those behind the curtain of the inner ward) were still to be filled in (*LPH* XX Part I no 491).

Matters were not helped by the fact that this was a time of war in the borders. In 1542 Carlisle had been in serious danger of attack; the defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss on 24 November had ended that danger, but for most of the 1540s the city served as a centre for operations in the West March, with an appropriately large garrison. In June 1545 there were 'appointed to the castle 300 men, and in the citadel 200, with wheat and malt for a month, and sufficient gunners, ordnance and munition' (ibid no 1077), while on at least one occasion Wharton commanded the services of 400 German horsemen (Armstrong 1883, Appendix LXX, cix). A large garrison was felt to be necessary, perhaps, because there was a serious shortage of guns and of men able to fire them. In the early 1520s Lord Dacre had been reduced to providing his own and to borrowing artillery from the East March. The collection of guns recorded in 1529 was small and decrepit, consisting mostly of serpentines, and the indenture in which Wentworth recorded the contents of the castle as handed over by him to Wharton in October 1541 suggests that much of the stock of 1529 was still there, and had continued to deteriorate. The pot gun of brass was still there, and so, apparently, was the broken sling. There was now a total of 12 serpentines, some double but most of them single; many were broken, and had probably been in the castle for a long time. There were a few guns of types not mentioned in 1529, two tail pieces, a half sling, two fullers and two port pieces, and since none of these was said to be broken they had probably been acquired after that date. But it was not at all a satisfactory collection, and in 1541 itself the only addition the king felt able to make to it was 24 bows and sheaves of arrows (*LPH* XVI no 1255).

The defeat of the Scots at Solway Moss brought a measure of relief, in that not only was Carlisle less likely to be attacked, but also because the Scottish army had taken the field with a large train of artillery, much of which had ended up at Carlisle (*LPH* XX Part I no 491). But an increase in the number of guns was of little help when there was still a lack of gunners. In 1541 there had been only one gunner in the castle (*LPH* XVI no 496), and there was no improvement by 1545 (*LPH* XX Part I no 580(2)), in spite of a report in the previous year that the castle was 'not furnished with gunners as the necessity of the time requires' (*LPH* XIX Part I no 909). 1545, however, saw a determined effort to put matters to rights. This may have been in part due to the Scottish victory at Ancrum Moor in February of that year, which put the English marches in renewed jeopardy. But it was probably also given stimulus by a letter sent on 5 April by Sir John Lowther to the Earl of Shrewsbury, the king's lieutenant-general in the North (which may itself have been a product of Ancrum Moor, since it refers to an earlier letter from the Earl asking about the castle's supply of powder and shot). Lowther told Shrewsbury that Wharton had 'new ordnance' in his keeping, 24 pieces in all, as well as 12 more pieces won at Solway Moss, but he expressed fears that the warden would keep it all for the defence of the city, and hoped that the Earl would see that the castle had its share, as also of the bows, arrows and other arms in Wharton's keeping. The guns in the castle, he said, were in a deplorable condition, 'some lack chambers, some lack stocks and some holed through with canker, so that there is not many of them that can be shot'. Eight or ten gunners he reckoned to be the minimum for the castle 'if a siege did come', but at present there were only two, one of whom had been sent by Wharton to Langholme and the other was very young (PRO *SP1/199* ff 188, 188v, calendared (*LPH* XX Part I no 491).

The king was informed of the 'disfurniture' of Carlisle and the other northern fortresses, and on 13 April he ordered Shrewsbury, with the bishop of Durham and Sir Ralph Sadler, to set things in order and to report on the ordnance and gunners then at their disposal (*LPH* XX Part I no 513). It was probably in consequence of these instructions that late in April they summoned Wharton, as captain of the town, Lowther, as captain of the castle, and Edward Aglionby, as captain of the new citadel, for 'conference and communication...of the said fortresses...', from which they discovered, as they reported to the king, 'all things far out of order' (PRO *SP1/200* ff 65–66, calendared *LPH* XX Part I no 580). There was a lack of 'constitutions, ordinances or statutes made for the order of the same',[4] and the 20 horsemen serving under the captain were, they thought, 'more meet to be converted into soldiers and gunners'. There was now a 'convenient furniture of ordnance', though it was mostly unmounted, but no powder and shot, and only one gunner (a very old man) in the entire city. Nor were there enough bows, arrows, bills and other weapons, or sufficient victuals. The castle had no mill, and its water supply was inadequate. To remedy this situation, Shrewsbury and his colleagues ordered the completion of the works on the outworks and ramparts ('no great matter'). The three captains were each to lay in three months' supply of victuals, and all the available ordnance was shared out between them. To make the guns fit for service, 'carpenters and artificers' were to be set to work making mounts and stocks for those lacking them. But powder, shot and other weapons could only be supplied by the king, and the same was true of gunners, of whom 'forty will be few enough for the castle, town and citadel'. The report concluded with a renewed request for lead from Shap, 'for the finishing of the said works'. To it was added a list of the three fortresses' guns and munitions, together with another list of what they needed (*LPH* XX Part I no 580(2)). The castle was reckoned to have enough cannon, but it was recommended that it be supplied with thirty arquebuses, quantities of powder and shot, a hundred bills and thirty 'demihakes' (light muskets), as well as ten gunners.

Some action followed. In May Wharton was sent £200 for works on the castle and the citadel (ibid no 839), and shortly afterwards, as already observed, 500 men were sent to Carlisle with victuals for a month and 'sufficient gunners, ordnance and munition', while by June mills had been ordered for Carlisle and other border strongholds (ibid no 879). In the following year

Lowther received £40 to pay for the sinking of wells (*LPH* XXI Part I no 1516). Gunners, too, began to arrive, with a new master-gunner appointed in August 1545 and joined by at least three colleagues by the following April (*LPH* XX Part II no 187; *LPH XXI Part I* nos 269, 635). This was still many fewer than the ten recommended in 1545. One reason for the continued scarcity must have been the need for gunners in the English armies which in the mid-1540s were assembled for campaigns in France and for the defence of the southern coasts of England. Another reason, related to the first, may have been the nature of the guns themselves. The old serpentines appear to have been discarded, nearly all those listed in 1545 (falcons, falconets, bases, fowlers and sakers) were comparatively small guns, which do not appear to have fired shots weighing more than five pounds or thereabouts, and which served a double purpose; they were intended for use in the field as well as in beleaguered strongholds (Hogg 1963, 26–27), and so required versatility and adaptability, as well as technical expertise, on the part of those who fired them. Men with the necessary qualifications may well have been in short supply on the northern borders at this time.

In 1545 the city was reprieved. The protests of the citizens, understandably dismayed when they learnt of the proposal to abandon Carlisle should the Scots attack it in force, and supported in this by the warden, secured a change of policy, on the understanding that trenches and bulwarks would suffice to make the city defensible 'with small charge' (*LPH* XX Part I no 1167). It was still very weak, with 'not 200 weapons in all the town' (*CSPD* 1601–1603: Addenda 1547–1603, 382), and Wharton had to train the citizens in the use of hand-guns sent over from Newcastle (ibid, 326). Indeed, the decision to render the city defensible may well have added to the government's liabilities without really strengthening the West March. The citadel, although rendered well-nigh redundant almost before it had been completed, still had to be maintained, while although the castle remained administratively and economically in close contact with the city, the concentration of the former's strength in its inner ward may have reduced the military interdependence of castle and city and led to problems of coordination which the fact of the citadel's being under an independent command would only have accentuated. Nor was the castle as well defended as might have been expected after so great an expenditure of the king's money. Unforeseeable disaster struck when the powder store, which appears to have been still kept in the keep, exploded, probably in 1547 (*CSPD* 1601–1603, 320), leaving the keep 'marvellously cracked' (*CSPD* Addenda 1566–1579, 505–506). Old problems resurfaced too. Supplies became scarce, as might have been expected in a war-devastated region (Nicolson and Burn 1777, I, lxiii). In March 1548 Sir John Lowther claimed the tithes from Penrith and other parishes which were usually given to the captain of the castle but were now in the hands of Lord Dacre; without them, he claimed, 'I must keep but a simple house, for there will be little left to find provision…' (*CSPD* 1601–1603, 376). Nor had the problem of guns and other military supplies been finally settled. In the autumn of 1549 Lord Dacre, having just replaced Wharton as warden of the West March, was writing to ask for 'munition and ordnance lacking at Carlisle' (Nicolson and Burn 1777, I, lxiv), and that this was for the castle is shown by the instructions sent to Dacre in the following spring, that he should write to Sir Robert Bowes, deputy-warden of the East and Middle Marches, 'for certain artillery and munition for the renforce of the Castell of Carlisle…' (*APC* II 1547–1550, 417). After ten years of works and heavy financial outlays on the defences of Carlisle, the castle at the centre of them was still, it would appear, inadequately equipped to fulfil its functions.

Renewed stagnation 1550–1563

Concern over guns and victuals soon led to concern over buildings. In July 1550 Sir Richard Lee and Sir Thomas Palmer were ordered to inspect the city and the castle; 'any smalle thinge' needing repair they were to have done immediately, otherwise they were to make a 'plott' and return with it to report to the Privy Council (*APC* III 1550–1552, 91). Their mission probably reflects the dominance in government of the Earl of Warwick (soon to become Duke of Northumberland), who became warden-general of the marches and was determined to end the Scottish war begun by Henry VIII; in keeping with this policy the fortresses along the northern border were strengthened as the English withdrawal from Scotland was organised (Ridpath 1848, 392–3). It does not seem, however, that anything very substantial was done to Carlisle castle, at least not immediately. At the end of 1552 order was given that £100 be spent on 'necessary repairs', and the money was duly spent in the following year, £20 in January, £30 in March and £50 in July (PRO *LR6/123/9* m39d). The first of these outlays was made by Sir Richard Musgrave, the captain of the castle, and he was also responsible for other repairs undertaken in that year, for he spent another £45 10s on repairs of a by-now familiar nature; there were gates which needed making, at a cost of £20, there was a well to be sunk, for £15, while £10 went on 'a roof to certain walls already built', the latter perhaps erected in January or March (PRO *WARDS9/365* f 411v; *CSPD* 1601–1603, 423). A year later Lord Dacre, who was now once more warden of the West March, was reimbursed with £25 6s 9d spent on 'diverse and sundry reparations made upon the castle of Carlisle' (PRO *E351/224* m7), and order was given that bows and gunpowder be sent to Carlisle (*APC* V 1554–1556, 21–22). An account of 1553–1555, recording an expenditure of just £35 (PRO *LR12/18/549*), probably covers these transactions. Many of the details are imperfectly legible, but enough survives to show that the works were wide-ranging. The most important undertaking appears to have been the building of a barn for hay, using timber felled in Newbiggin park. There were repairs to the brewhouse, the bakehouse and the stables, the gutters of the prison were attended to, and so were the castle's glass windows. Much attention was given to doors and gates, four stone of iron being wrought 'into bands and crooks for certain doors in the castle', and many doors received new locks or keys, including one of the posterns and the Tile Tower (referred to as such, possibly

Fig 124 The tomb of Thomas Lord Wharton and his wives, 1568, in Kirkby Stephen church, Cumbria (photo: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments)

for the first time in a written document). Perhaps these were improvements which Lord Dacre regarded as essential if he was to live in the castle in any comfort. There is nothing in them to suggest radical repairs, and considerably more was done for the defences of the city, with no less than £823 1s 11d being laid out on 'repairing and mending the walls of the city of Carlisle' (PRO *E101/63/18*). Three years later further works became necessary, coinciding with, and no doubt resulting from, a renewed Scottish threat to northern England, following England's declaration of war on France in 1557; the border defences were put on the alert from May of that year, while the Scots prepared an attack in October (Davies 1980, 167–8). Works at Carlisle began in September, and continued (with a break between 11 December and 31 January) until near the end of March 1558 (Details from PRO *E101/483/17*). There were works on the citadel and (in spite of of the substantial outlay at the beginning of Mary's reign) on a breach in the city walls, but the principal works would appear to have been 'the repairing of the 'Dongion' tower in the castle and of the breach in the castle walls in the outer Tower'; the latter was in the outer bailey, where a survey in 1563 reports the fall of part of the wall on 12 March 1557 (BL *Titus F* XIII, ff 194, 194v), while the former was the keep, clearly not repaired since the explosion in the powder store ten years earlier.

The survey of 1563, however, shows that the keep and the outer bailey wall were still in a parlous condition, and leaves considerable doubt as to how much work was done on the castle in 1557. The total spent, £107 11s 2d, was probably not enough for substantial works, especially when shared out between castle, city and citadel, and in fact the only clear reference to building in the castle are to slates for the customs house and props for the 'Elding' (fuel) house. There is certainly more than a suggestion of unfinished works in the conclusion of the account, reporting that large quantities of freestone, flags, filling stone, lime and timber had been left in the quarries and the woods, 'which stone and timber doth waste and consume for lack of bringing to the castle' (PRO *E101/483/17* f 12). Perhaps the danger seemed too pressing to make repairs to the masonry worthwhile, and the authorities may have preferred to reinforce Carlisle's staff of gunners, thereby adding to the great expense of border fortresses and garrisons in 1557/58 (Loades 1979, 411). In 1554 there were said to be 'four masters of the great ordnance' at Carlisle (PRO *E351/224* m4), but this was

not enough, and by May 1558 extra gunners had been sent there from Berwick (*APC* VI 1556–1558, 310); probably these were identical with the 'ten extraordinary gunners for our great ordnance' who had been in the garrison at Guisnes until that town fell, with Calais, in January 1558, and who were subsequently sent to Carlisle, probably from Berwick (PRO *LR9/83* – unnumbered). In 1563 there were five 'extraordinary' gunners in the castle and five in the city, and the will of one of them, John Croo, who died in November 1565, shows that these men formed a close-knit group, for he made bequests to six of them (CRO *P1565* – John Croo of Carlisle gunner). For several years the cost of their maintenance fell on the treasurer of Berwick, but the money saved at Carlisle does not appear to have been spent on the defences there, which deteriorated once more. An undated report, probably of the early 1560s, described the castle walls and towers as 'very ruinous and in divers places fallen down', and estimated the cost of repairing them at £544. Repairs to the city walls would cost a further £306 (PRO *E315/405* f 39).

The Certificate of Decays and the crisis of the late 1560s

In 1560 English troops helped the Scottish reformers to eject French forces from Scotland, and the Treaty of Edinburgh of that year meant an end to the Anglo-Scottish wars, as the two countries found a common ground in their Protestantism, one transcending national differences (Donaldson 1965, 29–30). It was a sign of the times that in 1563 the Catholic Lord Dacre should have been dismissed as warden of the English West March because he would not cooperate with his Scottish opposite number, the Protestant Lord Maxwell (Tough 1928, 190, 195). Dacre was replaced by Henry Lord Scrope of Bolton (a descendant of the warden under whom the outer gatehouse was rebuilt), and, as was usual, a commission was appointed to survey the state of Carlisle's defences and report on them to the central government (*CPR* 1560–1563, 485). The six commissioners completed their report on 12 June 1563, and its heading, 'Certificate of the decays of the castle, town and citadel at Carlisle' (BL *Titus F XIII* ff 194–9), is an apt summary of its contents, and casts further doubts on the extent and usefulness of the works of 1557/58. The keep, 'the Dungeon tower of the castle, which should be principal part and defence thereof, and of the town also', was 'in decay' on three sides, east, south and west, up to a height of 50 feet, 'so as the same Tower is not only unserviceable but also in danger daily to fall...'. If anything at all had been done to repair the damage caused by the explosion in the powder store, it was not very much. And the ordnance house, built barely twenty years previously in the early 1540s appears to have decayed with remarkable speed for the ordnance and munition now had to be stored in the city, 'very dangerously for any sudden [sic]'. Then there was the breach in the outer bailey wall, where 69½ feet had fallen in March 1557, 'through which breach men may easily pass and repass'. The castle gates, too, were in a decayed state, and were 'needful to be made new'.

These were comparatively recent developments; other defects represented either long neglect or failure to complete earlier programmes. This particularly applied to the inner ward. The Captain's Tower lacked the platform which would enable it to carry guns, and both it and three quarters of the inner ward curtain needed 'vawmering'. It is not easy to say what this was. A 'vawmer' was usually a wall or earthwork thrown out in front of a main fortification. But nothing of this kind is visible on sixteenth-century maps of the castle. At Carlisle it was associated with a platform, both on the Captain's Tower in the castle and on the city's Caldewgate and Springald towers. The references to it are themselves obscurely phrased. The Captain's Tower, it was said, 'wanteth a platform and the vawmer about 44 foot, in breadth 40 foot and in thickness 8 foot', leaving it uncertain how far these measurements referred to the platform and how far to the vawmer, if, indeed, such a distinction could be usefully made. It is possible, since the vawmers appear to have been made of stone, that they were some form of battering attached to the base of the walls, but their limited height, three feet in one instance and five feet in another, makes it more likely that they were, as usual, some form of outwork, intended to keep the enemy away from the walls, and especially from the gun emplacements, perhaps by giving cover to musketeers. No references to them have been found after the 1560s, so it may well be that they were never completed. If so, they were not the only parts of the castle to be treated thus. The decay of the glass of two great windows, one in the great chamber and the other in the hall, suggests that these buildings were as much neglected in the 1560s as they had been in the 1520s, and helps to explain why the warden found it necessary to build himself a new residence in the following decade.

Nor was the castle's ordnance in a very promising condition. Of the first eight guns to be listed it was said that there was 'not one good – all dismounted', while many others, which must have been old-fashioned, lacked chambers. The 29 'half hagges' were 'not serviceable', and there were no bows and no black bills; 120 sheaves of arrows were 'in decay', and 30 morris pikes were 'not good'. There were only 728 shot for four different sorts of gun, and all such powder as there was, was still kept in the city, 'because there is no ordnance house in the castle'. Under such circumstances, it can have been small consolation that at last the castle had enough gunners, nine in all, as well as the regular garrison of a constable and 21 soldiers, under the command of the captain. The government's immediate reaction to the report of 1563, however, was conventional and predictable; it did nothing, and in the following year Lord Scrope was said to have had to mount the castle cannon at his own expense (*CSPD* 1601–1603, 552). In July 1564 Lord Treasurer Winchester informed Cecil that he had received a 'bill of reparations' for Carlisle. This was probably a follow-up to the certificate of decays, which is not costed, and it may have alarmed the Treasurer, for his response to it was to suggest that the fortifications 'may well be surveyed new in August when I send commission thither for order of the queen's lands...' (PRO *SP12/34* no 36.

(f.59))Indeed, he must have hoped that direct expenditure from Westminster would be unnecessary, for in October 1564, in a further letter to Cecil on the subject of rents and entry-fines due to the Queen in the North West, he claimed that these 'will extend to £2000, which money will repair Carlisle castle and citadel, and Penrith, and Bewcastle dale' (*CSPD* 1601–1603, 552–553).

When a new survey was made in 1565, however, it reported almost exactly the same defects as had been listed two years earlier, so clearly nothing had been done in the meantime. The wording of the report of 1565 is in fact well-nigh identical with that of 1563, and it seems likely that the commissioners of 1565 took the certificate of decays round with them, subsequently resubmitting it with only a few amendments. The only significant change they made consisted in the addition of estimates of the likely cost of repairs (details from PRO *SP15/12* ff 186–188v). Repairing the breach in the curtain of the outer ward would cost £50 and putting the keep to rights £300, while work on the captain's tower would cost £24 and vawmering the inner ward £80. The total cost of repairs to the castle would be £454, while similar works on the city walls and towers they reckoned at £287 and on the citadel at £74. Repairs to the castle had in fact been estimated as costing £90 less than in the report of Lord Dacre's time; in the light of the Treasurer's response to the repairs bill of 1564, it seems reasonable to assume that the surveyors had been instructed to make their estimates with a proper consideration for what the Treasury could afford. Repairs to the city's defences were also reckoned as likely to cost less than previously, though only by £19.

But even when the probable expense had been reduced, it was too much to hope that the government would at once authorise the necessary outlay. With England at peace with Scotland, it was probably felt that substantial repairs were unlikely to be necessary, an outlook underlined in 1563 when gunners were sent from Carlisle to Newhaven (*CSPD* 1547–1580, 225), doubtless for the expedition against Le Havre of that year. Only in 1567 was work finally set in motion. Between the middle of April and the end of June of that year a total of £102 14s was spent on 'the building and repairing of the broken and decayed wall within the castle of Carlisle' (details from PRO *E101/545/15*), a programme which may have included the breach in the outer ward's curtain wall. And then on 16 June the Lord Treasurer instructed the queen's receiver in Cumberland to pay £100 to Lord Scrope, a sum of which on 27 June the warden acknowledged the receipt, 'to be employed in the repair of the decays within the castle of Carlisle' (PRO *SP44/28* ff 67, 68). It is possible that there was only one, two-and-a-half month, building campaign involved, and that Scrope was in effect being reimbursed for work already done. But the Treasurer's order to the receiver, that he should pay the £100 'with diligence, that the works may be done this summertime...', seems to point to work still to be done, and hence to an extended campaign, perhaps lasting through the summer, and costing over £200 in all.

Even if £200 was spent on the castle this was less than half the expenditure regarded as necessary in 1565; nevertheless, it came in time to prepare the castle to meet the crisis of the last years of the decade. The catalyst of that crisis was Mary Queen of Scots, whose mishandling of the affairs of her own realm led to rebellion, civil war and her flight from Scotland to England. Arriving by boat at Workington on 16 May 1568, she was met by Richard Lowther, the deputy-warden of the West March, and escorted to Carlisle castle two days later (PRO *SP53/1* no 5). Her presence there gave rise to much anxiety and expense. Although Elizabeth was at first prepared to countenance Mary's return to Scotland, the fact that Mary was both heir to the English throne and a Catholic with important French connections, and that she might be a danger to English security in either capacity, meant that she could only be restored on English terms. It was important, therefore, that she be kept as securely as possible at Carlisle, and that she be persuaded to depart from there to some place further from the border as soon as this could be managed. Since Mary was not, ostensibly, a prisoner, the necessary arrangements were not easily made. Elizabeth's vice-chamberlain, Sir Francis Knollys, was sent to Carlisle to see to Mary's safe-keeping, and his letters are the principal source for this episode in the castle's history. Mary was lodged in the tower at the south-east corner of the inner ward, in what in 1529 had been referred to as the Warden's Tower. It had been in poor condition in that year, with its roof 'full of holes and consumed', and it does not appear to have improved in the nearly 40 years that had passed since then; Knollys described it as 'this noisome and unsavoury place', and reported that Mary's willingness 'to tarry still in this noisome house did carry withal some mystery that made us to wonder and think it very strange...' (BL *Calig C I*, f 154v).

The unspoken anxiety was, of course, that Mary would escape. Knollys and Scrope told Elizabeth that 'with devices of towels or 'toyes' at her chamber window or elsewhere in the night, a body of her agility and spirit may escape soon, being so near the border...' (ibid, f 109), while in a letter to Cecil Knollys remarked that since Mary could 'keep her chamber as long as she list, unseen of us or of my lady Scrope or of any other than of her own retinue, she cannot lack practices and opportunities for her escape...' (ibid, f 156v). Her privacy could not be intruded upon, but her movements could be supervised and controlled. To guard against her escaping from the tower, an old postern at its foot was reopened, so that a watch could be set for anyone being let down from above to the ground outside the castle's east-facing curtain (*CSPS* II 1563–1569 no 733). To ensure that an adequate watch was kept everywhere in the castle, a troop of soldiers was sent for from Berwick, and the augmented garrison was then divided into five bands, 'so that the watch and wards came about every fifth night and every fifth day'; not even the warden's sleep remained sacrosanct, for 'my L. Scrope also was a late watcher' (BL *Calig C I*, ff 163v–164, 165). When Mary went out 'to walk on a playing green towards Scotland' and to watch members of her retinue playing football, she was attended by 24 English halberdiers, while when she rode out to hunt a hare, 'she galloping so fast upon every occasion, and her whole retinue being so well horsed...', Knollys simply decided that this could not be allowed to hap-

pen again, and that 'she must hold us excused in that behalf' (BL *Calig B IX*, f 348v). It would appear that soon she could only leave the castle and its immediate precincts when she went to church in the city, 'to service of the suffrages sung at the town church, which of late she hath more usually done...' (ibid, f 348).

Mary had abdicated as Queen of Scots on 24 July 1567, but the validity of an act so manifestly carried out under duress was doubtful, particularly to Mary herself. Once in England she showed that she expected 'the acknolegying of hyr estate regalle' (Jefferson 1838, 38), and Knollys who invariably referred to her as either 'this Queen' or 'her grace' ('her highness' he reserved for Elizabeth), seems to have been willing to oblige her, for he asked Cecil 'whether she should have a cloth of estate' (PRO *SP53/1* no 15) – a canopy, an important symbol of royalty in sixteenth-century Europe – and on one occasion reported how she had received Scrope and himself 'in her chamber of presence' (BL *Calig C I* f 108v). On the French ambassador's visiting her one Sunday, and arriving while she was still in church, the formalities were observed by his waiting in the great chamber until Mary was ready to receive him (ibid, f 142). Civility cost little, but the maintenance of Mary and her train cost a great deal, and the expense was not one she was able to bear herself. When she arrived in England, so Richard Lowther told Cecil, her attire was 'very mean, and as I can learn, hath not any better, neither other wherewith to change', and it seemed likely that 'her highness's treasure did not much surmount the furniture of her robes' (PRO *SP53/1* no 5). To stock her wardrobe Mary was able to persuade the earl of Moray, now ruling Scotland as regent for her infant son James VI, to send her three coffers of clothes, but since these only contained one taffeta gown, and were otherwise filled with 'cloaks, and coverings for saddles, and sleeves, and partlets, and coifs, and such like trinkets...' (BL *Calig B IX* f 338), a messenger had to be sent to Lochleven castle, where she had recently been imprisoned, who returned with 'five little car-loads of apparel and four horse-loads...' (PRO *SP53/1* no 27). In the meantime, Mary kept her spirits up by attending to her hair. Among her retinue now was Mary Seaton, who showed herself so skilled a 'busker' of her mistress's hair that, as Knollys told Cecil, 'every other day-lighte she hath a new devyce of head dressing', while one day she had excelled herself by providing 'a curled hear...that was sayd to be a perwyke...' And all this, he added appreciatively, was 'withoute any coste' (Jefferson 1838, 39).

To meet her incidental expenses, Mary borrowed money, some £318, from Carlisle merchants (*CSPS* III 1569–1571 no 35), but this was nowhere near enough to cover the costs of the maintenance of herself and her retinue, and inevitably these fell upon Queen Elizabeth. At the beginning of June Mary was attended by 'not past 3 or 4 women, and those not of the best and finest sort', and by a 'company of servants...not above 30 or 40, whereof there be gentlemen sewers, carvers and cupbearers half a dozen, and as many gentlemen waiters not much inferior to the others. Then the rest be cooks and scullions and varlets of the chamber and lackeys, but yet not past 3 or 4 of these that lie within the castle...'. Her more aristocratic followers, 30 or 40 of them, lodged with their servants in the city, 'at their own charge' (PRO *SP53/1* no 15). Mary's entourage showed an alarming tendency to grow. She herself was joined by two more waiting women – one of them Mary Seaton the 'busker' (Jefferson 1838, 39) – while her servants acquired attendants of their own, so that 'every groom and every page grew to have a man or a boy...'(PRO *SP53/1* no 34). Early in June, however, Knollys reckoned that Mary's household was costing about £8 a day, 'and yet before we came the charges was dearer and more disorderly spent...' He and his henchmen were in fact remarkably successful in keeping costs down; 'the whole week's charges for this our household', for the week ending 5 June, amounted to £54 (BL *Calig C I* f 116v), yet weekly expenditure over the whole period of Mary's stay at Carlisle averaged only £56 9s $2^{1}/_{2}$d, in spite of the increase in her retinue (PRO *SP53/1* no 27(1)). These were far from inconsiderable sums, of course, for even a refugee queen had to be maintained in a manner befitting her station. Substantial quantities of food were provided for her; on one occasion no less than 42 sheep were bought, together with eight bushels of wheat, three quarters of biscuits and unspecified numbers of fish, calves, lambs, kids and capons. Other goods supplied to her table included beer, vinegar and butter, while for warmth she had peat and turves. Nor was she deprived of all the luxuries she may have become accustomed to, for money was also spent on spices and Gascon wine (PRO *SP53/1* no 20).

One reason why Knollys was willing to countenance such an outlay may have been his anxiety to get Mary away from Carlisle, to a place further inside England, where there was less danger either of an escape or of a rescue. Since she was not a prisoner she had to be persuaded, and the better to persuade her she must be humoured. In the end Knollys had his way, and on 13 July Mary left, to be taken to Lord Scrope's castle of Bolton, at an unexpectedly high cost, 'because we were driven to hire 4 little cars and 20 carriage horses and 23 saddle horses for her women and men, the which was well accomplished upon the sudden to her commodity and satisfaction' (BL *Calig C I* f 165v). 'Surely', wrote Knollys resignedly, 'if I shold declare the difficulties that we have passed before we cowld get hyr to remove, in stede of a letter I shold wryte a storye, and that somewhat tragicall' (Jefferson 1838, 40). Writing from Bolton some weeks later, Knollys drew attention to Scrope's 'diligence and faithful costly service', and recommended that he be 'regarded, relieved and speedily helpen'. The analogy he drew to the warden's condition was certainly apposite; 'you know', he went on, 'that small reparations duly bestowed upon an old crazed house in time will more profit the upholding and maintenance of the same than five times so much cost bestowed out of time...' (BL *Calig B IX* f 340). It is quite possible that he was thinking of Scrope's official residence in Carlisle castle when he wrote those words, but before that structure could receive any further attention, it had to face another crisis.

As heir to the English throne and as a Catholic, Mary was the inevitable focus for conspiracy in the Catholic North, resentful of religious change and government

intrusion – in the 1560s the Council of the North once more came to exercise authority in the borders, while the region's three greatest families, the Percies, the Nevilles and the Dacres, were all Catholics. And there was an additional cause for resentment in the North West, where after the death of George Lord Dacre in May 1569, the claim of Leonard Dacre, his uncle, to succeed to the title was rejected, and George's three sisters, all married to Howards, inherited the family lands. As far as the surviving male Dacres were concerned, the continuance of their family in its lands and rank took precedence even over their loyalty to the crown (James 1986, 276–7). In the present circumstances only a change of sovereign was likely to be much use to them, and so at this point the interests of Queen Mary and the Dacre family became one and the same. Whether in fact the Dacres had any programme as positive as the replacement of Elizabeth by Mary is not clear; they may just have been determined to uphold the cause of their family at all costs and in any way they could. It was certainly a cause that still counted for a good deal in Cumberland, and it was likely to be considerably strengthened by the support which Mary continued to enjoy in South-West Scotland. Leonard Dacre may for a while have had hopes of winning Elizabeth's favour, for when the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland rose in revolt in November 1569 he gave them no help (Fraser 1971, 258). But his brother Edward had designs on Carlisle castle.

In December 1569 Lord Scrope left Carlisle to go to Westmorland to deal with the Nevilles there, leaving bishop Best in charge (this paragraph is based on *CSPD* Addenda 1566–1579, 148–150). No sooner had the warden gone than the gunner at the castle gate passed on to the bishop a warning of an attempt to capture the castle, and 'tomorrow, if this fail, a messenger will call him into the church to speak with him, and as soon as he is come, a dagger shall be thrust in him, and the castle entered and taken'. The bishop thereupon reinforced the garrison, 'to resist their malice'. Behind this alarm lay Edward Dacre, who had taken up his residence at Harraby, less than a mile from the city, as 'privily' as a man could who had 200 soldiers at his disposal. He and his men were able to enter Carlisle next day on the pretext that they were rallying to the queen's cause, but 'when they perceived the castle furnished with men, and strongly warded, he departed', and the soldiers went home. But this was not all, for in the afternoon yet another Dacre brother, Francis this time, appeared at the castle gate and asked leave to deliver a message from his brother (presumably Edward). This must have been an anxious moment for the bishop, in the light of the warning he had been given the previous day, but John Best was a tough and resolute man, and he had Francis admitted, with a single attendant. Having asked disingenuously whether the bishop had called in question his brother's loyalty to the queen, and received a somewhat evasive reply, Dacre asked why the castle had needed so large a garrison. The bishop answered that this was because of the presence in the city of 40 or 50 Hetheringtons (a family from the Dacre heartland on the border), 'not my friends', and over 60 Scots, which made it 'meet, being put in trust, that I should look to my charge'. Best was clearly not going to be daunted. Francis Dacre departed, and 'Thus', wrote the bishop, 'through God's help, the matter was foreseen, the peril avoided, and no hurt done'.

It soon looked as though he might have spoken too soon. An important reason for the failure of the rising of 1569 to achieve anything was the success of the Scottish regent, the earl of Moray, in preventing the border Scots from riding to assist the northern earls. But on 23 March 1570 Moray was murdered, and with the prospect of Scottish help this time, the northern English rebels were prepared to try again. Active among them now was Leonard Dacre, who had come to realise that he had nothing to hope for from Queen Elizabeth. With a force of Dacre tenants at his back, and Scottish support on its way, he posed a direct threat to Carlisle; 'since he is so aided by Scotland, Carlisle is to be doubted…', wrote Hunsdon to Cecil (*CSPD* Addenda 1566–1579, 238). 'This city stands in peril', wrote Lord Scrope (Fraser 1971, 262), and on 19 February 1570 he proclaimed Dacre a traitor, and ordered that the queen's subjects were 'henceforth upon burning of any beacon, to repair to none save to the beacon of the castle of Carlisle' (*CSPD* Addenda 1566–1579, 243). Hunsdon, the warden on the English East March, was instructed to attack Dacre at Naworth. But for that he would need guns from Carlisle, and not only was there a shortage of powder there, but, as Hunsdon wrote to the Earl of Sussex, 'I believe there is not a battery piece in Carlisle except unmounted and unserviceable…' (ibid, 203, 220). He decided, therefore, to go on to Carlisle and join forces with Scrope, but on being attacked by Dacre near Brampton he decisively defeated him, just in time, before Scottish reinforcements could arrive. 'If we had tarried, he had been past dealing with', wrote Hunsdon, in a significant comment on the strength of England's border fortifications (Fraser 1971, 263).

The Wardenship of Lord Scrope 1570–1592

Once the danger was over, however, nothing appears to have been done for some time to put the castle in a proper state of repair. Indeed, when it is next mentioned, in 1572, it is in a context which once more draws attention to its deficiencies, with prisoners breaking out of it (*CSPD* Addenda 1566–1579, 419). But Anglo-Scottish relations were briefly strained by the so-called Raid of Redeswyre on 7 July 1575, when disorder broke out at a March day and the deputy-warden of the English Middle March was killed (Tough 1928, 224–7), and this incident may have had the effect of drawing the English government's attention back to the needs of the northern borders, for by February 1576 Scrope was considering the condition of Carlisle castle, and in particular of the keep, and had come to the conclusion that the best thing to do was to have it 'taken downe and new altered'. Three officers from Berwick were instructed to examine the keep and report on it to the Privy Council (*APC* IX 1575–1579, 287–8), and in the meantime work was begun on the city walls and gates. In Scrope's opinion this work was 'specially needful',

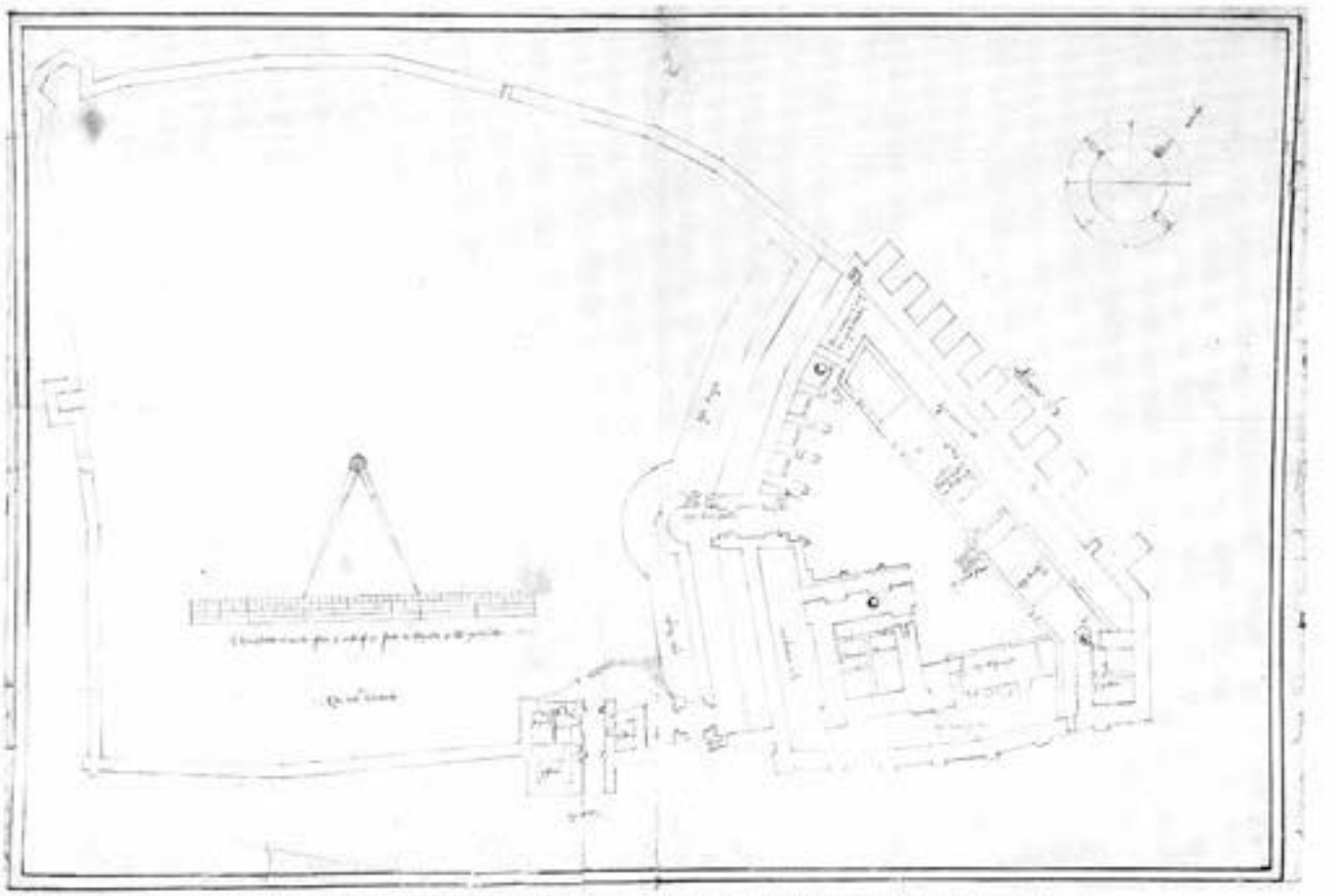

Fig 125 Carlisle Castle by William Garforth, c 1545 (photo: by courtesy of the Marquess of Salisbury)

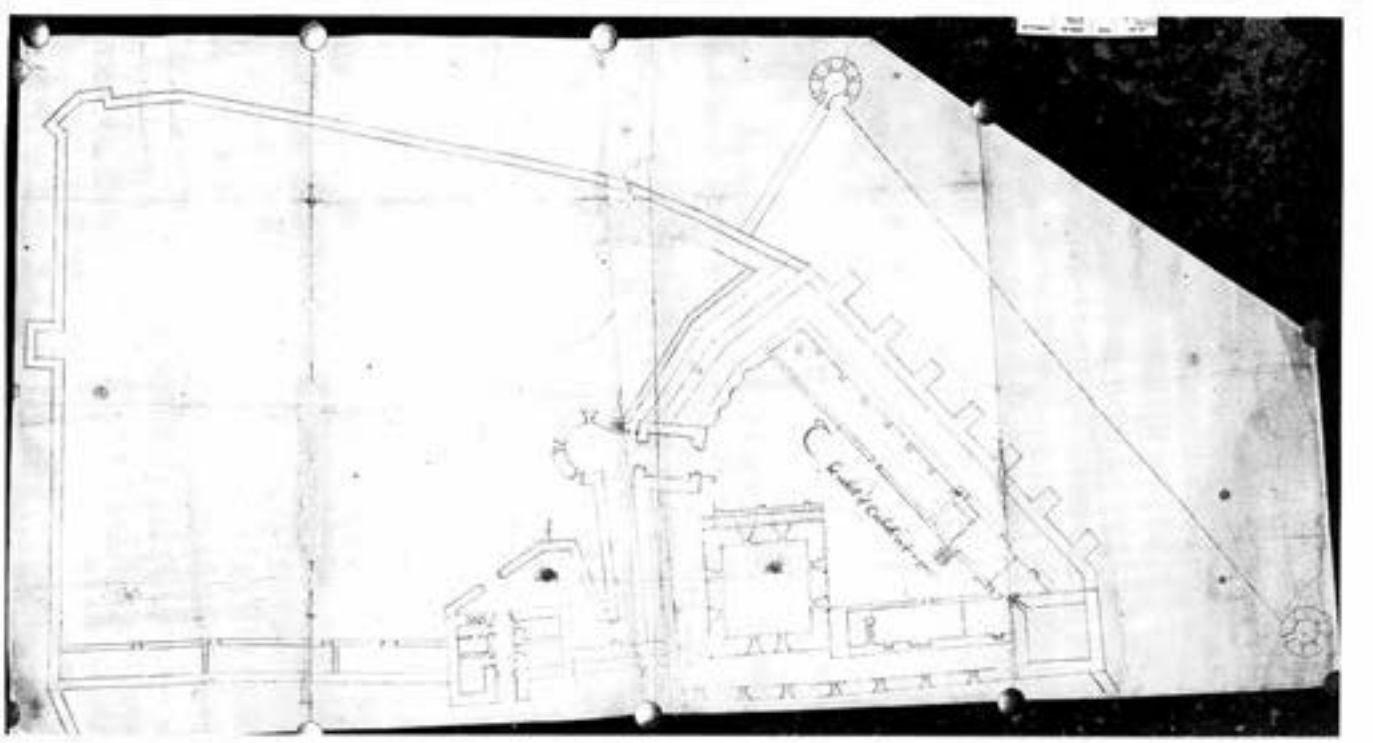

Fig 126 Carlisle Castle by an unknown artist, c 1550 (photo: British Library)

and it was not until November 1576 that he once more gave thought to the castle, and to his own lodgings in it. Since the quarry from which stone was to come was a long way off – something of an exaggeration, for in the 1580s stone was brought from Wetheral, three miles away, and Brackenthwaite, five miles distant – and the cost of its transport great, he proposed to use the keep as a quarry instead. He told Burghley how in

Wharton's time it had been 'partly blown up and marvellously cracked with gunpowder'. The principal breach had since been repaired, but the crack was still there and widening, and it was impossible to put guns on the keep as had once been intended. Scrope therefore proposed to reduce its height. The advantages, he thought, would be numerous. Relieved of its rickety upper stories, the keep would be more useful, since it would be able to bear half a dozen cannon. The cut stone so made available could be used on works in the castle and the city, and £100 would be saved on the 'hewing and carriage' of stone which would otherwise be needed (*CSPD* Addenda 1566–1579, 505–6).

The keep was probably completely useless at this time, which would explain Scrope's apparent determination to get rid of at least some of it. But if the commission which he suggested should be appointed to examine the keep reported in terms favouring his proposals, nothing came of them. The expense and difficulty of a large-scale demolition in a space so enclosed were probably prohibitive. Instead, provision was made for 'a strong buttress against the crack of the dungeon tower within the castle there', and at the same time work went ahead on a 'new lodging' for the warden, beginning on 4 March 1577 and continuing until September (Details from PRO *E101/545/16* Book 1 and *E101/554/18* ff 11–14). The need for an adequate residence for the warden was probably pressing. The Warden's Tower, in bad condition in 1529 and described as 'noisome' in 1568, must have been in a desperate state indeed by 1577 if it was found preferable to erect a new building rather than restore an old one. In fact it is not clear how far all the masonry constructed on this occasion was new. A plan of the castle made by William Garforth in the 1540s (Fig 125)[5] shows a building occupying a position identical to that subsequently taken up by the warden's lodging, between the south-east corner of the keep and the north-west corner of the Warden's Tower, and of the same size and shape. This structure may have been only planned, in which case Scrope was executing proposals first put forward some thirty-five years earlier. But it is possible that he took over a building already there and either completed it or adapted it to new purposes. The new lodging was a two-storey building (heightened by two further floors in the eighteenth century) with a kitchen in the basement (Charlton 1985, 25). The few details recorded of it in the 1570s seem to suggest a completion or extension rather than something completely new. A smith was paid for eleven casements, frames for windows which were then glazed, three stone chimneys were inserted, and the purchase of £7 worth of lead from Kendal points to substantial roofing works. It is difficult to be sure of the cost, but it would appear that out of £520 2s which Scrope recorded as spent on the castle and city together between February and October 1577, £133 3s 8d went on the castle, a sum which, even if it was all spent on the lodging, seems insufficient for a wholly new structure. The cost of all the works slightly exceeded the £500 received for them, but only by £20, and this was due to the weakness of the city walls, part of which fell while work was in progress. It seems unlikely that if the lodging was completely new, it could have been so precisely costed, something very unusual with new buildings. However, the works were not entirely finished; unfortunately, Scrope's 'note of the things remaining yet unperfected of the same works' (PRO *SP15/25* no 70) has been lost, and it is possible that his own lodging was one of them.

It seems clear that not all the work was carried out that might have been; perhaps no more money was made available for repairs to Carlisle castle, once it became clear that England's relations with Scotland would after all remain reasonably good. The military establishment was kept up, for there were ten gunners at Carlisle in 1577 (*CBP* I no 20), probably those in the castle, but when in 1580 Christopher Dacre (of Lanercost) reported on 'the decayed castles and fortresses thought meet to be repaired upon the west borders', although he described Carlisle castle as 'a place most meet in every respect to be repaired', he estimated the cost of the necessary repairs at £300, and this did not include the keep (PRO *SP15/27* no 44(3)). However, although this last could not be repaired without 'the clean taking down of a great part of the said dungeon, which were a very great charge...', it was 'in no great danger of any further decay for a long continuance', so the new buttress must have been fulfilling its intended function. Dacre therefore recommended that other repairs be undertaken, and passed over the keep, while the two bulwarks which had been constructed as outworks in the 1540s and had now fallen into disrepair he described as 'all decayed, not greatly needful...,' a judgment against which there was to be no appeal, for the bulwarks are not mentioned again. The keep was probably 'not greatly needful' either, but ultimately it was too central to be allowed to fall down.

It was not usual for Elizabeth's government to spend money on England's northern borders unless it absolutely had to, and in the 1580s foreign policy was increasingly urgently concerned with affairs on the Continent. So nothing was done to Carlisle castle for some years after Dacre's report, until works were undertaken in 1584. These may have been connected with the faction-fighting and rebellion which broke out in Scotland in that year, which in April led to rebels fleeing to England and was followed by cross-border raiding (Donaldson 1965, 180; Ridpath 1848, 453). Or perhaps Scrope was able to persuade the government of the castle's needs. The works began in May 1584 and continued until November, at a total cost of £220 15s 4d (details from PRO *E101/545/16* Book 2). The heading of the relevant book of accounts describes them as involving 'the repair of the chimneys, ovens and stables...', but this is somewhat misleading in its implication of repairs undertaken for essentially civilian purposes. Even if they were carried out for such ends, 'carrying away stones taken down off the walls' and the purchase of a lock and key for the postern gate were bound to affect the castle's defensibility. In fact it is difficult to pinpoint the sites of these works, but it looks as if they were executed in both the inner and the outer wards. The repair of the ovens, which involved two men working for four days 'leading all the rubbish and broken stones forth of the kitchen and courts' and would appear to have been a sizeable operation, was certainly carried out in the inner ward, since the kit-

Fig 127 Map of the city and castle of Carlisle by an unknown artist c 1560 (photo: British Library)

chen, as the report of 1529 indicates, stood at the northern end of the hall.

One Gawen Bonner was paid for 78 stones of lead (nearly half a ton), 'for the joining of the old leads to the new chimneys and ramper walls', and for another 72 stones 'for joining of the stables to the ramper walls'. The reference to the old leads makes it clear that these were in the inner ward, probably those over the hall, which had had a lead roof in 1529. Labourers were paid for 'taking down the old wood chimneys', and 320 'purpointe' stones were bought 'for the tunnel of the chimney and other works, being squared upon every side', pointing to a superior piece of work. Then the chimneys and roof were protected against bad weather by a lead roof which appears to have been extended onto the adjacent ramparts, either to make a single passageway of the curtain wall, the bank behind it and the roof of the hall, perhaps so that guns could be more easily moved round the walls, or simply in order to keep the rain off. Roofs covered with lead were usually of very low pitch, almost as flat as floors (Salzman 1952, 215), so such an extension would have been both logical and practical. The position of the stables is less certain. A reference to 'carrying away the old rubbish of the said stables' would seem to indicate that these were not entirely new buildings, but other details certainly point to a substantial renovation, involving the purchase of 950 'ashlar stones, being hewed upon one side' (these would hardly have been needed for ovens or chimneys). 124 cart-loads of clay were also required, as were the services of a dawber and a slater. The evidence suggests a timber-framed building (there is a reference to work on the sills), with wattle and daub partitions inside and a stone facing outside. The roof was made of slate, the lead being used only to join the stables to the 'ramper'.

But where were these stables? There had been a stable below the hall in the late fourteenth century, but it was not mentioned in the survey of 1529; in any case, to join a basement-level structure to a rampart would have been both pointless and immensely expensive. A sixteenth-century plan of the castle (Fig 126; BL *Aug I i 11*), unlikely to be later than the 1580s (it shows the bulwarks still *in situ*), records three connected buildings along the inside of the south curtain on the west side of the outer gatehouse, and these, it may be suggested, were the stables, standing where they appear to have stood in the following century, since in 1661 they were said to be among the buildings 'under the wall of the south curtain' (PRO *WO55/1696* f 6). By 1584 'ramper' may have come to mean, as it did later, the passage behind a parapet, rather than an earthwork like that behind the curtain of the inner ward, and the lead may have been intended less to broaden that passage onto the stables' slate roof than to protect the back of the stables from the effects of wet weather, and especially from rain seeping down between it and the curtain wall. Stables were necessary because the garrison, apart from the gunners, was still mounted; in 1596 it was said to consist of '20 men called souldiers *equitan'* ...' (PRO *SP12/257* no 91(f 144)). Such repairs made the castle more habitable, and also better able to fulfil what must increasingly have seemed to be its principal function, acting as a centre of police work, keeping the peace in the borders, rather than as a fortress equipped to stand a siege. But the latter function was not yet forgotten. In August 1584, in a move doubtless intended to coincide with the refurbishment of the castle buildings, the Privy Council issued a warrant for the delivery of military supplies to Scrope from the depot at Newcastle (*CBP* I no 325). These included quantities of powder and shot, 'straikes' and 'elme planckes' for 'great ordenaunce', 100 bows, 100 sheaves of arrows, 100 'light horsemen staves' and 100 calivers, a lighter form of musket. Yet given the lightness of most of Carlisle's artillery (shot was provided in 1584 for three kinds of gun, falcon, sacre and cannon, of which the first two were essentially light guns), it seems likely that most of these supplies were intended at least as much for service in the field as to repel besiegers.

One might have expected repairs and a restocking with munitions to have been followed by the customary period of neglect, but Scrope was able to obtain admittedly fairly small sums for further works; the fact that these were extracted from the queen's receiver in Cumberland, rather than from the exchequer, at a time when the latter would have had little money to spare, doubtless explains his success in raising funds. That success was all the more remarkable because there was no military justification for further repairs to the castle. Between June and October 1585, in a year which saw the conclusion of an offensive and defensive league between England and Scotland (Donaldson 1965, 182), he spent £119 8s 4d on works which may have been intended to improve the houses in the castle, with considerable quantities of timber and rough stone being provided, and a windlass made 'to wind up the stones to the top of the chimneys' (PRO *LR9/13/360*), while in June of the following year, only a month before the ratification of the previous year's league (Donaldson 1965, 183), work began on repairs to the gatehouse (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 3). These last were clearly badly needed, and carrying them out proved a complicated business. The lead roof was removed to allow 'mending the vaults and decayed walls of the same gatehouse', and was then replaced, and the building was attended to from below as well. Four trees were bought from the cathedral prebendaries to make stays and props to keep the gatehouse up and to supply scaffolds for the masons. Rubbish and broken stones were removed, the ironwork of at least four windows was seen to, and the work, which lasted from 19 June to 9 October cost a total of £100. But this was not all. Once the gatehouse had been patched up, the gates themselves needed to be overhauled, the work being completed between May and July 1587 (details from PRO *E101/545/16* Book 4). This time the work may have been given a measure of urgency by the uproar which arose in Scotland as a result first of the trial, in November 1586, and then of the execution, on 8 February 1587, of Mary Queen of Scots, and which led to some raids over the border (Donaldson 1965, 184). In November 1586 there were rumours that the Scots were considering an attack on northern England, and that 'If anything is intended by the Scotch it will first be attempted at Carlisle...' (*CSPS* IX 1586–1588 no 130), while in December 1587 the borders were reinforced, with 100 men being sent to Carlisle (*CSPD* Addenda

1580–1625, 222). But since there had already been work on the gatehouse, work on the gates would probably have followed anyway.

These gates were substantial ones, for another ten trees were bought from the prebendaries in order to make them. Spanish and Danzig iron was brought from Newcastle for nails, rivets, hinges and bands, and no less than four locks, with bolts and staples, were made. Work also had to be done on the stonework surrounding the gates, which may have been damaged when the old ones were removed; twenty-seven cartloads of stone were therefore brought from the quarry at Wetheral, and it was into the masonry that these provided that the hinges of the new gates were set. These works, which lasted for less than three months, cost £101 10s 11d, making it likely that Scrope had secured another £100 for them. That he should so nearly have balanced his restricted budget is further evidence of his administrative competence. These were the last works to be carried out during his wardenship. No Scottish attack on the English marches took place, instead the league of 1586 showed its value. There were Catholic lords in Scotland who hoped for a Spanish invasion, to be followed by James VI's conversion. But only Lord Maxwell was prepared to act in furtherance of his hopes, and to suppress his rising, which began in May 1588, James borrowed two guns and some gunners from Carlisle, and used them to reduce Lochmaben castle (Donaldson 1965, 188, 227; Tough 1928, 246). It was a presage of the cross-border cooperation which within twenty years would be finally pacifying the Anglo-Scottish marches.

The organisation of the sixteenth-century works

The working methods of the sixteenth century seem to have differed little from those of the fourteenth.* Stone and timber, unsurprisingly, remained the basic materials, and continued to be obtained locally. Stone came from at least three nearby quarries, at Wetheral, three miles away, at Newbiggin, some four miles south of Carlisle, and at Brackenthwaite (presumably that in Thursby parish), a distance of five miles. Timber came from Corby park, five miles away, in 1557, and from 'Prior park', which was owned by the prebendaries and lay four miles distant, in 1584 and 1586; in 1595, however, the workmen had to go to 'a place called the Brigg wood, seven miles from Carlisle', which was probably identical with Bridgewood Foot near Brampton, and so suggests that timber was becoming scarce in the parts of Inglewood Forest near to Carlisle. Stone was broken up in the quarry ready for use, being taken to the castle either as rubble ('rough stone' in 1586) or as cut stone, like the ashlar and 'purpointe' stones provided in 1584. Timber appears to have been cut up into manageable lengths as soon as a tree had been felled, but to have been sawn up for planks and beams only in the castle. Slate, too, came from the quarry, while other materials obtained locally were lime and sand, for making mortar, clay, used for walls ('woughes') for the stables, hearths for the smithy and a covering for a bridge, rough gravel, which was laid over the clay on the bridge, moss, which was placed between layers of slates to keep the wind and the rain out (Salzman 1952, 266), and probably the coal used by the smiths. Other materials, however, might have to be bought elsewhere. Spanish and Danzig iron was obtained from Newcastle in 1578, together with a great cable, and again in 1587. Laths were bought in Penrith and lead, which was expensive (wherever possible old lead was melted down and used again, as happened in 1595) and used only on important buildings, in Kendal, while on one occasion locks and keys were purchased from the Germans ('Duchemen') prospecting for metal at Keswick.

In the last instance (and one or two earlier ones) the material was intended for the city defences, but there is no reason to suppose that the castle works were not supplied in the same way and from the same sources. Their working equipment would also have been identical, and again, had changed very little since the fourteenth century. In 1587 a Plumpton man was paid 16s 8d 'for the hire of iron 'stedies' and other tools...' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 4 f 2) needed for the reconstruction of the castle gates, but more usually work was preceded by the purchase or making of the necessary tools. In 1584, for instance, ropes, pincers, hammers, shovels, baskets, riddles and sieves (for sand), wooden vessels (for carrying water) and packthread (for measuring) were bought and a 'picke hacke' made (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 2 f 1v), while in 1586 a Carlisle smith was paid 25s 9d 'for iron and steel for laying and piecing of hacks, axes, picks, 'wellinge' and making of iron wedges for cutting of stone in the quarry, and for sharpening and mending all the masons' tools being broken and worn in the said quarry...' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 3 f 2). When work on the gatehouse was undertaken in 1586, timber was bought from the prebendaries for props to support the underside of the vaults, and to make scaffolds for the masons to work on (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 3 ff 1, 3, 3v). The most important mechanical device available was the 'gin or verme to wind up stone and timber' used on the city walls in 1577 (PRO *E101/545/17* f 1v). Made from the timber of three oak saplings, it was a simple lifting device using a rope passed over a wheel or pulley; one end of the rope had a hook attached, and the other was passed round an axle rotated by a wheel (Salzman 1952, 324). It was for this that the 'great cable rope' was bought in Newcastle for 33s (PRO *E101/545/17* f 2v).

But most of the work was done by men's hands, wielding simple forms of hand-tools. It is not in fact clear how the work-force was recruited, whether it was impressed or assembled by the attraction of the king's wages. In 1578 Scrope had 'her majesty's commission for carriages and other things necessary to be taken in the country at her majesty's price...' (PRO *SP15/25* no 70), and so presumably had authority to impress labourers also, but just as he preferred 'reasonable agreement' as a means of obtaining transport, so he may also have used other methods of bringing together his workforce. In one case, indeed, he must have done, for in 1584 and again in 1587 a group of craftsmen came from as far away as Whalley in Lancashire (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 2 f 3, Book 4 f 2v), and must have done so either in response to a proclamation or under

contract. The fact that these gangs, made up of masons and carpenters, came with the same leader, who acted as overseer of the works, but otherwise differed in number and membership (six craftsmen came in 1584 and seven in 1587, but apart from their leader only two men came on both occasions), suggests the latter, that Richard Craven, their leader and overseer, made a contract with Scrope in which he undertook to provide skilled workmen and their tools, which they brought with them. But however its members were induced to come to Carlisle, the workforce appears to have been billetted in the city, as one might expect; in the 1540s the summons to work was given by a bell formerly at Wetheral and now placed on the Springald tower, where it could have been heard everywhere in Carlisle.[7]

Several of those involved in the works were in fact citizens of Carlisle, men more likely to have volunteered their services for wages than to have given them under compulsion. In the 1540s they included men like John Slayter, paid for laths and for plastering work, who was city bailiff in 1544/45 and tiler to Carlisle priory, George Blayklok, who must have found it easier to provide the 'beasts' hair' which was an essential base for plasterwork because he was a tanner, and William Atkinson, paid for making a bridge, who was also the priory's carpenter (names from BL *Add MS 5754* ff 95–96). Richard Mulcaster, paid for making and repairing tools in the 1580s, was a city smith (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 2 f lv, Book 3 f 2, Book 4 f 2; CRO *Ca3/1/107* f 11v). An action in the city court in 1546, in which Alexander Morton sued Robert Person for withholding 21s 'which he received on the king's works for his (presumably Alexander's) benefit' (CRO *Ca3/1/47* f lv), suggests that townsmen may also have been involved in the administration of the works. But the overall direction of day-to-day works, at least after the appointment of William Garforth in 1543, would have been in the hands of the clerk of the ordnance, who also had the title of clerk of the works (Henry Baines, who in 1602 described himself as 'master of the work' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 f 4), was probably a later holder of this office). For really big works, like those of the 1540s, the king appointed a paymaster, in this case Bishop Aldridge, to whom the large sums involved were delivered (*LPH* XVI no 286). The paymaster would have made the necessary sums over to the clerk of the works, either directly, as Aldridge was ordered to do to Thomas Gower in March 1541 (BL *Add MS* 6362 f 2), or through a subordinate; later in 1541 the bishop was licensed to employ a clerk, and he, together with one of the two comptrollers appointed at the same time, was to be present at every pay day (ibid, f 3). For lesser works the money was paid to the warden, often from local sources of royal revenue, and disbursed by him, no doubt to the clerk of the works.

The accounts of Elizabeth's reign make it possible to say something of the way the works were carried out and the queen's money spent. Taking the campaign of 1584 as an example, when work was done on the chimneys, ovens and stables, it seems clear that proceedings began with the accumulation of materials and assembling of the workforce (details from PRO *E101/545/16* Book 2). The latter was reinforced by seven men from Whalley, but though the account opens on 4 May, workmen were first paid only for the week beginning 10 May, when they were 'carrying away stones taken down from the walls'. It was probably in the same preliminary week that other preparatory work was done, clearing rubbish from the stables, kitchen and courts and 'treading and making of the clay', that the necessary tools were bought, stone carried in from the quarry at Brackenthwaite and timber purchased from the prebendaries. For two weeks from 10 May the workforce consisted of seven carpenters, a mason, three wallers and four labourers, the latter being employed to take stones off the walls. For several weeks after 24 May, however, only seven carpenters were employed, perhaps working on the stables, which may have been timber-framed, or perhaps on work connected with the chimneys, for on 21 June four labourers were once more engaged, this time to take down the old wooden chimneys, and a week later, on 28 June, the workforce was augmented again, being now made up of seven carpenters, seven masons, and six workmen who were set to make mortar. At this point building must have been going on in both stone and timber, and this would have remained the case until 16 August, when the masons disappear, to be replaced by two wallers and three slaters, while the number of labourers was cut by two (an August fall in the number of labourers can be seen in other years, and may reflect the prior needs of the harvest). No doubt the basic structure of the stables, with their stone facing, was now complete, and they had now to be given a roof above and partitions within. On 13 September the wallers vanish, but a dawber was taken on, to provide the appropriate finishing for the partitions the wallers had made, and he remained at work until 4 October, when his services were no longer needed. For a further week the carpenters had three labourers working alongside them, then the latter were paid off, and until the end of October there were just the seven carpenters still at work. That they had been employed continuously from the beginning of the campaign is an indication of the importance of timber in the castle's buildings and works. Finally, on 1 November, those works came to an end.

The accounts for the works of the 1540s provide little information about wages, but they do suggest that in some respects, at least, there had been as little change here since the fourteenth century as there had been in working methods, since the daily wage of a labourer, at 4d (BL *Add MS 5754* f 96), was exactly the same as it had been in the 1380s. Such stability was not to last. By 1567 a labourer's wage had risen to 6d, and a mason, who had earned 6d a day in the late fourteenth century, now received 12d (PRO *E101/545/15* ff 1, 2). By 1595 a labourer's wage had gone up again, to 8d, but masons were said to be still receiving 12d (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 ff 3, 3v). These may have been journeymen rather than master craftsmen, however; carpenters, too, were earning 12d a day in 1595, yet in 1587 they had been paid 16d (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 4 ff 3, 4), as, in 1595, was a master slater, while his servants, paid more than the labourers, got 10d a day (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 f 2v). Such men probably worked more days than had their fourteenth-century predeces-

sors, for there is no sign of the frequent stoppages for saints' days that had docked the pay of earlier workers, although in 1595 the two carpenters and their four men who were cutting timber in April and May were described as 'resting in the same the Easter week' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 f 1). Even though building work on the castle is most unlikely to have been such men's sole source of income, they may have needed to work as many days as possible, for the second half of the sixteenth century was an age of inflation, which affected the North West like the rest of England. Unfortunately, the evidence is too imprecise to allow calculations as to fluctuations in the cost of materials, while it is also impossible to assess the relative costs of materials and wages, not least because a good deal of work was done by craftsmen who were paid piece-rate both for materials which they provided, and for the work they did on them. In 1577, for instance, a glazier and his men, working on the warden's lodging, were paid £6 10s 6d 'for working of glass windows to the one half of the new lodging, who found lead and solder for the same...' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 1 f 21). No indication is given as to how much lead and solder was used, what it cost, how many workmen were involved and how long the work took. But it seems reasonable to assume that the cost of materials rose as well as the level of wages, and that the inflation of the sixteenth century had its effect on the castle and its maintenance, in that the generally small sums made available for repairs would inevitably go less far. Perhaps it is significant that the works of 1587 only lasted from 8 May to 30 July, less than three months, so quickly were the £100 available disbursed. Economic factors thus added to the fabric's problems.

The Tudor castle, its functions and its occupants

There were important changes to that fabric during the sixteenth century. The works of the 1540s brought alterations to the top of the keep, the conversion of the inner ward walls into a gun platform, and the erection of the half-moon battery, with its accompanying ditch, in front of the Captain's Tower, as well as a new ordnance house and the buttresses and bulwarks outside the north-east curtain. In the 1570s the appearance of the inner ward was significantly changed by the construction of the warden's lodging, while the 1580s appear to have seen the building of stables along the inside of the outer ward's south curtain. The later sixteenth century produced no detailed survey like that of 1529, however, and it is not always possible to say which buildings were in use, or where some structures were. A mid-sixteenth-century map of Carlisle shows one long building, with three doors and four windows, against the north curtain of the outer ward, and another three buildings against its west curtain (BL *Aug I i* 13), while Speed's (highly unreliable) map of 1610 shows two buildings near its north-west angle (reproduced in Webb 1979, 77). It seems likely that these were intended to represent some, at least, of the buildings referred to in accounts for further works during the last decade of Elizabeth's reign, in which mention was made of brewhouse, bakehouse, peathouse, slaughter-house, coach-house, washing-house and other 'houses of office' (probably latrines). The existence of these structures indicates that the castle still aspired to self-sufficiency, as well as showing a proper concern for the needs of its occupants on the part of those administering it, and argues that its military functions were still being kept in mind. But these were not its only functions, and the castle served other purposes, purposes which became relatively more important as the sixteenth century approached its close. The existence of the warden's lodging points to its position as the centre for the administration of the West March, from which efforts to keep the peace in a notably disordered region were directed, and it continued to contain the county gaol. It is also likely that the County Court still met somewhere within its walls, while a reference in 1557 to the removal of slates 'where the duane house should be' (PRO *E101/483/17* f 2v) suggests that it was also intended that the castle should house Cumberland's customs office. But it is inevitably its military function which still features most prominently in the records.

At the end of the fifteenth century Sir Richard Salkeld had undertaken to hold the castle with a garrison of 20 men, 14 horsemen and 6 gunners (PRO *E101/72/6* no 19), and in 1537 20 men still made up the garrison, though now they were all horsemen (*LPH* XII Part II no 249(6)), probably because no gunners were available. When it did become possible to recruit gunners, they did not replace horsemen, but were added to the existing strength. In about 1560 additional fees were being paid to a porter, a master gunner, two other gunners and six warders (PRO *E315/409* f 39), while in 1563 the certificate of decays recorded a garrison of a constable and twenty-one soldiers (all appointed by the captain) and four ordinary and five extraordinary gunners (BL *Titus F XIII* f 196v). There were still twenty *'souldiers equitan'* and nine gunners in the castle in 1596 (*SP12/257* no 91 (f 144)). Rates of pay seem to have remained unchanged throughout the century. In 1499 Salkeld was to receive £200 per annum for his charge, a sum exactly covered by the £66 13s 4d which Sir Thomas Wentworth received as his own fee and the £6 13s 4d which he was required to pay to each of his twenty horsemen in 1537, while £6 13s 4d was still a soldier's yearly pay in 1596. Gunners were better paid, though their wages did not rise either. In about 1560 the master gunner earned £18 5s *per annum*, a gunner £12 3s 4d and a warder £11 8s 1½d, and those were still their wages in 1596, although warders were then described as gunners. But as well as higher rates of pay, gunners might also be able to secure pensions from the crown after their retirement. A barely legible list of such payments, covering the diocese of Carlisle in 1575, includes several gunners, one of them 'John Cowling, late gunner in Carlisle'; he had died as long ago as 1557, when he was receiving 8d a day, a sum amounting to £12 3s 4d *per annum*, and so a continuation of his working wage (PRO *E178/3247* m6). The best a soldier could hope for, by contrast, was to be allotted the single place in St. Nicholas's hospital (in the city suburbs) which was reserved for a nominee of the castle (CRO *Mounsey Heysham MSS* Vol 5 f 83).

By the 1550s the money for the wages of the garrison in Carlisle castle was being disbursed by the crown's receiver in the region, the soldiers' wages being comprehended in the captain's fee, whereas those of the gunners constituted an extra item on the receiver's bill (PRO *E351/224* m4). No more then than earlier are soldiers and gunners likely to have been the only people resident in the castle, there would have been cooks, doorkeepers and other serving-men and hangers-on. Most of these would probably have been maintained out of the warden's fee, 500 marks (£333 6s 8d) in 1554, increased to £400 by 1596. Henry Lord Scrope was also captain of the castle, his entire income as warden being estimated in 1592 as £645 9s $10^{1}/_{4}$d (*CBP* I no 781). One may doubt if this was enough to maintain him in a style appropriate to his station. In 1568 he himself calculated that 'the ordinary household of his servants before his own coming hither and my lady his wife's coming' was costing 20 marks a week (£13 6s 8d: BL *Calig C I* f 116v), a charge which would have amounted to £673 6s 8d yearly (at Berwick, Lord Hunsdon's household was costing £21 a week), and suggests that his expenses in his office came to a good deal more than his receipts from it. Understandably, the office of March Warden was not a popular one in the age of Elizabeth (Tough 1928, 83–4). In fact, not all the money for the maintenance of the castle establishment came either from the queen's receiver or from the warden's own pockets. In 1537 Sir Thomas Wentworth was also given, in addition to his fee as captain, the meadows outside the castle, valued at £5 0s 8d *per annum*, to provide grass and hay for the garrison's horses, while 'for provision of his house and for victualling of the city and castle of Carlisle and provender of his horses' he had tithes worth a total of £40 (*LPH* XII Part II, no 249(6)) (really owed to Carlisle Priory, but the fact that the warden was the Priory's steward doubtless facilitated their transfer to the castle). Such was the value of these supplies that the danger of losing them was a serious matter. In the 1540s, as already seen, Lord Dacre claimed the tithes, much to Sir John Lowther's dismay, and he seems to have made good his claim, for a substitute for them had to be found. In 1553, therefore, it was decided that the parsonage of Holmcultram should 'remain always to the Captain of the Castle of Carlisle...for his better relief and maintenance...' (*APC* IV 1552–1554, 262), while by the 1590s, ironically, some of the former Dacre lands near Carlisle had come to serve the same purpose, being 'very necessary for...provision here at the castle...' (*CSPD* Addenda 1580–1625, 367).

Meadows and tithes contributed to the castle's ability to support itself, without, however, necessarily making life in it any cheaper for its occupants, for sixteenth-century soldiers were usually expected to pay for their own food (and clothes and equipment), the costs being deducted from their pay (Hale 1985, 111–2). The castle horsemen, living on a fixed income, must often have been very hard up in an age of severe inflation. In fact very little is known of the behaviour and way of life of the garrison, but it seems unlikely to have differed greatly from that of the soldiery at Berwick, where regulations issued in 1542 forbade such malfeasances as sleeping on watch, going absent without leave, letting dogs go unleashed by day or allowing them to roam at night, and stealing a companion's kit (ibid, 133–5). The impression such rules give is predominantly that of men suffering the frustrations attendant upon boredom and shortage of money, made worse by the efforts of authority to prevent their taking on too much of the colour of their civilian surroundings, whether by marriage or by employment; the second job was 'routinely penalised'. At Carlisle, however, it was impossible to keep soldier and civilian very far apart, not least because, in spite of the building of the citadel, city and castle continued to comprise a single defensive system, and relations between the two inevitably remained close.

Members of the garrison, or at any rate gunners, might take up residence in the city, although they expected the authorities in the castle to pay for it. Twice in 1537 John Wastling, appointed chief gunner in 1528, sued Christopher Lowther, formerly constable, for nine months' board for himself and his servants (CRO *Ca3/1/38* f 1; *Ca3/1/39* f 1v). The debts of John Croo, a gunner who died in 1565, included 'To Abbot for house rent, 6s', while his ability to bequeath a total of twenty-four cart-loads of peat and turf suggests that he had taken to dealing in these commodities to supplement his income (CRO *P1565 John Croo of Carlisle gunner*). Nor were relations between soldiers and civilians a matter of business only. Between 1538 and 1544 Harry Johnson, 'otherwise called Harry Gonner', brought an action against one William Kyrkelande, a city tailor, alleging that William had promised to marry Harry's daughter Joan, but had since gone back on his word (PRO *C1/1016* no 13). Similar fraternisation is recorded in a case from the 1550s heard by the consistory court at Durham, telling of the marriage, by the local practice of hand-fasting, of Robert Peircy, a soldier in the Carlisle garrison, to Agnes Davison of Scaleby, a village some four miles from the city (Raine 1845, 254–7). The marriage came to grief because the groom was later 'preist furth to serve his prince at Barwicke', in what was probably a routine transfer of troops intended, in part, to prevent soldiers putting down abiding roots in any place of their service. Soldiers might borrow money from citizens, against the security of their pay. In 1558 Clement Railton, yet another gunner, promised to pay Robert Patton, a townsman, a debt of 41s 'at his fyrst pay day next after this wrytyng' (CRO *Ca3/1/68* f 24v), and when they lent money to one another they might sue in the city court to get it back; two years earlier Clement Railton had himself prosecuted his colleague Roland Stewertson for 36s 'which he had in loan from him and other things had by him', though he was only awarded 13s 4d (CRO *Ca3/1/64* f 4).

It is likely that a large proportion of the victuals consumed in the castle came from the city. In 1544 the captain 'had weekly to buy his beef upon the shambles' (*LPH* XIX Part II no 433); admittedly he was being kept out of the castle by Lord Wharton at the time, but he or his servants probably bought their meat there anyway. Three years earlier the castle steward (another Wentworth; obviously the captain might use his office to provide for his relations) was suing in the city court for 17s for a horse, showing that the castle staff might

sell as well as buy in the city (CRO *Ca3/1/42* f lv), while given the decayed state of the castle chapel as reported in 1529, it is not surprising that members of the garrison should have preferred to worship in city churches; in 1540 the captain was taking his prisoner Andrew Bell 'to the church of Carlisle in his company', and Mary Queen of Scots also attended 'service of the suffrages sung at the town church' (PRO *SP1/157* ff 177, 177v; BL *Calig B IX* f 348). But movements were not all one way. If castle gunners litigated in the city court, it is likely that citizens sometimes had to take their lawsuits to the castle, for although in the 1540s castle gaol deliveries were being held at Penrith probably as a result of the insecurity and confusion of war (*LPH* XX Part I nos 622, 623 pp 312, 319), by 1568 the assize justices for Cumberland were sitting in Carlisle castle (PRO *STAC5/N17/24* m1). No doubt this was in one of the buildings in the inner ward, which an early seventeenth-century survey of the castle manor described as 'in good plight for habitation, wherein commonly the sheriffs by the farmers' allowance keep their entertainment for the Judges and the country at the assizes...' Cumbria CC Library, Jackson Collection *M286* ff 9–10)[8]. And although the city had its own lock-up, in the Moot Hall, citizens might nevertheless be confined in the castle. In about 1561, John Stoddert, a tanner, sued a Kirkoswald man (he was probably a follower of Lord Dacre, who was then warden) for 35s 'for expenses incurred in Carlisle castle where he was imprisoned for him, contrary to reason, for ten weeks, which he entered on 13 November 1560...', and for other expenses which included 12d for gaol fees (*les gayle feyes*) (CRO *Ca3/1/72* f 8v). Indeed, the castle's place in the administration both of the county and the West March was such that in peacetime it had to remain open to all comers, and there can have been little secrecy as to its buildings and their contents. When Buccleuch was organising the rescue of Kinmont Willie in 1596, he was greatly helped by 'his sending a woman upon pretext the day befoir to visite the prisoner, quha reporting quhat place he was keiped in, ther lacked not persones enough thaire that knew all the rewmes thaire...' (Scott 1869, 262). Its position and functions alike made it impossible to keep the castle and those who lived in it in seclusion from the life of the city.

The last years of Tudor Carlisle 1592–1603

Henry Lord Scrope died on 13 June 1592. Three months earlier Carlisle castle had been described as 'a place of great respect' (*CSPS* X 1589–1593 no 674), but the epithet could as appropriately have been applied to its warden, an unusually efficient and well-regarded officer. For a while Richard Lowther, previously Scrope's deputy, governed the West March, and it was to him, in circumstances very like those of four years earlier, that Burghley forwarded James VI's request for Carlisle cannon to deal with Scottish rebels, this time the earl of Bothwell, with a recommendation that it be complied with, 'as was formerly done by Lord Scrope'. Lowther did his best, though the carriages of the cannon were in decay and needed to be repaired. But he told Burghley, in a letter written in October 1592, that lack of transport, 'together with the waters and other ill passages which this season of the yeare bringeth on', made it doubtful whether 'without a lardge chardge of a princes purse' they would be much use to James (*CBP* I no 779), and in fact it does not appear that they were needed. Early in 1593 Thomas Lord Scrope succeeded to the warden's office held by his father, and he requested a survey of the castle and its contents, 'as is always the case on the death or changing of a Lord Warden...' (*CSPD* Addenda 1580–1625, 350). If a survey was made, its findings have not survived. England was now openly at war with Spain, and the central government, under great financial pressure, was anxious to cut costs wherever and whenever possible. In 1594 the Carlisle citadel was said to be 'greatly ruinated and decayed' (PRO *LR9/83* – unnumbered), but nothing seems to have been done until 1602, when order was given that £100 be spent on it (PRO *LR12/43/1925*), and even then, in the light of a report on its condition in 1604/5 (PRO *LR2/257* ff 10–16), there must be some doubt as to whether any repairs were actually carried out. In a time of Anglo-Scottish peace the castle would be fortunate to be treated more generously.

Early in 1595, however, Scrope managed to persuade Burghley that some repairs were essential, though not before Burghley personally reduced Scrope's estimates from £127 to £95, 'as by the note enclosed under my hand may appear' (PRO *LR9/83* unnumbered). Burghley made a list of the repairs he was prepared to finance, in the light of a 'view taken of the castle and the housing and bridge belonging to the same' (this may have been the survey asked for in 1593). The items on it were only general, the most expensive being the 'repairing of the drawbridges and other carpentry works', which would cost £50. Repairing the 'masons' work' would be £20 more, repairs to the leads £16, to the 'slate and thatching of the houses of office etc' £6, to the glazing £3 only. Scrope was not as efficient a warden as his father had been, and the disorder in the marches was very great in the 1590s. In 1595, as well as getting money for repairs to the castle, he was able to have 100 men sent from Berwick 'to remaine at Carlile or thereaboutes' (*APC* XXV 1595–1596, 29–30). But they were not enough to prevent the castle suffering a humiliation unparalleled in its history. In October 1597 Scrope sent in the account for his expenditure on repairs, which amounted to £129 13s 10d, almost exactly his own original estimate and some way over Lord Burghley's. The principal additional item was probably the £20 paid 'for making of a new brewing lead, being now an heirloom to remain at the castle'. But there was one other unforeseen item. Although the repair of bridges only came to £40, this also covered money spent on 'the repairing and amending of the postern gate which William of Kynmowth did break under when he stole away'.

William Armstrong of Kinmont, *alias* Kinmont Willie, was a well-known border reiver, who was captured by Englishmen on 17 March 1596 and imprisoned in Carlisle castle (Fraser 1971, 284–9). Nothing remarkable about that, except that 17 March was a day of truce, and Armstrong should therefore have been im-

mune from arrest on it. The Scottish keeper of Liddesdale, Walter Scott of Buccleuch, therefore demanded Armstrong's release, and Scrope put himself further in the wrong by refusing to allow it. Buccleuch then decided that he would break the prisoner out. In laying his plans, he was greatly helped by the cooperation of Thomas Carleton, land-sergeant of Gilsland and formerly constable of the castle, and his brother Lancelot, who were at odds with Lord Scrope, and of various members of the Graham family. From them, and from the female spy he had so easily sent into the castle, he would have learnt where Kinmont Willie was imprisoned, and how the castle garrison was likely to be deployed. Then, fortified by this intelligence, on the night of 13 April he led a force of perhaps 80 men to Carlisle. Riding first to the Sawceries, between the Eden and the walls, he and his men made their way to the foot of the walls. He was keeping his options open as to how the rescue was to be effected. According to one account he had sent 'some persons of trust to view a postern gaitt, and to measure the height of the wall very closely' (Scott 1869, 261), which, if true, indicates once more how accessible the castle was to the outside world, as well as how little it was expecting such a foray. But when the scaling ladders which Buccleuch's men had brought with them were set against the walls, they proved to be too short (one can imagine the necessary measurements as having been made in a considerable hurry, whenever the sentries' backs were turned, and nowhere near as 'closely' as Buccleuch would have liked), and it was necessary to force the postern instead. While all this was going on at ground level, the raiders could hear the sentries talking on the battlements above, but they were saved from discovery by the fact of it being 'very dark...and a litle mistie' (Scott 1869, 261); so inclement was the weather, indeed, that most of the watch had either stayed in bed or taken shelter from the rain (*CBP* II no 251).

According to Scrope, the raiders 'undermyned' the postern in 'an owtewarde corner of the base courte of this castell', presumably the one represented in the mid-sixteenth-century map and Garforth's plan as situated in the middle of the west curtain. They seem to have broken the whole door down, since afterwards seven stone of iron were needed to repair it, while 13s 4d had to be spent on a new lock (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 f 4). It is not clear where Kinmont was, but since Scrope described him as kept in a 'chamber', and expressed surprise at his escape in the light of 'the assurance he had given that he woulde not breake awaye', it is probable that he was confined, less than rigorously, in one of the wooden buildings known to have stood in the outer ward. Consequently, once Buccleuch's men were in that ward they had no difficulty releasing him. The watchmen had by now been alerted to the presence of the intruders, and seem to have challenged them, for two were knocked down and left for dead, while one of the prisoner's warders was also injured. But no lives were lost, and the rescuers made their escape without further hindrance. So quickly had the operation been carried out that 'the watche of the innerwarde' (a valuable glimpse of the castle's security arrangements, even if seen in a moment of ineffectiveness) did not respond at all. Only when all was over would it seem that castle and city came to life, with 'drums war beatting, belles ringing, and bealles put on the top of the castell to warne the countrie' (Scott 1869, 262). The uproar that followed was, in its own way, equally terrific, with Scrope and his sovereign loud in their denunciations of Buccleuch, and Scrope hardly less violent in his fulminations against his own subordinates. The rescue of Kinmont Willie certainly sheds a remarkable light on the vulnerability of a major English fortress. At the same time, it points to a developing change in that fortress's functions. It was never built to cope with a smash-and-grab raid of the sort organised by Buccleuch, but to resist open sieges by whole armies. Since 1570 such sieges had become increasingly unlikely, and the castle's role had altered correspondingly, as it became much more an administrative centre, the basis for peace-keeping operations on the West March.

Even so, such an event obviously called for a review of the castle's defences. In the 1540s the great difficulty had been finding enough gunners; fifty years later the problem was that there were too many, and very inadequate ones at that. In July 1595 the Master of the Ordnance had been complaining that he had no control of the gunners at Carlisle, and that the queen was granting their posts to 'unmeet' and non-resident 'partyes' (*CBP* II no 81). In the following September – perhaps stimulated in part by a request by Scrope in April 1596, justified by an unnecessarily oblique reference to 'an occacione of late offered', for quantities of gunpowder, muskets, pikes and other weapons and munitions (ibid no 258) – William Selby, comptroller of the ordnance in the North, was appointed by the Privy Council to inspect both munitions and gunners, on the grounds that the queen was being obliged to maintain 'greater nombers of cannoneirs then is thought to be needefull by the one half' (*APC* XXVI 1596–1597, 185). Selby duly crossed the Pennines, where he found Scrope and his subordinates (closing ranks in the presence of an outsider) most uncooperative. They refused to let him see the stores, or to muster either the gunners or, in the case of absentees, their deputies. The only one he met turned out to be the warden's secretary. He was told, however, that when on an earlier occasion a gun had had to be fired to give the alarm, nobody could be found able to do it, until a Berwick man visiting the city managed to perform this undemanding feat. Selby reckoned that the queen was 'greatly overcharged' with 24 gunners (probably those of castle, city and citadel together), especially when not one of them knew how to 'use a pece of ordnance, nor knoweth nothing that pertaineth therto'. A skilful master gunner with seven subordinates would be sufficient, in his opinion (*CBP* II no 445).

Selby's report prompted angry letters from Scrope and Richard Musgrave, complaining about Selby's interfering and intruding upon their offices, for he seems to have been something of a busybody (Fraser 1971, 154–155). Scrope reckoned that if the government would allow his gunners just half a barrel of gunpowder for practice each year, they would be as competent as Selby could want (*CBP* II no 437), but Musgrave admitted that many were 'alltogether uncapable' (ibid no 439). Their patents gave them the right to perform

their duties by deputies, and he and the warden had urged them 'to put in the ablest men we could find', but obviously to litle avail. One problem was that a gunner's place appears to have become effectively hereditary. In December 1571 the post of 'le Master Gunner' in the castle was given to one James Spence (*CPR* 1572–1575, no 3112); by February 1596 he had been succeeded by Daniel Spence, without much doubt James's son, but clearly lacking any ambition for a career in gunnery, or, indeed, Carlisle, for as Musgrave told Burghley, he was a butcher who lived in Suffolk, had failed to provide a deputy, 'and is not worth his pay'. Musgrave, who was captain of the ordnance at Carlisle, concluded his letter by recommending one John Smythe for Spence's post, not least as a man able to instruct others in the science of gunnery, 'whereof they have noe smale need at Carlisle' (*CBP* II no 216). But in fact although the castle's guns might still be useful as a means of winning Scottish good will, as in February 1597, when King James was once more anxious for the loan of Carlisle cannon, this time to reduce Torthorwald castle in Dumfriesshire (*CSPS* XII 1595–1597 no 374), in the circumstances of the 1590s the gunners themselves were of little importance. In the 1540s, shortly after a Scottish invasion-force had been defeated at Solway Moss only just before it could attack Carlisle, it could be suggested that the twenty horsemen in the garrison 'were more meet to be converted into soldiers and gunners, for horsemen (as we think) are not needful for the defence and keeping of a fortress, (PRO *SP1/200* f 65). But by the 1590s, so completely had Anglo-Scottish relations altered, and so obsolete had the castle's military function become as a result, that Thomas Carleton was undoubtedly right when he observed in 1597 that 'if Carlisle castle were furnished with 24 or 30 able horsemen…our March is well able both to defend itself, and help the Middle March at need' (*CBP* II no 859). The castle had become a unusually grand police station, and the maintenance of a large number of gunners merely immobilised manpower where it could now be of little use. The sending of 200 calivers (light muskets) to Carlisle in 1596 or 1597 (ibid no 899) at any rate meant that *mobile* firepower was now available to the garrison, but there is no evidence that the number of gunners was reduced.

In the meantime, as already seen, there had been works on the castle fabric. Discussion of these is made more difficult by the survival of two accounts, the one that submitted by Scrope to Burghley in 1597 (PRO *LR9/83* – unnumbered), the other headed 'The book of the particular charges for the reparation of the castle of Carlisle and bridges appertaining to the same, provided for and wrought in the years of Our Lord 1595 and 1602' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5). But although the former is called a 'perfect declaration and account', it is general and imprecise, little more than a list of headings and costs, the latter expressed in suspiciously round figures, and it is hardly surprising that at a time of financial stringency it was regarded as unsatisfactory at Westminster; if Scrope wanted reimbursement, the Lord Treasurer noted on the offending document, he should 'give a book of particulars as all accountants in like case are bound to do…'. The second account, it is clear, represents Scrope's formal statement of the sums due to him, laid out on conventional lines and listing individual items of expenditure. Submitted in 1602 or later, it nevertheless also covers the outlays recorded in 1597, though with some later disbursements included as well. The principal value of the earlier account, therefore, is that it gives some idea as to how much work was done between 1595 and 1597. It records an outlay of £129 13s 10d, whereas the later account details expenditure amounting to £206 10s 4d, thereby indicating that the campaign of 1602 cost £76 16s 6d. The castle works were interrupted, not, for once, by brigandage or war, but by famine and plague, which were rife in North West England in the late 1590s. The former would have made money hard to come by, since it was normally paid out (as Burghley ordered it should be in 1595) by the queen's receiver in Cumberland. The latter would have reduced the workforce, kept people away from Carlisle and dispersed those already in it. By January 1598 the warden himself had left, the bishop having offered him Rose Castle until he was 'satisfyed of the sicknes at Carlyll' (*CBP* II no 890).

Scrope was certainly well-advised to stay clear of the castle, for the plague was at large within its walls. In July 1598 his old adversary Thomas Carleton was killed in a confrontation with a group of Northumberland men who had crossed into Gilsland in pursuit of a feud (Fraser 1971, 303–4). Seven of the killers were arrested, but when they were brought to Carlisle castle, where they should have been taken before Henry Leigh, the deputy-warden, for examination, he 'having then had two of his servants dead of the plague, and the city and the castle all being at that time sore infected with sickness, and the said Henry fearing himself to have the plague upon him, would not take the said gentlemen's examination for fear of infection…'. Two JPs were found willing to examine them, but they would not enter the castle either, preferring to have the prisoners brought before them in 'a plain meadow under the castle called the Sawcery' instead (PRO *STAC5/C1/40* m2). In the same year Carlisle was said to have 'a stately castle, good enough for defence…' (HMC 1899a, 563–4), but the vagueness of the phrasing suggests that the writer, John Udall, had had the good sense not to go too close. Had he approached nearer, he might have risked the plague, but he might also have seen buildings in less than perfect condition, and more than ready for the repairs which the plague had brought to a standstill.

The works carried out between 1595 and 1602 were wide-ranging, and the accounts submitted for them shed much light on the buildings and on how they were used. In one instance, however, there are problems. In 1597 Scrope accounted for £40 spent on 'the new making of the great drawbridge without the castle gates, and also for new making of the great bridge within the castle court…', as well as on the repair of the postern broken down by Buccleuch's men. The later account, however, recorded the preparation of timber for 'the great out-bridge over the pond, being of five pair of Jewells, the inner bridge, only of long foother planks, and the bridge over the inmost gates…', from which it would appear that at the end of the sixteenth

century neither the bridge over the moat in front of the outer gatehouse, nor that over the ditch in front of the Captain's Tower, was a drawbridge, although both had certainly once been such. Scrope's account might seem to contradict this, yet it speaks only of 'the new making of the great drawbridge', which could mean that the drawbridge had been recast in another form, as a bridge resting on arches – Jewells, in the local dialect (Jones 1986, 107) – while the inner bridge became a structure made of planks, which could doubtless be removed in the event of an attack (the third bridge must have been the passage which continued the gun-platform of the walls behind the Captain's Tower). It is true that later pictures show a drawbridge over the outer moat (Charlton 1985, 6, 13), but there is other evidence to support the notion that it disappeared, if only temporarily, in the years round 1600, in a report of 1633, which said of the castle that 'There are no drawbridges there, but there is a place within the court where there hath been a drawbridge...' and recommended that 'the outbridge at the entrance into the castle be all made new, and a drawbridge in the midst ...' (PRO *SP16/534* no 43). The likely disappearance of the drawbridges at this time is important for the revealing light this development sheds on the castle's security and use as they were perceived by those in charge of it. It might be surprised by a gang of reivers breaking at the rear, but so little expectation was there now of an attack mounted by an army that an important part of its outer defences could be given up altogether.

Other works were of an undeniably civilian character. The kitchen was overhauled, and £20 was spent on a new brewing lead, and there was also work on the ancillary buildings already referred to, brewhouse, bakehouse, barn, stables, peat-house, slaughter-house, coach-house, washing-house, all of which appear to have received new slate roofs; the first two of them may have been in the inner ward, where there were similar structures in 1529, but most would have been in the outer ward. Many of these lesser buildings appear to have received attention in the 1590s, but there is no mention in Scrope's first account of what were clearly substantial works on the outer gatehouse, and which were presumably carried out in 1602. Referred to (for the first time) as the 'Constable Tower', it had a 'rift or shrunk place... over the prisons and outer gates of the castle, and whereof some part of the wall was fallen...' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 f 3). Five masons had to be employed to make the necessary repairs, while a glazier was paid £7 13s 4d for repairing and glazing windows; he used 80 feet of new glass and doubtless tackled the whole building, which must still have been in residential use, presumably by the constable as well as by the gatekeeper and the prisoners in his charge. Windows had earlier been repaired 'in the gallery, hall and chambers and throughout the whole house', and no doubt it was for these that the glazier made 200 feet of new glass and repaired another 100 feet with new lead. The hall stairs, too, were repaired, and a plumber was paid 26s 8d 'for mending of the lead over the gallery, hall and kitchen'. Hall and kitchen will have been where they were in 1529 and earlier, in the old complex along the inner ward's east curtain, and must have been still in use, in spite of their dereliction in 1529 and apparent neglect since, as the place where the garrison's meals were prepared and eaten.

The gallery must have been that described in 1529 as 'bitwixt the grete chamber and the warden's toure', and at the end of the sixteenth century it acquired a sort of walk on its top, since Scrope's account records a payment 'for making the terrace upon the top of the gallery'. This terrace would have been added for purposes of security, though of a nature which again points to the change in the castle's function which developed in the late sixteenth century, as it became less of a strongpoint to resist armies and more of a centre for the administration of the West March, a focal point from which responses to raids and forays could be directed and regional law enforcement organised. By means of the terrace, with which 'a pair of stone stairs from the gallery leads up to the tower leads...' (also erected at this time) must have been associated, men on the castle ramparts had immediate access to the top of the building which had been the warden's tower but which by 1600, after the construction of a new lodging for the warden in the 1570s, had come to be known as 'the great watch tower'. The reason for the new name, and for the building of the terrace, is given by another payment, this time for twenty stone of lead, bought for 'the watch tower which was greatly decayed and much wasted with the fire of the beacon...' (PRO *E101/545/16* Book 5 f 3v). The garrison's response to the rescue of Kinmont Willie had included 'bealles put on the top of the castell to warne the countrie' (Scott 1869, 262). Perhaps that event had underlined how important it was that the sentries should be able to light the beacon as quickly as possible, so as to alert the city and the countryside around, without, it may be, having to go through the old warden's tower first. It is likely, incidentally, that a flame could be better seen in the city from the summit of the warden's tower than it could from the battlements of the keep.

Considerations of security may also have been behind the making of another flight of stairs, 'the stone stairs upon the high tower' mentioned in Scrope's account. This would have been the keep, which for want of any other employment seems to have become known as the 'Bell Tower' (in 1529 there had been a 'large watche bell in the hight of the towre', which was probably the keep), the lead on which was also restored at this time. In fact all the roofs in the inner ward were attended to (payment was made 'for repairing and amending all the lead within the inner court'), with the interesting exception of 'one little chamber upon the ramper not yet dealt withall'. Half a century after the walls of the inner ward had been turned into a platform to allow the free movement of guns round those walls, that platform, it would appear, was beginning to be built upon and the passage over it obstructed, and it can hardly have continued to serve its original purpose, if, indeed, it had ever done so. But then, in spite of the disorder in the marches at the end of Elizabeth's reign, the prospect of Carlisle castle ever having to stand siege again must in 1600 have appeared extremely remote.

A cryptic 'note of Carlisle castle', which appears to date from about 1600, includes the entries 'The citadel left for the use of the gaol' and 'The charge of reparations £1100' (PRO *SP12/276* no 271). The latter surely indicates how much work would have to be done, in spite of the repairs carried out between 1595 and 1602, to put the castle in a state of military readiness, as well as demonstrating, by the size of the sum involved, the immense unlikelihood of such repairs ever being undertaken. The former points to the castle's administrative function, which was by now the consideration most likely to influence the government, regional and central alike. In 1604 William Orfeur, sheriff of Cumberland for the year 1601/2, petitioned for the repayment of £60 spent on the repair of 'the Gaole and common prison' at Carlisle, which was 'soe weake as noe prisoners could be kepte therein...' (PRO *E368/511* Easter *precepta* rot 2). Since a Star Chamber action of 1608 refers to 'the said sheriff's gaol in the castle at Carlisle' (PRO *STAC8/16/18* f 2v), it was clearly the deficiencies of the castle which were in question here, and it is likely enough that they had led to the possibility being mooted of using the citadel instead. War between nations on the border might no longer seem a threat, but the English government was still prepared to spend some money towards the keeping of the peace among its own subjects; it is very possible that the repairs to the Constable's Tower, probably accounting for most of the £76 16s 6d apparently spent in 1602, constituted its response to the need for a secure prison at Carlisle. If so, it was not a problem it can have expected to have to face for much longer. In March 1599 prodigies were reported to have been seen in the sky over Cockermouth, two great armies 'who met and fought for the space of an hour...a wonderful sort of horsemen gallantly provided...a river of blood...' (PRO *SP46/22* f 13). Associated with a particularly obscure prophecy of Merlin's, such signs might have been expected to presage war and destruction. But the omens proved false. Instead the accession of James I in 1603, and the pacification of the borders that followed, looked like making Carlisle castle redundant altogether. Exchequer officials certainly thought so, for they dismissed William Orfeur's claims to the reimbursement of all except £26. 'I think', minuted the Lord Treasurer 'in future noo allowance at all to be made in like cases in respecte of the quietnes of that cuntrye which is nowe likelye to ensue'.

Notes

1 Apart from O'Neil 1945, I have relied principally on Colvin *et al* 1982, 668–670 for my account of the works of the 1540s.

2 There were works on the gatehouse and gates in 1586/87 and again at the end of the century, PRO *E101/545/16* Books 3 to 5.

3 *LPH* XVIII Part II no 395. Garforth may not have received his patent until the following June, *CPR* 1566–1569 no 478.

4 This echoed a similar observation made by Wharton two years earlier, *State Papers* Vol V (Record Commission, 1836), 312–313.

5 Manuscripts of the Marquis of Salisbury at Hatfield CPM I 28.

6 This paragraph is based on material from PRO *E101/483/17*, *E101/545/15*, *E101/545/16*, books 2 to 5, *E101/554/17*, and E101/554/18.

7 PRO *E117/14* no 18. The costs of works on the city's defences in 1577 included the 'charge in mending of the work bell', PRO *E101/545/17* f 2v.

8 The 'farmers' would have been the Cliffords, who from 1611 held the castle and its socage manor from the crown for £50 *per annum*.

12 1603–1745

The Union of the Crowns and its aftermath 1603–1639

King James I was proclaimed at Carlisle to the accompaniment of bonfires and celebrations (HMC 1883, 201). Scarcely had the cheering died away than there came a reminder of how badly needed was the pacification which the new king was ultimately to bring; the frightened citizens put extra watchmen at their gates, as in 'the great trouble' or Ill Week, the borderers went on the rampage, looting and burning, and sweeping right under Carlisle Castle walls, while the bishop watched helplessly from the ramparts (HMC 1885, 244, 258). James was determined to take the borders, which he preferred to think of as the Middle Shires of his kingdoms of England and Scotland, in hand, and in the end he did so. The process took several years, and Carlisle played an important part in it. The first step was the replacement of Lord Scrope as warden by the Earl of Cumberland; the latter had close links with the court, as well as being a leading northern magnate (Spence 1977, 96). Then in 1604 some 80 men were sent from Berwick to serve on the west march (HMC 1933, 5), where the activities of the Grahams had made them particularly obnoxious to the new regime. Prisoners soon started coming in, but unfortunately, they equally soon started going out again, for security in the castle was bad, and the state of the prison no better. The castle gaol had been in poor condition at the end of Elizabeth's reign, and it did not improve thereafter. In 1606 it was described as 'little and straight and very pestered' (HMC 1940, 80) and by then there had been three break-outs from it, one by as many as twenty-nine prisoners (HMC 1885, 231, 238). Much was doubtless due to the carelessness of the warders, as in 1605, when five 'notable thieves' escaped because the servants bringing them their supper left the prison door open; they were energetically pursued – 'some honest men leapt over the town walls after them' – but the night was very dark and all but one of them got away (PRO *SP14/15* no 103).

The castle as a whole was not in good order either. A survey made at about the same time as the escape of the five thieves reported that it was 'in decay and ruinous and so hath been since the king's majesty's entry to the crown of England...' (CRO *D/Lons/L* MP (unnumbered)). The most important defects were 'two great rifts in the great tower and walls', suggesting that the cleft in the keep caused by the explosion in the powder magazine back in 1547 had still not been mended; otherwise the work to be done consisted of small-scale undertakings: pointing walls, replacing glass, and the like, essentially the same sort of patch-work repairs that had been applied at regular intervals throughout the sixteenth century. Altogether, the necessary repairs would cost a total of £80, not an immense sum, and somewhat at variance with the jurors' description of the castle as 'in decay and ruinous'. It is not known how much money was spent on repairs, but the castle clearly remained habitable. In 1605 the wardenships of the marches were abolished, to be replaced by a joint commission for the Middle Shires, supported by two troops of 25 horsemen each, under the command of a provost-marshal. This last office was granted to Sir Henry Leigh, who was also appointed keeper of Carlisle castle (Spence 1977, 106–7, 109). The superior custody of the castle and its socage were, however, conferred on the Earl of Cumberland and his son; when first made, in 1605, this grant appears to have been for both their lives (HMC 1885, 243), but in 1611 castle and manor were finally demised to them for a term of sixty years, at an annual rent of £50 (CRO *D/Lons/Lawsuits and Legal Papers* Box 3). The earl might visit his charge, together with his estates in the North-West. In October 1607 he paid an extended visit to the castle, for which he was accompanied by a staff of fifty people and met there by twenty more, and during which he received visits from many of the notables of the region. His expenses during his stay amounted to £20, his stable charges to £10, per week (Spence 1977, 139 and n 232), and for a while such visits may have done something to make up, both for the city and the castle, for the lack of a warden. In June 1606 Sir Charles Hales, one of the border commissioners, informed the Earl of Salisbury that the city had formerly 'lived chiefly by victualling of such as repaired to the same for attendance on the Lord Warden', but that with the disappearance of that office it had 'become poor and daily is like to grow to greater poverty...' (PRO *SP14/22* f 3v). But as the work of pacification proceeded (chiefly by hanging and transporting Grahams), personal visits by the Earl of Cumberland were less called for, and he became more and more one of those absentee landlords to whom, so it was said by the men of Carlisle in 1621, 'all the wealth of their country goeth southward...' (BL *Harg MS 321* f 68v).

By 1609 the Middle Shires could be described as 'as quiet as any part in any civil kingdom in Christeanity' (Fraser 1971, 327), but the central government was taking no chances, and the Border Commission remained in being for several years to come. In 1617 King James himself came to Carlisle, on his way back from a visit to Scotland, arriving on the 4th of August and departing on the 6th (Jefferson 1838, 46–7). Where he stayed is not recorded, but it was almost certainly in the castle, probably still in good enough repair to accommodate him thanks to visits by the Earl of Cumberland. The citizens took this opportunity to express an opinion that an occasional royal visit was no substitute for a resident warden, asking, among other things, for 'a noble man to lye in Karliell castell' (Ferguson and Nanson 1887, 95). During his stay, however, the king came under pressure from an exactly opposite direction, when he received representations from Lord William Howard of Naworth as to 'the needlesse use of the Commission and garrison', costing as they did nearly £1000 *per annum* (Ornsby 1878, 95), and with the Borders becoming steadily more peaceful – by 1620 Scottish borderers requiring a martial occupation were having to go abroad for it (Smout 1972, 103–4) --and with his own ever-pressing need for money to keep in mind, James was more likely to heed Lord William than the citizens. In 1621 the Border Commission was wound up and its troops of cavalry disbanded (Spence

1977, 128). Some disorder followed, and further joint commissions were appointed in 1630 and 1635 (Donaldson 1965, 227), but it must still have looked as though Carlisle Castle would never again be a centre for peacekeeping operations in north west England. In that respect its importance would have been further diminished by the loss of its function as the county gaol. In April 1611 commissioners who had been deputed to survey those rooms in the citadel which had been 'appointed and set forth for a common gaol for the shire of Cumberland' produced a discouraging report to the effect that at least £220 would be needed to make the necessary repairs and alterations (PRO *SP14/63* no 7), and it may be that the work was deferred. But the adaptation was certainly made in the end, the citadel being said in 1633 to be 'employed as a common gaol or prison' (PRO *SP16/534* no 43).

In 1629 Charles I appointed a Clerk of the Ordnance at Carlisle, but since his nominee was one of the clerks of the Privy Seal, he is not likely to have done much at Carlisle to earn his fee of 12d a day (*CSPD* 1628–9, 583). In the same year an anonymous writer lamented over the castles of northern England, most of them now 'utterly ruined, & uselesse... Kendall Castle is equall with the grounde', he wrote, 'Applebie and Carlile Castles follow after...' (Madden 1855, 13–14). Some allowances must, however, be made for rhetoric here, for Carlisle castle was not entirely neglected, in spite of the decline in its military and administrative importance. In the summer of 1633 John Spencer, one of the gunners at the Tower of London, viewed Carlisle's defences (PRO *SP16/534* no 43). The basic responsibility for the castle's upkeep he regarded as the Earl of Cumberland's, who was 'to keep the house in that repair as he found it'; and he seems to have reckoned that the Earl had been doing his duty by the castle, for 'it did not want much repair, that repair that it wanted I believe by this time is made good'. The Earl had been litigating to recover parcels of the socage manor attached to the castle, a process which continued into the 1630s (Spence 1984; PRO *E134/22* James I East 22; *E134/14* Chas I East 14) and which may at intervals have brought him, or his staff, to the castle. But inevitably he regarded it as a residence, not a fortress, and so it is not surprising that by 1633 it had no portcullises (except for one old one left lying around) and no drawbridges, and that both the inner and outer moats needed scouring. Spencer recommended that portcullises and drawbridges be installed, and the moats cleaned out, 'if the castle be to be strengthened', but in the early 1630s there can have seemed no reason why it should be strengthened. Indeed, the original purpose of Spencer's visit to Carlisle was to weaken its defensive capacity still further by removing surplus guns. City and castle were found to have a total of eighteen brass and thirteen iron guns, of which all the brass ones (five apparently from the citadel, the rest from the castle) were conveyed to Berwick and shipped thence to the Tower (PRO *SP16/242* no 43). Should a local emergency arise, some sudden recrudescence of violence in the old border region, the remaining 'pieces of iron', together with 'some old carriages and wheels and iron shot', would doubtless be enough to provide for the safety of Carlisle.

The Civil Wars and Interregnum 1639 – 1660

1639 – 1641

That it was not must be attributed entirely to Charles I's inept handling of his subjects in Scotland. His tactless treatment of the nobility alienated that country's ruling class, heavy and recurrent taxation did the same for the rest of the propertied classes, and finally the king's religious policies sparked off first resistance and then outright rebellion throughout lowland Scotland. In February 1638 the Covenant proclaimed its subscribers' determination to defend their national church against what they regarded as Romish infiltration, and throughout the following summer military preparations were in progress (Donaldson 1965, 319). These preparations were made in northern England as well as southern Scotland. The defences of Hull and Newcastle were inspected, and the king sent to Wentworth, his lieutenant in Ireland, for 500 men to garrison Carlisle (Wedgwood 1955, 227, 234), which thus began to return to the position it had occupied in earlier centuries. It was a reversion for which the city was hardly prepared. The mayor drew the king's attention to 'the weakness and poverty of that poor city, wanting ammunition, and the port and walls thereof much ruinated...' (*CSPD* 1638–9, 376), and the king's agent Sir Jacob Astley reported that the town was indeed poor, but 'convenient to be fortified and made strong', in spite of the expense (ibid, 384–5).

As in the past, security would at first have to be maintained by manpower, until the necessary repairs could be made to the defences. In February 1639 the citizens requested a garrison (ibid, 458–9), and around the end of March, 500 men came in from Ireland, led by Sir Francis Willoughby, Wentworth's nominee, as their commander. At the same time Sir Nicholas Slanning was sent with sixty soldiers and thirteen guns, while Lord Clifford, the Earl of Cumberland's son, upheld his family's interest in Carlisle by bringing 300 men more (*CSPD* 1639, 12, 15, 37–8). Clifford took his responsibilities in the North West seriously, giving directions to the Mayor as to 'what great iron works either about your gates or otherwise there will be needful about your city...' (CRO *Ca2/120* no 2). But his rights in Carlisle were disregarded by the king (Wedgwood 1961, 256), who appointed Willoughby to be governor over Clifford's head – 'yet was not the castle or garrison subject to his command at that time' (PRO *SP29/24* no 117(1)) – and it was Willoughby who, assisted by a Dutch engineer, quickly set about the restoration of the fortifications (*CSPD* 1639, 415; the Engineer was Heinrick van Peere). On 2 April 1639 he reported that he had begun 'necessary work' on the castle, in July that he wanted money 'to finish the work about this Castle'; he was sent £200 (and six gunners), and thus encouraged, Willoughby set to work on the citadel as well. But work still went on on the castle, which in August Willoughby said he had 'daily in hand', and early in September he could announce that 'I am daily busy in finishing the works in the castle' and promise to send a model of them to the king's principal secretary (HMC 1888, 222, 237, 238, 241, 242). In the meantime the Irish

troops had been replaced by English ones (*CSPD* 1639, 388).

What Willoughby had so far done was probably no more than make the castle and the city walls defensible. This would have been no small achievement, since there is no record of works on Carlisle's defences since 1602, but it was hardly sufficient to enable the city to stand a siege should the Scots cross into England. This must have been understood by the English government, for in October 1639 Willoughby was instructed by Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary of state, 'to certify hither immediately the true state of the garrison and of the works and fortifications there, and whether they be sufficient to withstand any sudden attempt. If deficient, you are to send in your demand for supplies...' (*CSPD* 1639–40, 51). Willoughby's response would appear to have been an eloquent one, for on 3 December a warrant was issued ordering that he be paid £500, 'to be by him disbursed in repairing the castle and citadel of Carlisle' (ibid, 143). Since the order had to be repeated on 11 January 1640 (ibid, 323), however, Willoughby clearly had some difficulty in getting the money; indeed, in the light of his own complaints later in the year, he may never have received it, but had instead to pay for any works done out of his own pocket. Not for the first time, King Charles's government found itself unable to realise its own good intentions.

As preparations for war in the north continued, it was at least appreciated, as Windebank informed its mayor, that Carlisle was 'a place of great importance', for whose safety 'extraordinary care' must be taken, so much so that the mayor had to share the custody of the city's keys with Sir Francis Willoughby (CRO *Ca2/120* no 15). It was important as a base for operations in the North West, as well as as a stronghold in its own right, and extra supplies, together with soldiers, had to be accommodated there, which no doubt explains why early in January 1640 the lord lieutenant of Cumberland was instructed to remove prisoners from the castle and citadel (*CSPD* 1639–40, 304), though in fact there were none in the former (Perriam 1978, 130). Carlisle's capacity as a depot, as a place to stockpile supplies, was the subject of a request for information sent there by the Council of War at the end of January, and Willoughby's reply sheds some light on his priorities up to that date, as well as on the condition and use of some of the castle buildings (*CSPD* 1639–40, 424–5; PRO *SP16/444* nos 24, 24(1)). His report was concerned principally with the space available for the storage of grain, and also with Carlisle's ability to bake it into bread and to brew malt into beer. The granaries, ovens, furnaces and 'houses' were all, he found, 'much decayed', and would need to be repaired before they could be used; for this a 'timely provision of timber and slate' was required, showing that these were wooden structures, probably in the outer ward. Certainly in the outer ward was a brewhouse, also 'in much decay', and next to it another building so decrepit as to be useless, though two ovens at one end of it, if given new floors, could bake 27 bushels of grain in 'great loaves' at a time. And there were two leads in the castle–one of them perhaps that bought by Thomas Lord Scrope to be 'an heirloom to remain at the castle' back in 1597 (PRO *LR9/83* unnumbered)–which together could at any one time brew 68 bushels of malt into strong beer.

All this was insufficient for present purposes, even when the ovens and furnaces in the citadel had been taken into consideration, and a list had to be made of the same amenities in the city. Extra room for stores had also to be found, and Willoughby discovered 'divers convenient places belonging to the abbey which be under the dean and chapter, which being repaired will serve for cellarage and storehouse...'. Such was the likely pressure on the available storage space that Willoughby examined further the possibilities of the castle and reported his findings. The 'great gallery, where now the arms be', though needing 'some small repairs both in the leads and in the floor', could receive 1260 bushels of grain, the new dining room (which was not said to require any attention) could take about 945 bushels more. Both these rooms were probably in the old palace complex; they may have been in intermittent use by the Cliffords and their servants, which would explain why they were in relatively good condition. The keep, however, had obviously been suffering its usual neglect. At the top of the building the roof needed releading, and the floors below needed relaying, while the second-storey floors also required repair. Only the first floor and basement rooms could be used for storage without receiving treatment first, though the fact that the top two stories could hold an estimated total of 1584 bushels of grain would certainly have supplied a strong incentive to having the necessary work done on them. The bottom two floors were reserved for 'provision that is casked'.

None of these buildings can have been in use in 1640. The bad state of the buildings in the outer ward must reflect the absence of a permanent garrison since 1621 at the latest. Willoughby himself probably lived in the sixteenth-century Warden's Lodging, and the soldiers sent in 1639 are likely to have been billeted on the townsfolk, leaving the keep, and in all probability the palace complex as well, without any obvious function. So what, then, had Willoughby been working on with such energy during 1639? Since he had clearly paid little or no attention to the buildings, his first concern is likely to have been the walls, making them fit to face cannon, and also, probably, to mount guns. It was almost certainly to this period that the castle's batteries, at the south-west and north-west angles of the outer ward and on the east-facing curtain of the inner ward, should be dated. They are not recorded in the sixteenth century when the outer ward was practically given up for defensive purposes, while the guns in the inner ward were intended to be mobile, so that they could be fired from any point on its perimeter. But they were certainly there by 1660 with their guns placed on purpose-built platforms of wood (PRO *WO55/1696* ff 6, 7), and when the thirteen guns sent to Carlisle in April 1639, and the six gunners sent in the following July, are taken into consideration, 1639 or 1640, years of substantial works on the castle, seem the most likely time for this innovation.

Willoughby clearly handled his charge with skill and determination. But his connections with Wentworth may have been outweighed in the king's mind by his Presbyterian sympathies, and in February 1640 he was

replaced as governor of Carlisle by Sir Nicholas Byron, who probably only took up his command in April (*CSPD* 1640, 26). Willoughby felt that he had been badly treated; he had never been paid, 'neither for my government here nor for all my pains and labour in fortifying this place...', and he speculated that his friends would 'wonder what may be the cause of my being supplanted, especially from a place that I had now so well fortified...'. But his claim that 'were no more done unto it the power of Scotland were not able to hurt it...' (ibid, 132–3) may have been an exaggeration, for in March 1640 his successor secured an order that £500 be paid him from the Exchequer 'for making fortifications for his Majesty's service at Carlisle' (*CSPD* 1639–40, 596). In spite of a treaty ('the Pacification') at Berwick in June 1639, there was no real prospect of peace between the English king and his Scottish subjects, and the border defences therefore still had to be maintained and manned. By 8 May 1640 there were five companies of foot at Carlisle, and these were later joined by a troop of horse (BL *Add MS* 33223 ff 5, 28). By the time the garrison was disbanded in the following year, it would appear to have consisted of 390 soldiers and fifty horse, 440 men as well as officers (ibid ff 39, 40).

Unfortunately, appearances may have been deceptive in this respect, for a scandal blew up in the garrison at this time, with the muster-master (Thomas Cholmeley, who would appear again later in the decade) and serjeant-major being accused of corruption, of making false returns of the number of men in the garrison by such ploys as mustering the same man in two different companies or under two different names, and so receiving more pay than there were men present to receive it (ibid, ff 33–7, 47–8). There was nominally a surgeon attached to the governor's troop, and money for his wages was duly handed over, but the soldiers themselves attested in November 1640 that since 1 April 'there never appeared any surgeon...' (ibid, f 29). Their chicanery may have extended to the fortifications. These were probably not in very safe hands anyway, the Master Mason, or Surveyor, being named as 'one Peter Sweringe a Dutch painter', while the under-carpenter was the governor's Dutch butler (ibid f 36v). Among the questions put to Sweringe during the investigation of allegations against the muster-master and the serjeant-major was 'whether he can give any account of the works done for his majesty's use and service in and about the castle of Carlisle' (ibid, f 35), implying that money had been claimed for such works, probably the £234 6s 2d. 'for works' covered by one acquittance (a document certifying the payment of a debt) and the £75 4s 'for payment of lead' covered by another (ibid, f 30). That in October 1640 the paymaster was instructed to pay 'the persons employed in the fortifications, and for all materials used, the sums of money specified in bills under the hands of the overseers of the Fortifications, and approved by the Governor's warrant, or his deputy...' (*CSPD* 1640–1, 137) indicate both that there were works in progress and that there were some controls over spending on them, but the suspicion must remain that some of the king's money disappeared into unauthorised pockets.

By that time the Scots had long been on English soil, though in the North East rather than in Cumberland. Crossing the Tweed on 20 August 1640, they defeated an English army at Newburn and occupied Newcastle. Berwick, like Carlisle, they had left alone, but they did not forget them, for among their terms for peace with England was 'that Berwick and Carlisle may be dismantled, at least the walls of both towns; if this cannot be obtained, to crave that the garrisons be removed...' (ibid, 245). Negotiations were protracted, and were not concluded until June 1641. In Carlisle the townsfolk bought gunpowder, and lent money to Byron so that he could continue to pay the garrison (Tullie 1840, xii–xiii). But in the end peace was made, and in September 1641 a total of £10,000 was paid out on disbanding the Carlisle garrison (*CSPD* 1641–3, 121, 123, 125). Sir Nicholas Byron was among those who departed, so the castle keys were handed over to a servant of the Earl of Cumberland (BL *Add MS* 33223 f 52), who thus recovered his rights in it. But large quantities of arms and ammunition were left in the city, and there seems to have been little confidence that the peace lately made would be a lasting one, for early in 1642 the mayor reported to the Lord Admiral (the Earl of Northumberland) that 'divers private persons in that Country lay up great Store of Provision of Beef, Butter, Cheese, and Corn, which raiseth the Price of Victuals in the Market...' (*Journ H of L* IV 1628–42, 579).

1642–1648

The traditions of Carlisle as a corporate entity were such as to make its sympathies strongly royalist, as the citizens showed when the king came to York in the summer of 1642, the mayor taking this opportunity to present him with a petition requesting him 'to cast your gracious eye upon your said city'. The arms lately stored in Carlisle were now mostly 'already disposed away to other places', leaving insufficient to defend the city against 'sudden attempts'; Charles was therefore asked to 'provide for the safety of the said city and castle' (CRO *Ca2/194a*). It was probably just coincidence, but on 7 July, three days after the city presented its petition, order was given for the payment of £1257 2s 11d 'for relief of his Majesty's army, in the northern parts, and the garrison of Carlisle' (*CSPD* 1641–3, 351), which was clearly now manned once more. The Earl of Newcastle, 'general of all his Majesties forces raised and to be raised, in the northern parts of England', subsequently appointed Sir Philip Musgrave governor of Carlisle (Newcastle 1915, 131, 112). Musgrave also became commander of the king's forces in Cumberland and Westmorland, and may for that reason have relinquished his governorship, being succeeded in that office by Sir Henry Stradling, though not until October 1643.[1] Musgrave was able to convert the the local militia into a royalist army, but only in the sense that it took orders from himself, the king's officer. He could not take it outside the North West, since his subordinates continued to think primarily in terms of local defence, either against the Scots or against supporters of Parliament (Phillips 1978, 171). The latter may have been less ineffective than is sometimes sup-

posed. In March 1643 there were said to be persons in the North West 'so much disaffected to his Majesty's person and government that they have presumed to take up arms against his authority' (*CSPD* 1641–3, 448), and it may have been at this time that what was described as 'a Rascall rout' of Roundheads threatened Carlisle, though it was soon dispersed (Tullie 1840, 1). In 1644 'the constancy of the country people' could not be relied upon by the cavaliers (Burton 1840, 8), and a year later it was claimed on Cumberland's behalf that whereas most of the gentry had been 'tainted with an evil disposition... the Commons have always been well affected towards the Parliament... (*CSPD* 1644–5, 575–6). Carlisle and its garrison probably constituted the one dependable pillar of the king's cause in the region.

No serious attempt was made to undermine it until 1644, when the battle of Marston Moor ruined the king's cause in the North of England. The Scottish general David Leslie then took a force into Cumberland, driving off the English troops prepared to resist him, but though he surveyed Carlisle from near the gallows on Harraby hill ('a place more proper for them he could not have chosen'), he formed no siege and soon withdrew (Tullie 1840, 3–6). The prospects for the city were clear enough, however, and the garrison, now under the command of Sir Thomas Glemham, the commander of the king's remaining forces in the North (Wedgwood 1958, 322), prepared for further action, bringing in cattle, corn, coal and other supplies in preparation for a siege (Tullie 1840, 7). A month later, in October 1644, the Scots were back (ibid, xiv), and now they settled down to besiege Carlisle. The number of the besiegers was reckoned at 4,000 horse and foot, that of the defenders at 700 men (ibid, 11). The estimate is that of young Isaac Tullie, who lived through the siege; he was probably better able to number the latter than the former, but there can be no doubt that the Scots had a considerable numerical advantage, which they failed to exploit – in all likelihood they were happy to keep their army together on English soil, maintained as it was by contributions levied on the countryside, the better to enable them to intervene in English politics should the need or the opportunity arise. The Scots failed to prevent the garrison obtaining a clear field of fire by the destruction of the city suburbs, beginning on Carlisle's west side (ibid, 12), but subsequently extending right round the walls, Botcherby mill being later said to have been 'burnt by the Cavaliers' (CRO *Dean and Chapter MS EM/1/1* f 9). Nor could they stop the breaking of the dam on the south side of the Borough mill, 'to bring the water about the said mill for the safety thereof' (CRO *Ca2/195*), though they responded by attempting to divert the flow of water from the city's mills altogether (Tullie 1840, 37–8) and by burning 'ye cheiff milne which belonged to ye citty' (Todd 1890, 23).

The Scots also destroyed Harraby mill, the houses outside the English Gate and the dwellings on the site of St. Nicholas' hospital (CRO *Dean and Chapter MS EM/1/1* ff 4, 6, 8), where they constructed a fort which in the following century would still be shown on maps as 'Parliament's Mount in Civil Wars' (PRO *WO78/326*). They set up a battery, containing at least three small guns, in Stanwix churchyard, from which they 'play'd their Ordnance' (Tullie 1840, 43–4; Nicolson 1877, 105), and they built several other 'works' from which to control the city's surrounds. According to Tullie the besiegers never 'assaulted' the walls (Tullie 1840, 14), and the 'Leaguer before Carlisle' thus became a series of skirmishes, usually fought over cattle which the garrison pastured on the fields just outside the city, interspersed with raids on the Scottish 'works'. Certainly the Scots never tried to storm the walls, but it is likely, in the light of the repairs which those walls, and the castle, required when the siege was over, that they subjected them to a steady bombardment; it seems improbable that the cannon whose fire greeted the news of Parliament's victory at Naseby in June 1645 (ibid, 46) had been reserved solely for such *feux de joie*. With their guns and their superior numbers the Scots were able to apply a steady pressure which was ultimately to wear resistance down. Within Carlisle, the defence was directed from the castle. Here stood the 'Magazeene' (probably in the keep), in which all the corn in the city was deposited and from which weekly distributions of grain were made to the townsfolk, and it was to the castle that cattle were driven for slaughter and from which meat was handed out afterwards (ibid, 12–13). The castle guns played their part in the defence. In May 1645 the enemy brought in a number of 'countrey Labourers' to construct a work on Murrell Hill in Shaddongate, on the west side of the city, 'who were soe cannoneered from the Castle yet they run all away' (ibid, 34). The direction of the shot was such that it can only have been fired from the west curtain of the outer ward, a further argument for the construction of its batteries during the works of 1639/40.

Late in April 1645 the Parliamentary committees in Cumberland and Westmorland resolved to undertake the siege of Carlisle with a force of 3,000 foot and 600 horse, on the grounds that 'the country is far more willing to undergo that service than to pay the Scots' forces' (*CSPD* 1644–5, 431–2). The Scots declined to withdraw when these would-be replacements arrived, and there were quarrels between English and Scottish officers (ibid, 552, 558–9), but in the end they managed to cooperate. The English Parliamentarians were eager to bring the siege to an end in order to get rid of the oppressive Scottish presence, and their arrival probably made the siege more effective. Slowly the pressure on the city began to tell. The citizens gave money to pay the soldiers, at the rate of £60 a month, and they also gave their plate, which was melted down and coined into 'siege pieces' (Fig 128; Tullie 1840, 24, xii). Food ran low, men ate first horses and then rats and dogs (ibid, 43), interspersed with cows' flesh when a successful sally brought some more cattle in. Messengers slipped out to beg the king for relief, and slipped in again to announce that help was on the way (eg ibid, 23, 36), but none came, and the crushing defeat of King Charles's army at Naseby on 14 June made certain that none would come. On 23 June the townsmen told Glemham that they could endure no more, and at last the defenders asked for terms. On 25 June articles of surrender were agreed upon, and on 28 June the soldiers marched out (Tullie 1840, 47–8), to be replaced by

a Scottish garrison, entering at last a city which some eighteen months later would be described as 'the model of misery and desolation' (HMC 1877, 158).

The English Parliament was not at all pleased that the Scots had taken possession of Carlisle, 'without our knowledge and advice', and at once demanded 'that an Englishman may be Governor of Carlisle and such English forces put into it as may be thought fit to secure that place... (*CSPD* 1644–5, 619), while in October it demanded that 'the works about Carlisle be slighted and the Place dismantled, and that the Scottish garrison... be forthwith removed' (BL *Sloane MS 1771* f 23v). But the Scots paid no attention. A Scottish governor, one Colonel Douglas, was installed, his presence financed by money raised from the surrounding villages 'for the mantenance of the governor's hors' (Tullie 1840, xx–xxi) – this levy would later be described as 'an unexpressable burden' (*CPCC* 1643–1660, 232) – and steps were taken to put Carlisle's defences in order. In the articles of surrender the Scots had promised 'that no church should be defaced' (Tullie 1840, xv), but this undertaking was not extended to cover the old priory buildings surrounding the cathedral, many of which were now demolished to provide the Scots with stone (Perriam 1987, 129–130). In the market-place they used it to build a 'main guard', described in the eighteenth century as 'a fort with four bastions, roofed like a house, with holes for the gunners to shoot out at with small arms' (Stukeley 1776, Centuria II: Iter Boreale, 54), and guard-houses were also constructed at the three city gates. The stone was also used 'to repaire ye walls' of the city, and it made a substantial contribution to the restoration of the castle. Works in the 1830s revealed that tons of 'church work' had been employed to rebuild both batteries in the outer ward (they had doubtless drawn much of the besiegers' fire) and to repair the dividing wall in the keep (*Carl Pat* 18 Oct 1895 *DRP*). These works were undertaken as much to prevent hostile citizens from attacking the garrison within the walls as in anticipation of further attack from without, though there were still some cavaliers about, for in November 1645 Lord Digby, with 1000 horse, was defeated near Carlisle (*CSPD* 1645–7, 220), and the need may have seemed pressing, with disgruntled royalist officers still apparently free to walk the streets. In 1662 Michael Studholme of Wigton would recall how sixteen or eighteen years previously, following differences between 'severall captaines both for King and Parliament' in Carlisle's Sun Inn, the cavalier captains had subsequently set upon their old enemies in the market-place with cries of 'Parliament rogues' and 'Downe with this Parliament', sparking off an affray in which two men lost their lives (Raine 1861, 95–6).

In the meantime the citizens' powers of resistance were undermined by an attack of the plague (Tullie 1840, xii), and with the castle and city defences now in a state of repair, the Scots were able to sit tight, as they did, until, on 23 December 1646, terms were agreed for their departure from England (Wedgwood 1958, 569). On 20 January 1647 they began their departure (Tullie 1840, xv). Parliamentary commissioners soon made their appearance, even though there were Scots 'yet in town', and on 26 January set about slighting the fortifications (HMC 1877, 158). It is not clear what this

Fig 128 Siege coins minted in Carlisle 1645 (photo: Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery)

involved, since there is no evidence that anything was done to reduce the defensibility of either city or castle, and it may be that they were principally concerned to remove the various earthworks put up by the Scots in the course of the siege. Most of the commissioners' report related to guns, so perhaps the removal of these was all they had in mind. They found a total of sixteen guns, which were taken down from the castle, the citadel and the city walls and remounted on their carriages, which were, however, so decayed that it proved impossible to shift them, and their proposed removal to Cockermouth had to be deferred, the commissioners proposing instead to move them just three or four miles to keep them out of harm's way. Two 'large old murderers' could not be moved at all, and had to be left 'upon ground within the castle'. It seems unlikely that these were in fact all the guns Carlisle had had since the refurbishment of the defences began in 1639, and it is probable that some had been taken away in the meantime, most likely by the Scots. But unlike the Scots, the Parliamentary troops which took possession of castle and city in 1647 seem to have done little to strengthen their defences.

The civil wars appear to have brought renewed disorder to the border region, and the castle became a base for operations against 'moss-troopers' and a prison for such of the latter as were captured. It seems to have been this custodial role which lay behind events occurring early in March 1648, when a small force of some 70 horsemen, together with a few foot-soldiers, made a sudden appearance at Carlisle (*CSPD* 1648–9, 26–7). Producing scaling ladders, they mounted the walls, entered the castle, broke into the gaol, released the moss-troopers and other prisoners, and made their escape with them into Scotland. At first they proclaimed themselves the men of Sir Thomas Fairfax, the Parliamentary commander-in-chief, but later they

gave out that they were for the king. In fact the operation seems to have had much more in common with the rescue of Kinmont Willie than with any action in the civil war between king and parliament. As in 1596, the castle had been shown to be dangerously vulnerable, but as on many occasions in the past nothing seems to have been done to strengthen it. The result was that less than two months later it was captured again.

This time the civil war was indeed the cause, as royalists in many parts of England, supported by an army from Scotland, mounted a concerted rising against Parliamentary rule. In Cumberland the rebel leader was once more Sir Philip Musgrave, under whose direction a group of just sixteen men entered Carlisle on 29 April 1648, where they were able to 'suddenly surprise and take the said city of Carlisle…' in the king's name (Burton 1840, 12). It seems likely that the castle was effectively ungarrisoned, since it was at their civilian enemies that the rebels struck. The mayor was imprisoned (*CSPD* 1648–9, 133), and so were several other townsmen, among them Thomas Cholmeley, in 1640 the muster-master of the garrison charged with corruption and since then a leading supporter of the Parliamentary cause in Cumberland. A new, royalist, mayor took office, and George Denton occupied the castle as Sir Philip Musgrave's deputy. He seems to have found it empty of furniture, for he had John Stow's wife and family put out of their house and commandeered their chairs, stools and table linen for his own use in the castle (details from PRO *E134/1653* Mich 17; *E134/1653/4* Hil 8). Once the Scots entered England, however, castle and city were put into their hands; a Scottish garrison was once more installed, together with a Scottish governor, Sir William Leveston (Burton 1840, 13). This was not a development likely to have been popular with the townsmen, but they did not have to put up with it for very long, for between 17 and 19 August 1648 the Scottish army was shattered by Cromwell at Preston, and though Musgrave proposed to Leveston 'an unity of interest of the Scotch & English, in & about Carlisle…' (ibid, 14), the Scots showed themselves increasingly anxious to get back beyond the border. On 27 September the governor of Carlisle was instructed to withdraw himself and his men by 1 October (Birch 1742, I, 105), and on the latter day Cromwell in person received the surrender of the city. It may have been now that a battery of cannon was placed on top of the keep, the better to overawe the royalists among the townsfolk (Jefferson 1838, 103).

1648–1660

With the Scots no longer to be trusted, the possibility of further royalist risings in the North West, pirates from the Isle of Man busy off the coasts of Cumberland (*CSPD* 1649–50, 108), and moss-troopers active in the borders, there was now no possibility of Carlisle being left ungarrisoned. Two troops of horse from Colonel Hacker's regiment were stationed at Carlisle to deal with the moss-troopers (ibid, 360), which probably explains the presence of a new stable at the southern end of the castle gardens, referred to in 1650 (PRO *E317/Cumberland* 2; I owe this reference to Dr John Stedman), and in 1649 Colonel Thomas Fitch, commanding a regiment of ten companies (at full strength, 1,000 men), became governor of Carlisle (Firth and Davies 1940, 509–10). In 1650 it was said that the castle itself was garrisoned by Fitch's own company, one hundred strong (PRO *E317/Cumberland* 2). Perhaps it was for these that it was suggested that a 'ruinous timber house situate on the north side of the Deane's house, called the singing men's house', should be moved into 'the stable yard', most probably the outer ward of the castle, 'for the quartering of his soldiers…' (Perriam 1987, 136). Of the rest, as many as possible were accommodated in the city, most notably in the Deanery and the other buildings which, like the 'singing men's house', had descended to the Dean and Chapter from the medieval priory. Even so, Fitch was 'forced to quarter neere about halfe of his souldiers without the Cittie'. This may in fact have been a stroke of luck for the soldiers involved, for 1650 saw another visitation of the plague (*CPCC* 1643–60, 28), and one which seems to have afflicted the garrison also, since in the following year the governor sent for a surgeon's chest 'in respect of the place where it is increasing', place being presumably a misrendering of plague (PRO *SP25/96* 228).

In the meantime steps were taken to strengthen the castle's defences. In June 1649 a warrant was issued for the payment to Fitch of £500 'for Repairs of Carlisle walls and fortifications' (*CPCC* 1643–60, 810), and in the following month £180 was allotted to the fortifications of Berwick and Carlisle (*CPCAM* 1642–56, 1504). During the same year the needs of the garrison were attended to, with the provision of two lead cisterns, placed in 'the Little Larder at the Stair Foot' (Ferguson 1895, 187). In January 1650 a Parliamentary survey of the castle found it to be 'in good repair and not fit to be demolished' (PRO *E317/Cumberland* 2), but the commissioners themselves admitted that 'we have taken but a superficial view and estimation of the same', a confession confirmed less than four months later, when Fitch himself petitioned for more money on the grounds of the 'great ruins of this garrison and the need of repair' (*CPCAM* 1642–56, 82); another £250 was spent at the end of the year (ibid, 86). In the course of 1650 orders were also given for the transport to Carlisle of eight iron cannon with iron shot for firing from them, firelock and matchlock muskets, swords, pikes, bandoleers, shovels, spades and pickaxes (*CSPD* 1650, 536, 538, 546), and money was spent on the city bridges and even on the cathedral as well (*CPCC* 1643–60, 812, 816, 821). The reason for so much attention and expenditure would have been the continued hostility in Scotland to the Parliamentary regime in England. Cromwell's victory at Dunbar in September 1650 had not led to peace, for on 1 January 1651 the Scots crowned Charles II as king, and later in that year made a last effort to overthrow the Cromwellian regime. Invading England in the North West, the Scots and their royalist allies made no attempt to enter Carlisle. In 1685 it was observed that 'an Army may come out of Scotland within less then two Mile of the Towne, and March by itt, As his Maj^{tie} did in his way to Worster' (Ferguson 1895, 178), though there may have been a

skirmish as they passed, in which, it was rumoured, 80 men from the garrison were put to flight by 10 of the invaders (*CSPD* 1651, 367). But on 3 September 1651 the battle of Worcester ended all effective opposition to Commonwealth rule, and Carlisle's military importance was diminished accordingly.

Four days after Worcester it was decided that the garrison of Carlisle should be eight companies strong (*Journ H of C* **vii** (1651–60), 17). Fitch's regiment was not one of those whose disbandment was ordered on 2 October (ibid, 24), but on 14 October it was nevertheless directed that his troops at Carlisle be dismissed (*CSPD* 1651, 476–7). This decision was probably connected with Fitch's tranfer to Inverness at the end of the year, and did not mean that Carlisle was no longer to be garrisoned, only that the eight companies earlier agreed upon now came from Sir Arthur Hesilrig's regiment, which had been reserved for garrison duty; they were commanded by Major Jeremiah Tolhurst. There was probably a reduction in the garrison at the beginning of 1653, when it was ordered that 300 private soldiers 'be reduced out of Sir Arthur Hesilrig's Regiment, in Tinmouth, Berwick and Carlisle...' (*Journ H of C* **vii**, 241), and those who remained appear to have acquired a new superior officer, at least for a while. Some time during the 1650s 'Carlisle castle with the lands and tenants belonging to it' was bought by Colonel Charles Howard.[2] The purchaser, one of the Howards of Naworth, an ardent Parliamentarian who commanded Cromwell's Life Guard at the battle of Worcester, seems to have become nominal governor of Carlisle.[3] In 1655 he was one of General Lambert's deputies in his Major-Generalship over the northern counties (Birch 1742, IV, 117, 177), and was often active against royalists and moss-troopers (eg *CSPD* 1654, 244). Subsequently he came to have command of the regiment supplying the garrison at Carlisle, which, since it still had Tolhurst as its major (*CSPD* 1659–1660, 579), must have been Hesilrig's, probably transferred to Howard as a result of one of Sir Arthur's frequent quarrels with the Protector. By June 1659, when Howard was under arrest on a charge of treason and Hesilrig was in the political ascendant, the latter had recovered his regiment, still with Tolhurst in command at Carlisle (*Journ H of C* **vii**, 713; Firth and Davies 1940, 523–524). In fact Howard does not appear to have attempted to supersede Tolhurst in his control of the castle even though his purchase had made him lord of the socage manor attached to it. In 1658 Tolhurst styled himself 'governor of the garrison' (Perriam 1987, 135), and his was the prime responsibility for the maintenance of the castle buildings.

In April 1655 he presented a 'humble address' to Cromwell, showing that the fortress under his command was 'very ruinous... especially the citadel and many parts of the castle...', no repairs having been carried out since Colonel Fitch's time three and a half years ago, except for a few 'things of greatest necessity' for which Tolhurst himself had paid (PRO *SP23/230* no 19). The result was that most of the soldiers had to be quartered in the city, 'which is not safe in these dangerous times'. 1655 was the year of Penruddock's rising and of several royalist conspiracies, including one in north west England, where Sir Philip Musgrave, undaunted by a record of continuous failure, offered to get possession of Carlisle (Gardiner 1965, IV, 271). The plots came to nothing, serving only to have Musgrave and his associates arrested (Burton 1840, 32–3) and to add to Tolhurst's difficulties by filling the castle and citadel with prisoners 'sent in thither from all parts of Cumberland and Westmorland upon this business of the late rising...'. Since the soldiers who would normally have manned the castle and citadel were now living in the city, they had to be called out to perform guard duty instead, and at very frequent intervals – 'every second night's duty... which hard duty causeth many of the soldiers to fall sick'. 'If the said garrison be not repaired this summer', he concluded, 'it will be very ruinous, and will cost much the more to repair', and he asked that some £1000 'appointed by the Parliament for repair of the said garrison' be paid over to him. That the sum in question was so large may be a measure of the castle's needs, but given the Commonwealth government's financial problems, exacerbated as they were by wars with the Dutch and with Spain, and its apparent security at home (all risings and conspiracies were disposed of with little difficulty), perhaps it is not surprising that the money was not forthcoming, so that in both January and February 1656 Tolhurst had to petition for it again (*CPCC* 1643–60, 1170; *CSPD* 1657–8, 360). Only in April 1658 can the central government be shown to have been responsive to Carlisle's defensive needs, and then probably only because a more powerful voice, that of Viscount Howard (as he had now become), was raised on their behalf. Even then, the sum granted was no more than £200 (*CSPD* 1657–8, 360).

The garrison was further reduced during the 1650s, by February 1659 consisting essentially of three companies of foot, whose maintenance was reckoned to cost £415 2s a month (Grose 1786, 401). The fact that, when paid, the troops had so much money to spend may have done something to reconcile the townsfolk to the large military presence in their midst, but overall the soldiers are not likely to have been popular in the city, supporting as they did an oppressive and interfering regime – in January 1656 the government ordered the removal of Carlisle's mayor and several aldermen, on the grounds of their royalist sympathies (Gardiner 1965, IV, 76). In 1658 a set of six bells was installed in the cathedral, inscribed as having been made 'at the charge of Lord Howard and other gentree of the county and citie and officers of the garrison by the advice of Major Jeremiah Tolhurst governor of the garrison...' (Perriam 1987, 135), but it is probably significant that it was only the officers who contributed, for the men under their command appear to have been as deeply imbued with religious radicalism and heterodoxy as was most of the Commonwealth's army during these years, a fact which may also have set them apart from the citizens, whether the latter were Anglicans or Presbyterians. When George Fox preached near Cockermouth in 1653, his congregation included 'a dozen soldiers and their wives who were come from Carlisle...' – interesting evidence that some of the men in the garrison had managed to settle down to family life (Nickalls 1952, 151). When he followed up his mission to Cockermouth with a visit to Carlisle (ibid, 157–9), he

'went up to the castle amongst the soldiers. And they beat a drum and called them together and I turned them to the Lord Jesus Christ their teacher... and had no opposition but from the sergeants who afterwards came to be convinced...'. A lieutenant who was also 'pastor of the Baptists' later allowed Fox to preach at a meeting of his own congregation.

What happened next, however, points to the religious division between the city and the castle, and also, within the castle, between officers and men. For when Fox preached in the cathedral, his radical reputation and inflammatory message provoked a riot by 'the rude people of the city', who threw stones and brandished staves. The governor was willing, even eager, to leave Fox to his fate, for he sent musketeers to order the soldiers out of the cathedral, but the latter were unwilling to leave Fox at the mercy of the mob, 'and took me by the hand very friendly and said they would have me alongst with them'. Some of them were subsequently cast into prison for standing by him. The soldiers who defended Fox may have been unorthodox in their religion, but at least they were, for soldiers, conventional in their sex. In April 1657 Lieutenant-Colonel Sawrey, writing about the state of the garrison at Ayr, reported that he had found in it 'a young person...who is since discovered to be a woman; her name she saith is Anne Dimack...'. A Lincolnshire woman, Anne had originally left home to follow her sweetheart to London, and had taken to wearing male dress the better to be able to accompany him. She had continued in this unconventional attire even after her lover had been lost at sea, when she, 'keeping still her man's habit, came to Carlisle, and there listed herself for a soldier under Major Tolhurst by the name of John Evison, and there she continued until she came to this garrison, and never was known to any...' (HMC 1899b, 112).

Like the doctrinal heterodoxy of her fellow soldiers, Anne Dimack's strange story bears witness to the disturbed nature of English society in the period of the Great Rebellion. By 1657 that Rebellion had less than three years to run. In September 1658 Cromwell died, and without his domineering leadership the weaknesses of his regime, its inability either to raise enough money to allow it to maintain itself or to win gentry support, became increasingly apparent. The army reasserted its control over the forms of civilian government, and among those it antagonised by doing so was Charles Howard, who was arrested for treason (Webb 1979, 78–9). Others may have fallen under suspicion with him, since in May 1659 Captain Mason at Carlisle was thanked for arresting one John Kirkbank and instructed to 'try to prevent any insurrections or meetings of suspected persons' (*CSPD* 1658–9, 354). In August 1659 order was given that arrears of pay amounting to £493 3s be paid to the Carlisle garrison (*CSPD* 1659–60, 579), an order which, if carried out, might explain why that garrison at first remained loyal to the army cause. When General Monk tried to secure his passage across the western border between England and Scotland by sending a troop of dragoons to Carlisle, the governor there – Richard Elton, who appears to have taken over temporarily from Tolhurst; a subordinate of Lambert's (*Journ H of C* **vii**, 681), he was probably the commander of the troop of horse which Monk later complained that Lambert had sent to Carlisle – kept negotiations going until he had 'fixed the souldiers to a resolution of keeping him out' (Firth and Davies 1940, 523–4). As General Lambert, the army's leading commander, moved to Newcastle with 8000 men, the danger of further civil war became very real. But Lambert was undone by his regime's inability to pay its men. His army disintegrated, and the garrisons which had previously supported him now announced their allegiance to the cause of a full and free Parliament (Hutton 1985, 74–84).

On 2 January 1660 Isaac Tullie, the mayor of Carlisle, wrote to Monk expressing warm approval of his conduct of affairs. A week later he wrote again with rather more important news, of the garrison's response to the course events had taken (Firth and Davies 1940, 523–4). On 7 January the officers had called their men together, read a letter to them, 'and seemingly declared for the Parliament, but made noe publicke demonstration of rejoycing...'. This tepid acquiescence in the change of regime was not good enough for the soldiers, who had probably not been paid since the previous August, and on the following day they arrested their own officers and themselves declared for Parliament, to the accompaniment of bonfires, the firing of muskets and cannon, and 'great acclamations of joy'. A degree of order was subsequently restored, probably helped first by Tolhurst's resumption of command and then by the reappointment of Charles Howard as governor (Birch 1742, VII, 861). At the end of February Tolhurst wrote to Monk, assuring him that his proceedings were now 'very well pleasing except to two officers...' (HMC 1899b, 165). One of the latter was Captain Cuthbert Studholme, a Carlisle merchant for whom service in the army had been a powerful means of self-advancement; buying lands sold by needy royalists, by 1659 he was able to style himself esquire. The lands he was able to keep, but as the army disbanded his status declined, and by 1664 he was calling himself a merchant once more (Phillips 1970, 58, 61, 64).

The Restoration castle 1660–1688

Reports and repairs

There would be no room for the likes of Captain Studholme in the post-Restoration castle. Although Charles Howard's services towards the bringing back of the Stuarts led to his being made Earl of Carlisle, his earlier support for Cromwell had made him unpopular with the gentry of North West England, and it was one of the latter's most prominent royalists, Sir Philip Musgrave, who became governor of Carlisle. Sir Philip had regarded this as no more than his due, submitting a petition for the governorship in which he drew attention not only to his own past services in that office (in 1648, he said nothing about the period 1642–43) but also to those of his ancestors in the Middle Ages. He also pointed out how during the Interregnum Charles Howard had bought the castle and its appurtenances, which 'I hope will now return to his majesty and remain in his own hand rather than in the hand of any subject, the situation and strength of the place being

so considerable' (PRO *SP29/24* no 117(1)). The crown did indeed resume possession of the castle, but Musgrave was disappointed in his hopes that this would mean the weakening of a rival for local preeminence, for the castle was granted to Henrietta Maria, the Queen Mother, who on 10 December 1660 gave a lease of it to Charles Howard, for an entry fine of £200 and a yearly rent of £50, to take effect when the Cliffords' term of 60 years should expire in 1671 (CRO *D/Lons/L Socage of Carlisle Castle 1611–1767*). This lease was renewed when on Henrietta Maria's death in 1669 the castle was given to Catherine of Braganza, Charles II's queen, as part of her jointure (Ferguson 1895, 176). The lease undoubtedly included the castle itself, as well as its demesnes and socage manor (reckoned to be worth £200 *per annum* by the end of Charles II's reign). But although Howard undertook to keep the premises in repair, this requirement was not extended to cover the castle as a military establishment, for it was laid down that he 'shall not be bound by the aforesaid covenant touching the repairs of any else therein contained to maintain the castle aforesaid or any part thereof during such a time and so long as the same castle remain and continue a garrison' (CRO *D/Lons/L Socage of Carlisle Castle 1611–1767*).

The condition of the castle in 1660 was not good. In September 1661 Major Nichols, Surveyor of his Majesties Ordnance, submitted a lengthy report on the state of Carlisle's defences, mostly concerned with the castle, and the latter's state surely both reflects the hard usage it had received during the Commonwealth period and suggests that Tolhurst never received the money he had repeatedly asked for.[4] The outer drawbridge was 'very defective' and needed replacing, and the moat under it needed cleaning out. A new 'court of guard' or guardhouse was required outside the outer gatehouse, which presumably no longer housed the porter, but which may still have served as a prison, at any rate in emergencies like that of 1655, or may have been taken over for soldiers' lodgings, for Nichols still wanted its roofs repaired and new portcullises made for it. A stretch of wall to the west of the gatehouse, some 24 feet long, was ready to fall and needed rebuilding. All the rest of the curtain walls of the outer ward needed coping, while the wall round the battery at the north-west angle should be raised by another three feet 'for the security of the soldiers'. New platforms of oaken plank were required for both batteries, 'for the ordnance to play on', and new stairs to connect the south-west battery to the south curtain. The barns, stables and slaughter-houses built against that curtain needed reslating, as did an unidentified building against the west curtain. In the 1650s the castle mill had been in the city, in a building formerly owned by the dean and chapter. That now had to be given up, and Nichols recommended that a new mill be built in the outer ward, with a stable at one end for the horse which would have to power it. The half-moon battery needed reinforcing with a turf rampart, and the breastwork connecting the battery to the outer gatehouse should be rebuilt in brick to the height of twelve feet. The drawbridge over the moat in front of the Captain's Tower, like that in front of the outer gatehouse, was in need of attention, but its condition was described only as 'somewhat defective', and the costs of repair would be less.

In the inner ward Nichols recommended a guardhouse 'to shelter the soldiers from the weather in their watch'. Substantial alterations, involving an 'apron' and a wooden bridge, had to be made to enable guns to be carried up to the battery on the east curtain, and a new platform was needed for the ordnance there, at an estimated cost of £450. Furthermore, all the walls round the entire inner ward should be raised by two feet and then coped to protect them from the weather, which would cost £688 16s more. Nothing was said about the keep, but the old Warden's Tower was clearly being lived in once more, for it was proposed that its roof be new laid with flagstones set in plaster of Paris, 'for preventing and keeping out the wet which soaks through the wall into the rooms under, to their very great damage and inconvenience of the dwellers in the castle'. Also to be repaired were the leads and battlements of the Captain's Tower and the leads and timbers of the roofs of the storehouse and dining room; ten chimneys needed 'topping', several other roofs, floors, fireplaces and plaster ceilings required attention, and 450 feet of glass were wanted for the windows of unspecified 'lodgings'. Finally, every carriage of every gun in castle, city and citadel (there were 32 in all) had to be replaced. Nichols had various recommendations for work on the city walls ('defective in sundry places' and marked by 'sundry breaches' totalling 3255 feet in length) and on the citadel – 'in its present condition of no service, being wholly out of repair save only the walls'. But the castle was obviously the most important of Carlisle's defences, and his estimate of the cost of all the works and repairs he recommended for it amounted to £2444 7s. He added that Musgrave had already spent £31 3s 2d on 'necessary repairs which he desireth to be repaid'.

There was never the faintest possibility of the English government of the early 1660s, hampered as it was by the inadequacies of its revenue, authorising expenditure on the scale Major Nichols had proposed, not least because there can have seemed no need for extensive works on a fortress like Carlisle. It was with a largely Scottish army that Charles II had fought the battle of Worcester in 1651, from Scotland that Monk and his forces had set in train the events leading up to Charles's restoration. The likelihood of attacks from the north like those of 1639 and 1640 must have appeared remote in 1660. For the defence of the border and the prevention of disorder Sir Philip Musgrave commanded three companies of infantry, officers and soldiers amounting to 210 men in all (PRO *E351/348* m1d). With such forces at his disposal, there was hardly any necessity for fortifications as well. This was not Musgrave's own attitude, for in May 1662 he wrote to the Secretary of State, asking him to remind the king of the defects in Carlisle's defences, 'which require immediate repair, and also of the great want of money for the garrison which is six months in arrears...'. As it was Musgrave had to pay £20 or £30 a week out of his own pocket, 'for none will trust the soldiers' (*CSPD* 1661–1662, 381). But all he got was £200, which was expected to cover repairs to the city walls as well as to the castle (ibid, 496).

The way in which Musgrave spent this limited amount of money, his choice of priorities, sheds an interesting light on the way the castle was used. It is noteworthy that Nichols in his survey had found that much more work needed to be done on the walls and batteries than on the residential buildings. This is not to be wondered at, since after 1651, at the latest, the castle had been essentially a garrison; the burden of Tolhurst's complaint in 1655 was that it could not at present fulfil this function. It had been vulnerable to surprise in 1648, but after the final defeat of the Scots no further attack was to be expected. Such money as was available, therefore, was probably spent on housing for the soldiers who from Carlisle operated against moss-troopers and supervised disaffected royalists. Walls and guns became comparatively unimportant. Musgrave's repairs, which were said to have been carried out between 1662 and 1667, but probably date mostly from early in this five-year period, were in line with this development (details from PRO *E351/3606*). Nothing at all was done to the batteries, no new guard-houses were provided, the half-moon battery and breastwork were untouched, the moat was unscoured, the outer gatehouse received neither new portcullises nor a new lead roof, and no gun was given a new carriage. The walls were repaired, but probably only where they were actually breached. On the other hand, it was obviously important that people should be able to get into and out of the castle, and so the drawbridges were repaired, and work was done on the gates. The sentinel houses and guard-houses were reslated (many, probably most, of these would have been in the city), and a smith was paid £7 2s 6d for 'making locks and keys and several other work about the castle'. Of the castle's ancillary buildings, the barn was slated and the stables repaired, while the lead roof of the storehouse (probably in the inner ward) was mended at a cost of £28 1s. The leads over the hall and kitchen were likewise restored, and steps were taken to improve the water supply by the provision of a new pump, for which a plumber was paid £17 9s. The glazing of 'several windows in the castle and the several guard-houses' cost £6 15s 2d. These repairs were essentially superficial, the pump being the only recognisable innovation; even so, Musgrave slightly exceeded his allotted £200, his final account declaring an expenditure of £219 3s 2d. But the works of the early 1660s probably left the castle a little more comfortable and better equipped for its basically residential role than it had been before.

Dissenters and Covenanters

One might have expected Carlisle to have become just another of those 'static and highly ineffective units' which constituted garrisons elsewhere in Restoration England (Childs 1976, 41). That it did not entirely do so was the result of two developments, both originating in the Civil War period. The first, indeed, appeared to threaten a renewal of that war, for in 1663 there came to light plans for a widespread rebellion in northern England, in which the leading part would be taken by former soldiers of the Parliamentary armies and by dissenters from the recently-made religious settlement (Hutton 1985, 204–7). Among the places marked out for seizure was Carlisle; ex-captain Studholme, 'with others that would joyne with him in the garrison there', was said to have planned to throw the city gates open to the rebels (Raine 1861, 104–8; *CSPD* 1663–4, 449, 486). The rising barely got beyond the planning stage, and the charges against Studholme could not be sustained, but there was certainly unrest and opposition in Cumberland. A sermon preached in Bowness church in 1664 declared that 'Charles Stewart the Second is a tyrant and brought in an army to destroy this nation' (Raine 1861, 124 note), and in 1665 Carlisle was described as 'environed with discontented persons' (*CSPD* 1664–5, 344–5). No doubt it was to help the government deal with such recalcitrance that in June 1664 a serjeant and ten soldiers from the garrison were mounted as dragoons (PRO *E351/350* m1d).

A more important development was renewed religious discord in Scotland. South West Scotland was a hotbed of Presbyterian feeling. It was at Dumfries, in the significantly named Western Remonstrance, that in 1650 Covenanting extremists had proclaimed their refusal to compromise on their religious principles (Donaldson 1965, 341–2), and it was in Dumfriesshire that late in 1666 a rebellion broke out against the efforts of the central government to impose an ecclesiastical establishment to its own liking (ibid, 368). A single officer escaped from Dumfries to alert the nearest royal garrison, at Carlisle, Charles Howard was given extensive powers of command in the north, and the governor of Carlisle was among those instructed to supply his gathering forces with arms and ammunition (Webb 1979, 89–90; PRO *SP29/179* no 24). The revolt was soon defeated, and for several years the government tried to win the covenanters over by conciliation (Donaldson 1965, 368–9). But as long as a substantial party in Scotland remained disaffected, Carlisle inevitably continued to be militarily important, not least because the city's place in the pattern of cross-border trade, especially in cattle, which were often fattened in Galloway before being brought into England (Mitchison 1985, 96), gave it contacts with South West Scotland which must have made it a valuable listening-post for murmurs of dissent there. Of course there were also movements from south to north, and these too could be monitored by the garrison in Carlisle. The English government went in fear that the Scottish Presbyterians would make common cause with the dissenters of northern England (Hutton 1985, 264), a fear that must have seemed justified when in 1670 Christopher Musgrave reported a conversation he had had with a (surely excessively voluble) Quaker, who described his party as 'very brisk, and looking for a sudden alteration, and for that purpose they have employed a person to view the guards and garrison of Carlisle...'. This spy had then visited his 'Scotch friends', subsequently returning to examine Carlisle again, offering as his opinion that 'it would not be difficult to take the town...' (*CSPD* 1670, 318).

Taking the town would probably have been easier in 1670 than it might have been a few years earlier because in 1667 the garrison was reduced. Following the initial defeat of the Covenanters at Rullion Green in

November 1666, no doubt it seemed reasonable that two of the three infantry companies at Carlisle, those commanded by Sir Edward Musgrave and Christopher Musgrave, should be disbanded. Sir Philip Musgrave protested in vain – 'I shall be discouraged in my old age if my nearest relations are laid aside to make way for strangers' – the disbandment was 'performed at ye time limited' (Burton 1840, 46; *CSPD* 1667–8, 139). Sir Philip continued to complain about the reduction in the garrison, which in 1676 he described as 'very weak' (*CSPD* 1676–7, 2), and he appears to have pressed for further works on the defences, since in the previous year he referred to himself as having 'so often moved his Majesty his Royal Highness about the condition of Carlisle...' (*CSPD* 1675–6, 455). But the government doubtless reckoned that Carlisle did not need a large and expensive concentration of manpower to be able to fulfil its functions, and Sir Philip may have exaggerated the weaknesses of the fortifications. At about this time Edmund Sandford described the castle, admittedly somewhat ambiguously, as 'in no very great repair, but well fortified for defence' (Ferguson 1890, 46).

Sir Philip Musgrave died in February 1678. He had long been at odds with the Howards, and it was his rivals who triumphed now, Charles Howard succeeding him as governor of Carlisle, while his eldest son, Viscount Morpeth, became his deputy (*CSPD* 1677–8, 649, 677). The garrison at Carlisle by this time consisted of only 50 soldiers and their officers, in spite of continued anxiety about the doings of 'our neighbours in the west of Scotland' (ibid, 468). There were good grounds for that anxiety. Conciliation had failed to reconcile the Covenanters to the king's government. Their prayer-meetings, or conventicles, became larger and more military in character, a development which led to renewed repression. In 1679 repression sparked off a rebellion, and at Sanquhar in Dumfriesshire the extremist leaders formally declared war on Charles II as an enemy of God (Donaldson 1965, 369–72; Mitchison 1985, 76–7). In the war which followed Carlisle was not in the front line, but it was not far behind it, and steps were taken to ensure its safety. In a letter to Viscount Morpeth the king expressed himself sensible 'how far the peace and tranquillity of the more northern parts of this our kingdom is concerned in the safety of our city of Carlisle...', and ordered him to muster 500 men of the Cumberland militia in the city, 'there to remain for the safety and defence thereof' (PRO *SP44/29*, 335), and work subsequently began on repairs to its defences. In January 1681 Morpeth was said to have gone north 'to fortify Carlisle' (*CSPD* 1680–1, 139), and his father likewise concerned himself with the fortifications, informing the Office of Ordnance of the defective state of the gun carriages, including one for 'a gun which lies in the castle yard', the need for a new drawbridge at the Irish Gate, 'several defects' in the walls and the poor state of the guardhouses, which wanted tiling. He made it clear, however, that he was not prepared to finance these works himself, since 'I have not received one penny of my pay since I had the government, so I have little encouragement to advance any of my own money in any concern relating to the garrison...' (BL *Sloane MS 2724* ff 98, 98v).

The Office replied enclosing an earlier estimate of works to be done, mostly to the city walls, but also between the Tile Tower and the Irish Gate and 'betwixt the castle and the Scotch Gate, the repairing the wall, which was quite down, amounting to £16...', and asking that he 'cause all the said works to be finished with all possible speed...'. Another estimate, of the money needed to repair the gun carriages, had been submitted to the Treasury, while the governor of Berwick was instructed to send twenty barrels of gunpowder to Carlisle (ibid, ff 96, 96v). A year later a further alarm arose, once more prompting fears of a cross-border alliance of religious dissent, as rumours circulated that 'several of the rebellious preachers in Scotland do now draw great multitudes of seditious and dangerous persons into the borders of England' (ibid, f 113). Subsequent investigations did little to substantiate the rumours, but Captain Feilding wrote to the earl from Carlisle to assure him that if the civil magistrates requested help from the garrison in making arrests, he would send two files of musketeers to their assistance. He also notified him that four months' arrears of wages had just been paid to the garrison (ibid, f 150). The fact that their services were actually needed by the government no doubt helped the men in Carlisle Castle when it came to securing their pay.

Carlisle Castle in the reign of Charles II

The most detailed account of the post-Restoration castle is provided by a survey made in 1684/5 by Sir Christopher Musgrave, the Lieutenant General of the Ordnance (Ferguson 1895, *passim*). It is, however, very difficult to interpret. Musgrave was received with a minimum of enthusiasm by Lord Morpeth, who claimed that his commission of inspection 'related only to Storekeepers and Gunners' (ibid, 175–6), and it is not certain that he managed to see all the buildings. And his report is just a list of rooms and buildings which records such of their contents as were relevant to his inquiry and made no attempt to say where the rooms and buildings were. But if geographical precision is not to be had, it still seems possible to say that although there had been little change in the lay-out of the castle since the late sixteenth century, there may have been a shift in the relative importance of certain buildings. In the outer ward things were very much as they had been in 1600. The stable and barn still stood below the south curtain and the master gunner's house against the north curtain (it stood where a house is shown as standing in the mid-sixteenth-century map), while a 'Slight Building about 46 yards long, but very narrow', is probably to be identified with the structure shown on Beckman's map of 1672 (Fig 129; BL *Add MS 16371e*) as extending from the north-west angle to the tower half way along the west curtain, and which itself corresponds to the building shown in that position on Speed's map of 1610.[5] The inner ward is difficult to reconstruct. Musgrave referred to 'the Castle in which the Governor lives... a good Old House' and to 'a great Tower joyneing to the Castle covered with lead, in which all his Majts Stores are kept' (Ferguson 1895,

178), obviously the Warden's Lodging (later known as the Governor's House) built by Henry Lord Scrope and the Keep respectively. But he listed a large number of other rooms as well.

It is impossible to be certain, but it looks as if the storage and service rooms in the palace complex were still in use, but the main rooms in that complex, the Hall and Great Chamber, were not (they were not mentioned in the survey) and that for residential purposes only the Governor's House was kept up. Rooms like the brewhouse, the cellars (of which three were listed), the kitchens (two of these), the larder, the pastry-room and the pantry were probably, like their sixteenth-century forerunners, part of the palace complex; two of them, 'the Celler under the Hall' and 'the Room adjoyning to the Great Hall', certainly were. From these the Governor's House would have been served. This was on at least three floors, since the Dining Room, which seems to have stood at its centre, had a 'great Room' beneath it and at least two rooms above. Whether the old Warden's Tower was still occupied it is impossible to say; a 'Chamber with a plastered floor', and 'the Garden Chamber', which must have looked out onto the gardens in front of the south curtain, may have been in that tower, or they may have been in the Governor's House. The survey sheds little light on living conditions. The service rooms were conventionally equipped, with gantries in the cellars (one of which was a wine cellar), brewing leads, a vat, troughs and a cooler in the brewhouse, an oven in the old kitchen (but only four dressers and a cupboard in the other, high, kitchen) and two lead cisterns in the larder. Most of the rooms had cupboards and shelves. The rooms in the Governor's House usually had locks

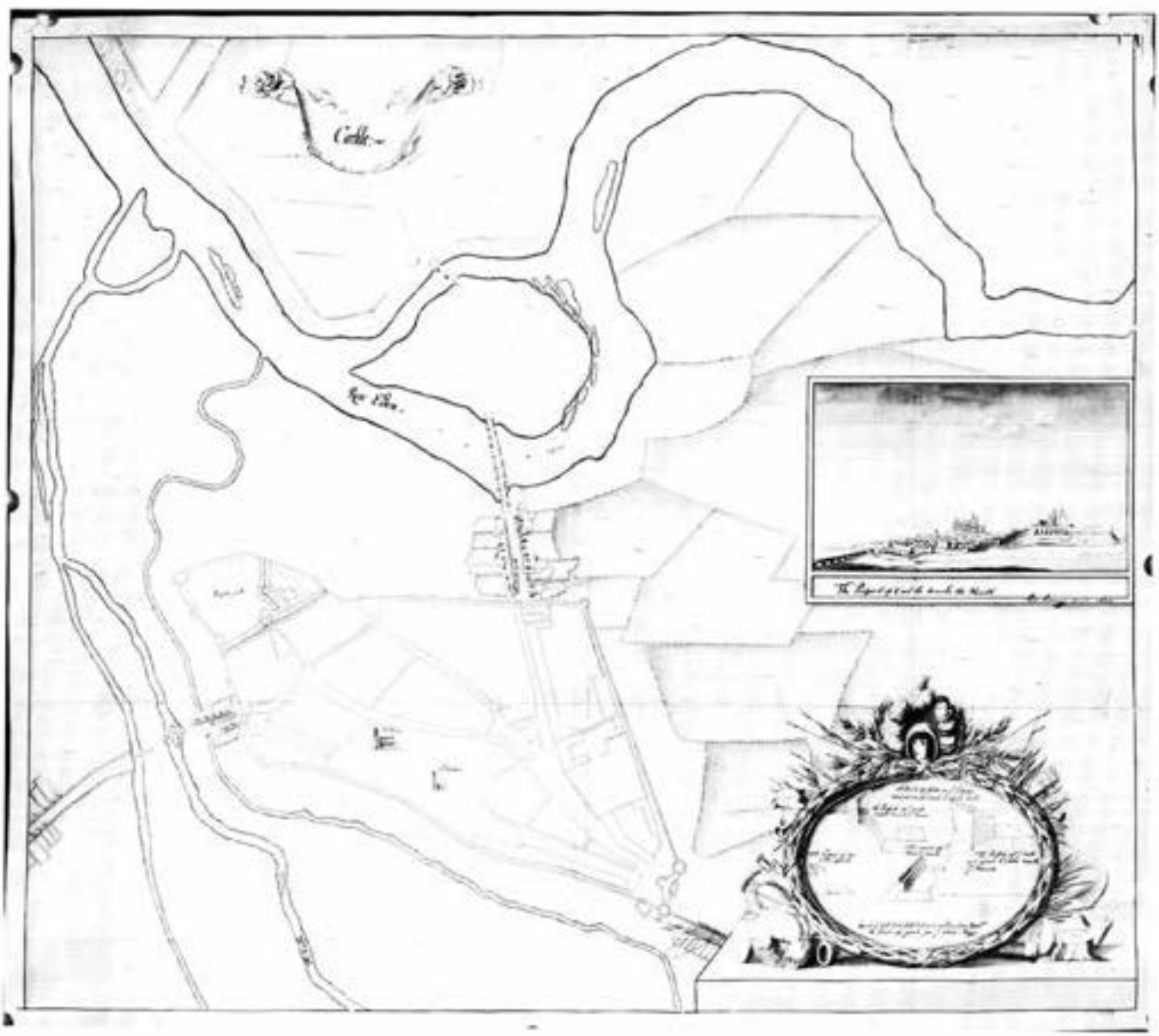

Fig 129 Copy of the 1685 map by James Richards from Martin Beckmann's map of the city and castle of Carlisle (photo: British Library)

and keys also, and two of them had shutters as well. Heating was by fires in iron grates, doubtless burning coal stored in the Coalhouse.

It is possible to say a little more about the Governor's House thanks to the survival of an inventory of Sir Philip Musgrave's goods in it, made at his death in 1678 (CRO *P1677 Sir Philip Musgrave bart*; I owe this reference to Dr John Stedman). It refers to a Governor's Chamber, a Dining Room, a Best Chamber and a Little High Chamber. The Governor's Chamber, containing a bedstead, bed curtains, two feather mattresses, five chairs and stools, six cushions, hangings, a screen and a looking glass, would have been Sir Philip's own bedroom; no doubt he felt increasingly inclined to stay in it as he got older and his health declined. The Dining Room served the purpose its name indicates, with chairs on which up to twelve people could eat at two tables food served on pewter plates and seasoned from Sir Philip's six silver salts. The Little High Chamber also contained a bed. Perhaps it was a guest room in 1677, but earlier it may have accommodated Christopher Musgrave, Sir Philip's second son (and the surveyor of 1684/5), who between 1660 and 1667 served in the garrison as captain of a company of foot and who took up residence in the castle with his wife (three of his children being born there, the last after he had ceased to serve at Carlisle; Burton 1840, 43, 44, 48). The Best Chamber, in 1677 said to contain only hangings, curtains, tablecloths and cushions, may have been another guest room, though it may once have housed another of Sir Philip's sons, Simon Musgrave, who acted as lieutenant for his father's company of foot until he was accidentally drowned in 1666, his death deeply mourned by his men (ibid, 41, 44). The inventory is unlikely to have recorded everything which Sir Philip had ever owned in the castle. Many of his possessions would have travelled about with him, and he may not in any case have come to Carlisle very often in his declining years – he does not appear to have died there. But the goods referred to above, as well as others like diaper table-cloths, a set of fire-irons and a silver tankard, suffice to show that when they were in residence the Musgraves lived in considerable style and comfort.

The survey of 1684/5 makes no mention of living quarters for the soldiers in the castle, apart from the Master Gunner's house and 'Mr. Ballard's house', John Ballard being one of the three corporals. It would appear that some of the garrison had lived in the castle in the 1650s (and its commander would have liked to have it all there), but that after 1660 the soldiers were billeted in the city, as was normal practice with the Restoration army (Childs 1976, 87); in 1667 a quarrel 'about quarters' was reported from Carlisle (*CSPD* 1667, 555). The private soldier had to pay for his food, clothes and lodgings out of his pay (Childs 1976, 48) – 8d a day in the early 1660s (PRO *E351/348* m1d) – which made the regular receipt of his wages important both to him and to those who had to accommodate and supply him. The petition of 1697 by some Carlisle victuallers, 'complaining they had received but half of what was due to them for quartering soldiers...' (*CSPD* 1697, 289), points to the discontents which could arise when payments to the troops fell into arrears. Garrison life was as a rule extremely boring (Childs 1976, 71–2), and in spite of the prospects of action offered by the proximity of Scotland, Carlisle seems to have been no better off in this respect than any other place. Boredom could turn men to drink, which in its turn led them into violence. Early in 1687 Sir John Reresby noted sadly that his friend Major Morgan stationed at Carlisle with Lord Huntingdon's regiment, had been 'unfortunately stabd by a lieutenant of the same regiment drinking together, of which he presently died...' (Browning 1936, 441). Lieutenant Talbot Lascelles, in Carlisle at the very same time, could find 'not a man fit for conversation, nor a woman who he could describe as 'diverting', and he wrote Carlisle off as 'a nasty town which cannot produce a sheet of gilt paper' (Childs 1980, 39). Among the soldiers' few regular duties was sentry duty. In the 1680s, Sir Christopher Musgrave reported, guard on the castle was kept by eleven men, one of them a serjeant or corporal, while one soldier was stationed at each of the three city gates (Ferguson 1895, 177). If the guard was changed daily, then every soldier would have acted as sentry every three days, since there were then fifty private soldiers in the single company which formed the garrison. As a way of passing the time this would have left a lot to be desired.

There was always a danger of friction in garrison towns between idle and underpaid soldiers and the citizens who were obliged to maintain them. At Carlisle, trouble might have been expected in the years between 1660 and 1667, when the garrison was three companies strong, but in fact it came in 1668, after the garrison had been reduced to one company of fifty men. The latter would, of course, have been quite enough to generate ill will in a small community. In July 1668 John Aglionby, an alderman and a justice of the peace, obtained an order from the city's common council licensing him to draw up an order in their name which authorised him to demand the redress of 'grievances done to the inhabitants of the same by some of the officers and soldiers of the garrison of Carlisle...'. A later order indicates that he had authority to proceed in the courts on the city's behalf (Ferguson and Nanson 1887, 301, 302 (spelling modernised)). What the grievances were is nowhere specified in the proceedings which followed, but a letter from Sir George Fletcher to Daniel Fleming, referring to 'some trouble which had arisen at the sessions through the rude carriage of the soldiers towards his cousin Aglionby who was kept upon the guard all night for no other reason but that he did not pay that reverence to their authority as they expected...' (HMC 1890, 7) suggests a clash of authorities, with the military doing its best to affront the civil power, as well as a personal motive for Aglionby's action. Soldiers were commonly lawless and violent (Childs 1976, 216–7), and tension between the garrison and townsfolk may have been building up for some time. It is probably significant that when in 1667 the question of shooting off the 'great guns' on November 5th was mooted, and the mayor said 'that solemnity is very much laid aside and that they in the town should not use any acrimony', the garrison nevertheless resolved to 'fire as many guns as in other years' (*CSPD* 1667, 555). Just four days later, on 9 November 1667, Sir Philip Musgrave was writing to the mayor about

some earlier discord, when unspecified 'hardships were put upon the soldiers...'. 'I have been as careful as I could', wrote Sir Philip, 'they should be as little burdensome as was possible...' (CRO *Ca2/137*).

Aglionby proceeded to compose his order, and did so in terms which gave considerable offence to Sir Philip Musgrave, whose biographer described it as composed of 'as bitter expressions as malice could invent...' (Burton 1840, 46–7). The city councillors began to fear that they might have gone too far, considering 'that the effects of the said order may tend to prejudice of the said city', and decided that the order be temporarily annulled, while Sir Philip was approached directly for the redress of the city's grievances (Ferguson and Nanson 1887, 301). The city was probably able to make its peace with its governor, but it was too late for John Aglionby to do so, for on 21 August Musgrave had him cited to appear before the Privy Council, charged that he had 'endeavoured to disturb the peace of that place by abusing and affronting the guards and officers doing their duties and in prosecution of his design to make division between the city and garrison hath fomented several ill and false rumours in the heads of the citizens...' (PRO *PC2/60* ff 438, 438v). On 23 October the parties appeared, and after several expressions of royal esteem for Musgrave and of displeasure against Aglionby, the garrison officers were declared innocent of the accusation; Aglionby was ordered to make public acknowledgement of his offence in the presence of the mayor and aldermen within a month, and the order which he had obtained licensing him to prosecute was to be 'erased and rescinded out of the register of the acts of the corporation of Carlisle' (*CSPD* 1668–9, 30–1). Aglionby duly grovelled in the manner expected of him, but the corporation was reluctant to follow suit, voting that their order 'could not be reversed'. It was only on 18 November, the same day that Musgrave made a speech to the mayor and aldermen pointing out that 'It is of concern to his Majesty that a good understanding should exist between the garrison and the citizens...' that the offending order was finally revoked (ibid, 68; Ferguson and Nanson 1887, 302–3). Relations between soldiers and citizens were outwardly correct thereafter, but the fears expressed in 1688 that the garrison 'designe some ill thing upon the townsmen' (HMC 1893a, 98), and the disenfranchisement of Christopher Musgrave in 1692 for striking a gunner who was also an alderman (see p 210), suggest that tensions persisted.

What, then, did the garrison do, apart from sentry duty? Soldiers might be sent out to patrol the borders, looking out for subversive preachers and other ne'erdowells. Sometimes they contributed to a more local peacekeeping; when Patrick Curwen killed Henry Howard in a duel at Carlisle in 1668, Howard's second was afterwards 'secured by the soldiers', though the fact that Curwen's second was a serjeant in the garrison argues that the soldiers' interest in law enforcement at this social level was somewhat half-hearted (*CSPD* 1667–8, 546). But their presence in Carlisle was probably most in evidence on ceremonial occasions, when there were guns to be fired in salute (details from Ferguson 1895, 192). The arrival of the king's justices to hold the assizes in Carlisle was normally greeted by a nine gun salute, their departure by the firing of seven guns. When the Earl of Carlisle came to Carlisle on 26 February 1681 no fewer than 23 guns were shot off. Nine guns was usually the maximum, but 18 were fired on 29 May (the anniversary of Charles II's coronation) in 1682 and 19 in the following year, while Lord Chief Justice Jeffreys, coming to take away the city's charter, had a 15-gun salute on 6 August 1684, six guns more than had been fired for the Duke of Norfolk three days earlier. Recorded issues of gunpowder from the stores (ibid, 191) frequently coincide with the firing of salutes, so much so as to raise doubts as to whether the castle guns were ever used for anything else. In fact one may doubt if they *could* have been used for anything else. Musgrave's examination of the stores found that the garrison had at its disposal a total of 32 guns, 10 of brass and the rest of iron (ibid, 180–3). Just two were said to be serviceable; ten were capable of being repaired, and the rest were unuseable. There were also two old hammered guns, two iron murderers, ten sling pieces without chambers and two iron chambers, all unuseable. There was plenty of serviceable shot, but the means of firing it was largely lacking. The weapons for the garrison were in rather better shape. Although none of the 611 matchlock muskets could be described as serviceable, at least they were all reparable, while the stores also contained 48 serviceable flintlock muskets, almost exactly one for each private soldier. Also in working order were 31 long pikes and 26 three-quarter pikes, as well as 164 hand grenades. The 97 swords, however, could only be described as reparable, though all they may have needed was new scabbards (ibid, 178). At the close of Charles II's reign Carlisle Castle, though still maintained (if somewhat half-heartedly) as a fortress, was really only equipped to serve as a garrison centre – much as it had been a century earlier.

The Reign of James II and the Glorious Revolution

As Lieutenant General of Ordnance, whose office was responsible for artillery and armaments throughout the English army, Sir Christopher Musgrave must have found the poor state of Carlisle Castle's equipment intolerable, and between September 1684 and June 1686 large quantities of necessary supplies were sent to improve it. Perhaps it was the poor state of their carriages which, as so often in the past, had made the guns unuseable. If so, this was remedied now, by the provision of 15 new ones, along with large quantities of shot, 150 barrels of powder, 360 pistols and holsters, 300 long pikes, 28 field beds and 360 each of breastplates and backguards (Ferguson, 1895, 184–6). Musgrave also made recommendations for further works on the defences (ibid, 188–9). It was not just the passage of time which made these necessary, for although repairs had been commissioned in 1681, Musgrave found that Lord Morpeth's steward had been filling his own pockets at the expense of walls and buildings, claiming reimbursement of more money than had actually been paid out and 'alsoe money said to be paid

for works which was not done' (ibid, 176–7). His estimate of 'Repaires at the Garrison of Carlisle to be done in the walls' shows that some of the problems of 1681 were still present four years later, with work on the wall between the Tile Tower and Irish Gate, for instance, still waiting to be carried out. None of the works recommended by Musgrave were to be very extensive, they would cost only £37 18s 9d altogether, with an extra £9 10s for materials and transport. Most of the repairs would be to the city walls, but there was more to be done to the castle than in 1681, though admittedly on a small scale, often little more than pointing; works 'Next the Batteries of the Castle 7 Yards long and 4 foot high', for instance, would cost only 3s. This was in keeping with Musgrave's observations during his report that 'The Walls about the Castle are good', and that 'Both the Towne and Castle are capable of being Fortified for a reasonable charge' (ibid, 178). One may doubt, however, in the light of the report of 1661 and Sir Philip Musgrave's misgivings about the state of Carlisle in the 1670s, if the state of the walls was good by the standards aspired to in previous centuries. It is possible that there had been unrecorded works in the 1660s and 1670s, but it seems more likely that what Christopher Musgrave was concerned with was less the physical condition of the walls than their ability to carry guns. It is noteworthy that the most substantial improvements he advised were to the castle's batteries, four gun platforms being needed for the Long Battery on the inner ward's east curtain, to cost £6 8s, and three platforms for the battery at the south-west angle of the outer ward, for £4 16s.

It is not known if these works were in fact carried out, but it is likely that they were, because Musgrave, while retaining his post at the Ordnance, was in March 1685 appointed Governor of Carlisle (*CSPD* 1685, no 344), in succession to the lately dead Charles Howard. There were military justifications also, since James II continued the policy of repression in South West Scotland which he had directed as Duke of York (Mitchison 1985, 115), and in April 1685 'ordred two troops of dragoons doune to Carlile to look after those borders…' (HMC 1897, I, 106). But as the new king's reign progressed, Carlisle became increasingly important in political rather than military terms, as James pursued his policy of increasing royal power, both as an end in itself and as a means of legitimating and extending the Roman Catholicism which he himself professed. The army, stationed in garrisons all over England, became the principal bulwark of his regime. It is not true that there was a wholesale replacement of Protestant by Catholic officers – the army remained overwhelmingly Protestant in its composition until the end of James's reign (Childs 1980, 18–55) – but there were some replacements. At Carlisle, of great strategic importance because of its position on the road from South West Scotland, the governorship was in October 1687 transferred from the high tory Musgrave to Francis Howard (*CSPD* 1687–9, no 413), who was a Catholic, and there certainly came to be a number of Catholics among the officers in the garrison. In March 1687 nine of them were admitted to the freedom of the city (Ferguson and Nanson 1887, 19), but when it was proposed at the end of the year that all the officers should be thus enfranchised, the city council turned the idea down *nemine contradicente* (HMC 1890, 207–8). This may have been because the officers had recently obtruded themselves excessively on the life and susceptibilities of the city, for when in October 1687 word began to spread of the Queen's pregnancy, the Catholics in the city lit a bonfire in the market-place. The officers were prominent in the celebrations, for which they were probably entirely responsible, and when the quaker Thomas Story asked one of the captains, whom he saw drinking a health to the future prince, how he could be so sure the child would be a boy, he was told, in words which leave no doubt as to this soldier's religious allegiance, that 'this child comes by the prayers of the church; the church has prayed for a prince, and it can be no otherwise'. The birth of Prince James, on 10 June 1688, was greeted by another bonfire and by unseemly revelry on the part of the soldiery, some of whom, drunk with wine 'and the transport of the news', threw their clothes onto their own bonfire and 'ran about naked, like madmen; which was no joyful sight to the thinking and concerned part of the Protestants who beheld it…' (Longstaffe 1866, 431–2). Protestants must have been very numerous in a cathedral city, but no doubt they were overawed by the garrison in the castle.

Though weakened when a shipment of arms and ammunition was intercepted at Workington (Ferguson and Nanson 1887, 22), that garrison was still important to King James's cause, as it showed in mid-October 1688, when 3000 men from Scotland, under the formidable leadership of John Graham of Claverhouse, were able to pass through Carlisle on their way to join the royal army (ibid, 21), and again in November, when risings in several northern counties found no counterpart in North West England (Childs 1980, 190–1). There may have been 'pro-Williamite elements' in the garrison, but they did not show their hand until James's cause was unmistakeably lost. Relations between the city and the garrison seem to have become strained, with a rumour spread 'that the garrison under the pretence of making an alarm designed some ill thing upon the townsmen here, in so much that the people sat up in their houses one whole night…' (HMC 1893a, 98), and perhaps it was to relax this tension that Captain Jeremiah Bubb made contact with Sir Christopher Musgrave (whom as a former governor he must have known well), with a view to surrendering the castle to him. Even so, in the end it was the governor himself, doubtless aware of the growing weakness of his position, who sent to Musgrave 'to acquaint him that he would surrender the town to him'. The arrangements were nothing if not amicable. On the night of 15 December 1688 Bubb met Musgrave at Rose Castle, and together they went to Carlisle, where they were met at the city gate by the lieutenant-colonel, who obligingly gave them the password. Then they went on to the castle, to be greeted there by the governor, who handed over the keys and even laid on 'a small treat' for them. The following morning, Howard and 'all the popish officers' departed, but their withdrawal seems to have been largely symbolical, since Howard had to come back shortly afterwards to collect his family, presumably from the Governor's House (details from HMC 1896, 143; HMC 1893a, 99). The Revolution of

1688 was as peacefully accomplished at Carlisle as it was everywhere else.

Stagnation and disuse 1688-1745

One factor behind the surreptitious surrender of the castle had been the rivalry between the Lowthers and the Musgraves. It was Sir John Lowther who at Workington had seized the shipment of arms intended for the Carlisle garrison, and the Musgraves were anxious to preempt him before he could seize Carlisle itself (for which Sir Christopher Musgrave was MP) as well. Their precautions must have seemed in vain when in March 1689 Sir John was nevertheless appointed governor (*CSPD* 1689–90, 47), with Bubb as his lieutenant (Heming 1983, 740–1). By April 1690, however, Bubb was recorded as 'Governor of the Castle of Carlisle' (*C Treas B* IX (1689–92), 573); Lowther's engagement in politics at Westminster, where he became First Lord of the Treasury in 1690, must have led him to resign his office at Carlisle, to be succeeded by his lieutenant. In the meantime, it was to Lowther that in March 1689 Bubb wrote telling him of an incident outside Carlisle in which Lord Preston, returning from Scotland with a troop of his tenants, was challenged by the garrison; one of Preston's men was shot in the hand and had his horse killed, and three were arrested and imprisoned in the castle (*CSPD* 1689–90, 40–1). Bubb admitted that Preston was unlikely to have intended an attack on Carlisle, characterising his behaviour only as 'most imprudent', and the affair is principally of interest as evidence for the tension still prevailing immediately after the Revolution, such that the garrison, seeing the approach of Preston's company, 'drew up the drawbridges and secured the gates and all our men were ready with two hundred of the townsmen who resolved to stand by us...'. But Bubb was right to be wary, and particularly of Preston, later a committed Jacobite. In May of the following year Robert Graham of Garriston, probably a relation of Preston's, was said to have tried to persuade a private soldier in the Carlisle garrison to desert his colours, telling him that 'King William was an outcomelin rebell, and had banished the right King from his crown and dignitie...' (Raine 1861, 299–300). This plot, if it can be called that, came to nothing, but it may be another sign of these uncertain times that twelve Irish Catholic soldiers, perhaps members of the garrison before 1688, were imprisoned in the castle between November 1689 and December 1690 (*C Treas P* 1697–1701/2, 81).

In August 1689 Sir John Lowther paid a visit to Carlisle, where he was dismayed to find that there were plans for the removal of the garrison. He made his feelings known, and was assured that replacements would be supplied (Heming 1983, II, 773). But although order was given in May 1691 that 1000 muskets and 100 barrels of gunpowder be sent to Carlisle, to be lodged in the magazines there (*CSPD* 1690–1, 396), lowland Scotland remained quiet, its religious conflicts largely ended by the final establishment of a Presbyterian national church in 1690, and as the English government turned its attention increasingly towards the Continent, so Carlisle became more and more a military backwater, only intruded upon in May 1692 when an invasion scare (ended by the battle of La Hogue) led to a company of militia being sent to the city to strengthen the garrison (HMC 1890, 328). In the summer of 1692 Christopher Musgrave (Sir Christopher's son, he was now MP for Carlisle, and perhaps acting governor in place of Bubb, who died that year) was ordered to 'take the remaine of stores at Carlisle Castle' – a phrase which suggests that those stores were being removed or run down. Young Musgrave ordered the gunners to come to the castle at 6 a.m. to assist him in this task, and when one of them turned up two hours late, and could offer no better excuse than that 'he had other business', his exasperated officer took a stick to him and broke his head. Unfortunately, the man so cudgelled was an alderman, the son of the mayor, were summoned a meeting of the common council at which the city's own representative in Parliament was stripped of his franchise. This action was subsequently voted a breach of Parliamentary privilege; members of the corporation were summoned to Westminster, where they were reprimanded at the bar of the house and ordered to reenfranchise their member. They did so, but it is no matter for surprise that Musgrave should have lost his seat in the election of 1695 (HMC 1894, III, 95; Downie 1975).

This episode is revealing about the use and role of the castle in the last decade of the seventeenth century. That Musgrave had needed the gunners' help at all makes it likely that by July 1692 the garrison had been withdrawn, since otherwise he could have employed soldiers to help him. The gunners themselves were not soldiers, for their places, in the 1690s as so often in the 1590s, were essentially sinecures, given to leading citizens regardless of their qualifications. There could still be friction between the garrison and the townsfolk, but it had to be expressed in terms differing considerably from those of the past, for the townsfolk now in effect *were* the garrison, such as it was. Successive Earls of Carlisle continued to hold the lease of the castle and its manor (and would do so until 1729) (PRO *WO78/1406*), and in 1693 the third Earl was appointed governor of Carlisle as well (*CSPD* 1693, 72). But his post was a sinecure, and in the following year the garrison was said to consist solely of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Master Gunner and three gunners. Provision was made of 'Candle and Fire for six hearths' (Hudleston 1959, 144 n 8 *DRP*), but the Master Gunner, with his house in the outer ward, seems to have been the only one of the six hearth-owners to live permanently in the castle (there was a storekeeper who may also have been resident), and even he might have interests elsewhere. In 1698 Gabriel Griffith, then Master Gunner, was spared the rent he owed for a house near the castle which he leased from the Dean and Chapter, because he 'intended to erect a manufacture for employing the poor' (Shaver 1963, 200 *DRP*). Similarly in 1703 Bishop Nicolson recorded in his diary that a newly-appointed gunner had applied to him to be an apparitor, an officer of the church courts (Gray 1947, 195). There were still some thirty guns in the castle at this time (Todd 1890, 30), but in hands so amateurish it was probably hoped that they would never have to be fired again. Nicolson also recorded a meeting with Robert Welsh, the storekeeper, and described him as

'afraid of being blown up by some of his four gunners...' (Gray 1947, 195).

Yet England and Scotland were still united only in the person of their monarch. The disastrous failure of the Darien scheme in the closing years of the seventeenth century aroused intense bitterness in Scotland against her southern neighbour, and as late as 1705 there were fears of open war across the border (Trevelyan 1932, 247–8). So perhaps it is not surprising that in spite of the inadequacies of the castle's exiguous garrison some efforts were still made to keep Carlisle's defences in a state of repair. In 1701 Welsh submitted estimates for repairs to the roofs of the Main Guard in the city's market-place and of the guardhouses at its three gates, and also to the Master Gunner's house in the castle (CRO *DX/502/1 DRP*). His estimate for the latter was £19 9s, easily the highest among the works in question; extensive works were proposed, including a side wall and a partition, the one 72 feet and the other 22 feet long, and both 9 feet high, timber stairs, brick paving for the ground floor and repairs to the roof, which was to be leaded. Two years later there were also proposals for repairing 'the great breach in the City Walls near the Scotch gate' which, with work on other 'defects', would cost an estimated £90 11s 2d. A map of 1716 marks a developing breach near the Irish Gate (PRO *WO78/326*), but no such weakness on the other side of the city, so it seems probable that the work was in fact done. Similarly, the fact that the Master Gunner's house, along with the Governor's House (probably occupied by the Lieutenant-Governor, it is difficult to imagine the Earl of Carlisle taking up residence there), was probably the only building in the castle to be in continuous occupation, makes it likely that the proposed work was carried out here as well. The map of 1716 suggests that the occupants of both these houses had taken to horticulture, for there are gardens clearly marked in front of the Master Gunner's house and on its west side, and between the Governor's House and the south curtain of the inner ward.

Perhaps it was the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 which had encouraged this relaxing occupation. If so, it had flattered to deceive. The Scottish Jacobites had not lost hope of reinstalling the Stewart dynasty on the throne of Great Britain, and in 1715 they rose in support of the Old Pretender. Although there was a Jacobite invasion of North West England, however, the defences of Carlisle were not put to the test. No doubt this was fortunate. The castle magazine (in the castle, according to the map of the following year) contained only four barrels of gunpowder (Chandler 1976, 155), and in any case the government had shown its opinion of the castle's likely strength by removing its brass guns (HMC 1901, 130). The garrison, too, was very small, though reinforced by the militia (Ware 1845, 64). The citizens contributed twelve men 'towards the assistance & strengthening of the guards of the garrison', and then, in mid-September, finding that the rebellion had become 'more formidable & dangerous', voted to provide twelve more. Colonel Fitzgerald, its commanding officer, recommended that 'fifty men be lodged in the Castle, being the sole dependance of our security...', and requested a supply of bedding from the corporation 'till the Barracks in the Castle can be furnished propper...'. The corporation agreed, and also undertook to supply the colonel with a list of townsmen capable of bearing arms (HMC 1883, 203). In the meantime a number of the Catholic gentry of the neighbourhood were arrested and imprisoned in the castle (Lenman 1980, 122). But when the Jacobite forces crossed the border they bypassed Carlisle, advancing south into Lancashire, where they were eventually surrounded and forced to surrender at Preston. On their way south, early in November 1715, they stopped at Appleby, where they narrowly failed to meet a contingent of reinforcements going north to Carlisle. This took the unmenacing form of two companies of Invalids from Chelsea (Ware 1845, 79). From the first the Chelsea Hospital had been unable to house all the old soldiers able to claim a place in it; the military needs of the moment had now made Carlisle a suitable billet for some of these veterans. though their behaviour soon made the choice seem an unfortunate one.

But if the castle played no part in the military side of the '15, it played an important one in its aftermath, for it was there that the captured rebels, Scottish and English, were imprisoned and tried. Their conditions of imprisonment were most unpleasant, particularly at first, with 'forty of them in a room without beds or windows, others in dungeons...' (HMC 1904, II, 495). Bishop Nicolson described the castle as 'a moist and unwholesome place', and told Archbishop Wake how the prisoners had been crowded into just three rooms, where they lay on bare straw and several were 'roaring in fits of the gout or gravel' (Ellis 1824, III, 366–7). But although the rebels had planned to seize Rose Castle, the bishop did his Christian duty by them afterwards. Not only did he see that they received spiritual comfort, with daily prayers and weekly sermons (ibid, 373), but he was also able to gain permission for them to leave their horrible cells for walks on the castle batteries, 'by three or four at a time and under a sufficient guard', so as to 'prevent distempers breeding amongst them through the narrowness of their confinement...' (ibid, 369). By the middle of October 1716 he could claim to have 'contributed towards the conveniences of their lodgings, which are now (as far as their numbers will admit) sufficiently easy...' (ibid, 375). There were problems of security, however, made greater by the castle's new pensioner inmates. For not only did one Scotsman escape disguised as a woman (HMC 1911, 164), but in mid-November a plot was discovered to break out a number of prisoners. The brother of one of these had made contact with 'one of our Chelsea invalids, who was the chief undertaker in the Plot...' and who had won over some of his fellows. On a day when the guard was to be mounted by 'a select tribe of the Chelsea-men', those not in the conspiracy were to be knocked down and the captives then released. An iron bar which might have hindered the escape had already been removed. The design and its discovery, wrote Nicolson, 'has put us all into new convulsions' (Ellis, 1824, III, 376–7). Subsequent inquiries found that some of the pensioners, at least, far from being loyal to the Hanoverian succession, were 'professed champions for the Pretender and the Duke of Ormond', as well as being 'lewd to the last degree' (ibid, 381). Not surprisingly, their speedy removal was

now demanded. But in spite of these alarms the trials went ahead, though anybody who had hoped that a stern example would be made of the seditious must have been disappointed, for of the 74 prisoners 34 were released untried, and though most of the rest were convicted, not one suffered the penalties of treason, all of them being released in 1717 under the Act of Grace (Lenman 1980, 189).

The map of 1716 shows the castle's layout, very much as it had always been. Apart from the Master Gunner's house, the buildings in the outer ward were given over to the accommodation of horses, with a Governor's Stable marked half way along the west curtain and Horse Barracks under the south curtain. There are paths shown as leading from 'The Grand Gate House' to what are described as the West and East Batteries, to the Master Gunner's House and to the Horse Barrack door indicating that these were regarded as the most important points in the outer ward, and suggesting that, in spite of the removal of the brass guns, the batteries were still regarded as potentially useful (it may be, of course, that they were still used for firing salutes). In the inner ward the keep, as already remarked, served as the magazine. The Governor's House was marked simply as House, which at least indicates that it still served a residential function. Below the Long Battery stood the Hall; perhaps it was here that the extra fifty men called for in 1715 were to have been housed -- it was certainly pressed into service as a barracks after the next Jacobite rising, being marked as such on Colonel Campbell's map of 1749 (PRO *WO78/1406*).

After the excitements of 1715 and 1716 the castle quickly stagnated again, its military importance being further reduced when in 1717 all the 'great guns' were removed from Berwick, Edinburgh and Carlisle, presumably for fear of their capture in the event of another Jacobite rising (there was in fact a small-scale Jacobite invasion of Wester Ross, backed by Spain, in 1719); one of the guns at Carlisle was so large 'that no carriage would bear it, and so they cutt it in two...' (Hodgson 1910, 83). When Lord Harley visited Carlisle in June 1725, he noted that the castle was 'a place of no great strength having only a few old iron guns left in it' (HMC 1894, IV, 130), and it became more likely to be visited for social than for military reasons. When Sir John Clerk was travelling to North West England from Scotland in August 1731, he arrived in Carlisle in time for the assizes, and was invited to a ball given in the castle by the sheriff. Attended by 'most of the gentlemen and ladies in the county, being about three hundred...', dancing took place in the great hall, while 'meats and drinks for the entertainment of the company' were provided in two rooms nearby (Prevost 1961, 234). It is possible that the pensioners who conspired to release Jacobite prisoners in 1716 were later removed, but if they were, they were replaced by others, the garrison continuing to consist of two companies of Invalids with three officers, 83 men in all. These men performed sentry duty in the castle and at the city gates (Hutchinson 1794, II, 663), but this appears to have been all the service required of them.

In about 1737 Lieutenant John Bernard Gilpin became captain of one of the Invalid companies, and the account of his life written by his son William has much to say about the leisurely lines along which life in the castle now proceeded (unless otherwise stated, details from Jackson 1879, 60–4). His appointment had been decided by local politics, Gilpin being promoted over the head of the lieutenant of the company, 'a worthy old officer, who had formerly seen service in Spain', because he had secured the support of Sir James Lowther, which on this occasion carried more weight than that of the Earl of Carlisle, which was given to his rival. Officers and men regarded themselves as 'set down for life' at Carlisle. The Invalids 'were in a manner incorporated with the inhabitants of the town. Many of them had fallen into little employments, which they exercised when off duty. The wives of others took in washing & sewing: and many had settled their children comfortably around them...' (ibid, 83). It would thus appear that they lived in the city rather than the castle, probably only going to the latter when on sentry duty there. Even that was made as undemanding as possible by their kind-hearted captain, who felt that the application of strict discipline was inappropriate for ageing veterans of the Boyne or Ramillies, and would send a sentry home early on a cold night, or provide him with a mug of beer on a hot day. Gilpin himself passed his time painting, providing himself with 'a regular painting room' for his hobby (which makes it seem likely that he, too, did not live in the castle), and fishing, during which he would often meet members of his company and inquire after their luck, 'for the many rivers about Carlisle turned them all into fishermen'. Meanwhile the townsfolk had had begun to pull down the city walls (PRO *SP36/70* ff 209–10), and two shops were built against the Main Guard in the market-place (PRO *WO78/1406*). In 1739 Lieutenant-General Folliot, the governor of Carlisle, visited his charge, which he found 'in a very weak condition'. Part of the wall between the town and the castle was so decrepit that he was advised not to go onto it, 'for fear it should break down'. Its 'inside facing' was removed with a view to replacing it, but in the end nothing was done, and several cracks developed, going right through the wall (Mounsey 1846, 81--2). A plan of the castle made in 1740 confirms Folliot's report. The wall between the Tile Tower and the south-west angle of the outer ward (probably the stretch Folliot had had to be told not to go onto) was 'much decayed', the outer ward's south curtain had lost most of its inner facing, while the rest of it 'bulg'd and overhangs and in danger of falling', and the north end of the west curtain was in an even worse state, being 'down in several parts and the rest bulg'd and is in danger of falling' (EH *931/1057*). The city walls were going the same way, the west walls opposite St. Cuthbert's being also on the point of collapse (EH *931/1039*). Lady Oxford, visiting Carlisle in May 1745, could find nothing to say about the castle save that it was 'formerly a very strong one' (HMC 1894, IV, 190). There is nothing to arouse surprise in this. There was no obvious reason why Carlisle's defences should have been needed any longer, or why the castle should have served any military purpose beyond that involved in providing a living for a few old soldiers. Gilpin and his contemporaries in the early 1740s would certainly have been amazed to be

informed that there were crises yet to come, and that the first of these was almost upon them.

Notes

1 Sotheby's Catalogue, 'Explorer' Sale 20–21 July 1981 *DRP*; Stradling was described as 'governer of the garrison' in 1644, Tullie 1840, 8

2 PRO *SP29/24* no 117(1). If Howard's military title is a significant detail, the purchase was probably made between 1656 and 1658, since he was still designated captain in November 1655, Birch 1742, IV, 177

3 For Howard's career in the 1650s see Webb 1979, 69–79

4 For the castle and other defences in 1661 see PRO *WO55/1696* ff 5v–8v

5 I have used the reproduction in Webb 1969, 77

13 1745–1815

Carlisle and the '45

In February 1744 the Young Pretender was known to be in France (Jarvis 1954, 216–7). England and France were nominally then at peace, but there had still been several clashes between them on both sea and land since the War of the Austrian Succession began in 1740, and once war was formally declared in March 1744 there was a serious danger that the French would either try to invade England themselves or at least add to their enemy's difficulties by supporting a Jacobite rising. In February 1744 there was a serious threat of a French invasion, but thereafter France's military activities were concentrated in the Low Countries; Prince Charles Edward therefore decided that he would have to advance his family's cause unaided, and on 23 July 1745 he landed in Scotland. Some time passed, however, before his doings made much impression on Carlisle. On 9 September 1745 Lord Lonsdale, the Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, told the Duke of Newcastle that there were still 'several that seemed to give little credit' to the rising, an attitude he blamed on 'most of the letters coming from London, that have treated this matter as lightly thought of there...' but he went on to report that 'a great many people are now very much alarmed...' (PRO *SP36/67* ff 199–200) and on the same day he sent out orders for the raising of the Cumberland and Westmorland militias (Jarvis 1954, 230–3). Not before time, since the Jacobites were already in Perth and would soon be in Edinburgh. It would appear that some attention was also beginning to be given to Carlisle's defences, in the light of a scare story circulated that six of the castle cannon had been tampered with, their touch-holes filled with lead; closer inspection found, however, that 'ill disposed Persons' had not, after all, been preparing to assist the Pretender when he came that way, only that boys playing on the castle green had taken the leather covers off the touch-holes and put wooden plugs into them instead (Hughes 1962, 89; CRO *D/Lons/W2/3/43* Farrer to Lowther 12 Sept 1745). No doubt the guns were better for the examination, but for the time being the local authorities were principally concerned to raise such manpower as was available for the defence of the city and the region.

The citizens, under the direction of the deputy mayor Thomas Pattinson, a man of great energy who was obviously regarded by almost everyone else as an intolerable busybody, volunteered for service to the number of 580 (PRO *SP36/67* ff 243–249), and submitted a loyal address to George II (Mounsey 1846, 32–3) assuring him, in Pattinson's words, that 'we are not only ready to serve cheerfully our most gracious sovereign, but we do more, we sincerely love him' (PRO *SP36/67* f 242). They were licensed to form themselves into companies (nine were created (PRO *SP36/68* ff 151, 151v; CRO *DLons/W2/3/43* Holme to ?Lowther, n d)), with arms to be supplied by the castle storekeeper (PRO *SP36/68* ff 149–50); eventually they received 400 guns (PRO *SP36/69* f 105), perhaps because that was all there were, perhaps because some volunteers were turned away. Of the local militias, two companies of foot and a troop of horse, some 210 men in all, gathered in Carlisle early in October; they did not have the advantage, however, of access to the castle stores, and therefore came equipped with an amazing assortment of ancient and unsatisfactory weapons – 'very badly armed and a great many guns not fit' (PRO *SP36/70* ff 209–10; Jarvis 1954, 249–58; Mounsey 1846, 82–5). Their arrival meant that the total garrison, now made up of militia, 400 townsmen and the 83 invalids in the castle, came to more than 690 men (PRO *SP36/70* ff 84–85). It was still not a great number, and by this time the seriousness of the Jacobite threat was beginning to be appreciated. The battle of Prestonpans, fought on 21 September, 'struck a great terror into the people here, who now fear them as something more than an undisciplined rabble'(PRO *SP36/69* ff 108, 108v), a change in outlook which must have owed something to the arrival in Carlisle of 38 men from Cope's defeated army (PRO *SP36/71* ff 264, 271), doubtless disinclined to minimise the prowess of the men who had just routed them. Slowly it came to be realised that something more than loyalty and good intentions might be needed if the city was to be defended.

The defences themselves were in a bad condition. Major Farrer, commanding the county militia in Carlisle, might describe the castle as 'very strong and secure' (PRO *SP36/70* ff 209–10), but more expert eyes could see its defects. West of the outer gatehouse, for instance, the south curtain of the outer ward was 'thin and decayed having several very large cracks in it, the inside facing entirely taken away and no ramparts behind it...' (Mounsey 1846, 80). And the city's defences were in a much worse state; on their eastern side the wall between the citadel and the Scotch Gate had actually been pulled down, 'which is a shame and scandal' (PRO *SP36/70* ff 209–10), and now had to be built up again. But then city and castle alike were militarily obsolete anyway. As long ago as the 1520s plans for Carlisle's rehabilitation as a fortress had recommended the construction of outworks in order to keep enemy artillery at a safe distance from the crumbling walls behind, and in the 1540s some were actually built. But by 1745 these had long since fallen into decay, so that there were 'no ditch nor outworks of any kind, no cover'd way, the walls very thin in most places and without proper flanks...' (Mounsey 1846, 72). This was a slight exaggeration; there was an earthwork outside the English Gate at the southern end of the city, which explains why this gate remained open when the other two were walled up.[1] But on the whole it remains true to say that only the firepower of their defenders would be able to prevent attackers coming right up to the foot of the walls.

By now those defenders were becoming aware not only of the weaknesses of the walls but also of their own lack of effective leadership. John Holme told Lord Lonsdale that 'As for us at Carlisle, we have neither governor nor anybody else but Captain Gilpin to defend and protect us...' (CRO *D/Lons/W2/3/43* Holme to ?Lowther, n d); amateur artist and keen fisherman that he was, Gilpin was hardly the man for the developing crisis. There were stronger personalities among the civilian authorities, but they were inclined to quarrel

with each other (McLynn 1983, 6). John Waugh, the chancellor of the diocese, who was one of these, appreciated the need for 'some superior officer' (PRO *SP36/69* ff 108, 108v), and Pattinson too, 'in great distress to know how to conduct himself if the rebels attack the place', became 'very desirous to have an experienced officer to command'. Lord Lonsdale, realising that 'they don't seem to be in a state of defence, if the rebels come that way', recommended that the government assist Carlisle to the best of its ability (ibid, ff 270–270v). In the meantime the citizens and the militia did their utmost to prepare for an enemy attack. They patched up the city walls as best they could (PRO *SP36/70* ff 84–5), constructed some works round the castle, which they also stocked with meal and potatoes (Mounsey 1846, 58–9; PRO *SP36/70* ff 84–5), and sent for guns from Whitehaven, ten in all, which they placed on the city walls (Mounsey 1846, 72–3, 59–60). There was a distinct shortage of men able to fire these guns once they had them (there were four gunners among the castle invalids, but these were often sick and always old); efforts were made, however, to train more (PRO *SP36/69* f 105; *SP36/70* ff 84–5; Jarvis 1954, 244 n 8).

The government sent military supplies, notably some muskets, which were despatched to Carlisle by sea (Jarvis 1954, 30), but not men. It did, however, send a commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel James Durand, who arrived in Carlisle on 11 October. His arrival added to the number of competing authorities in the city – it was Waugh's opinion that 'a jealousy was kept up between the town and the castle...' (Mounsey 1846, 61) – but his presence seems to have been generally welcomed, especially once he had shown himself to be a capable and considerate officer, giving 'great pleasure and satisfaction to everyone here', in Waugh's words (PRO *SP36/71* f 264). He was unable to persuade the government to add to the garrison, asking that 500 men coming from Ireland might be sent to Carlisle, but without success (Mounsey 1846, 96) (in the year of the battle of Fontenoy and other important actions in Flanders it was doubtless too much to hope that Carlisle's need for reinforcement would take precedence over that of Britain's continental army). But he did persuade Lord Lonsdale to order the rest of the county militia to march to Carlisle (Jarvis 1954, 244 n 8), so that by the end of October there were six militia companies and a company of light horse in the city (Dalton 1947, 108), and he also got some supplies sent, though they may not have arrived in time; he had the foresight, moreover, to apply to the government for credit to enable him to buy stores in Carlisle (PRO *SP36/71* f 13), and was thus in a position to obtain more as they were required, without straining relations between the city and the castle. He was greatly dismayed by the weakness of the defences, but he and Gilpin agreed to keep their opinions to themselves 'for fear of discouraging the militia and inhabitants, but on the contrary to speak of it as a strong place and very tenable...' (Mounsey 1846, 72). This did not, however, stop him trying to do more to make Carlisle defensible. As soon as news came that the Jacobites had left Edinburgh, he had the city's Scotch and Irish gates walled up, while sandbags and sentry-boxes were placed on the walls, probably to replace missing parapets (ibid, p 61). Morale revived, and Pattinson, who on 17 October had told Lord Lonsdale that 'we are not in the least afraid of the rebells' (PRO *SP36/71* f 270), at the end of that month even took it upon himself to instruct the Duke of Newcastle to 'be under no fear for Carlisle, for the rebels can't take us if we are honest, which is what I have no reason to doubt...' (PRO *SP36/72* f 396).

The debacle which befell Carlisle shortly afterwards was attributed in the following year to 'a presumption that it would never be attack'd, and for want of a regular discipline among the men...' (Smith 1746c, 234). There was more to it than this, but George Smith's brief analysis nevertheless contains a good deal of truth. The garrison probably never expected a prolonged attack. If the Jacobites looked like settling down to besiege Carlisle, its defenders could look for relief from Marshal Wade's army at Newcastle. But it was just as likely that they would bypass the city altogether, as they had done in 1715, and push on into what they could hope would be more fertile recruiting grounds further south (the Jacobite Lord Elcho remarked of Carlisle and Cumberland that 'All the People both of that town and County show'd a great dislike to the Prince's Cause' (Jarvis 1954, 46)). As for want of discipline, not only was there continuing discord among the various elements making up the garrison, but there was a growing doubt as to the possibility of keeping the militia companies under arms. As it turned out, they had been raised a good month too soon. The Militia Act of 1662 had made it impossible for a county militia to be mustered for more than a month at a time, and in Cumberland in 1745 that month would expire on 24 October; after that, it would be impossible to raise money by legal means to keep the militia in being (Jarvis 1971–2, I, 97–138). The militia was not made to feel very welcome in Carlisle anyway, being charged exorbitant prices for food and lodging (Jefferson 1844, vi–vii), but an atmosphere of impending crisis (doubtless darkened by the arrest of a suspected spy, one John Henderson, on 26 October, after he had asked a lot of indiscreet questions about the number of men and cannon and the quantities of provisions in the city and castle (PRO *SP36/73* f 35)) and a sense of duty kept it there for a while, while Durand and others tried to raise enough money by way of voluntary contributions to allow them to go on paying it, setting a good example themselves in order to encourage public-spiritedness in others. It was not a satisfactory situation.

On 2 November it was reported in Carlisle that the Jacobites had left Edinburgh for Kelso. This may have raised hopes that they intended to enter England by Berwick rather than Carlisle, but such hopes would have been dashed when on the 6th it became known that they were at Moffat in Dumfriesshire. Three days later, on 9 November, it became clear that an invasion of Cumberland was imminent (Jarvis 1971–2, II, 40–1), and in fact on the afternoon of that same day the Jacobites began to arrive at Carlisle. It was a Saturday, one of the city's two market days, and as a result the siege began on a decidedly undramatic note, for as the Highlanders approached they found themselves mingling with people leaving the city with their live-

stock and shopping baskets; at any rate this 'prevented the garrison from firing upon them for some time; but the market-people had no sooner ceased to pass them, than the nine-gun battery of the castle fired upon the rebels, when they retreated...' (Jefferson 1844, vi). Pattinson put the number of the rebels at 9000. The Jacobites themselves, in a demand for billets sent into the city soon after their arrival, claimed to be 13000 strong (PRO *SP36/73* f 340), and their claim, which was certainly made for propaganda purposes, may have had its effect, along with the reputation of the Highlanders for savagery (Daiches 1973, 155), in lowering the morale of the defenders. In fact the Pretender's army was probably barely 5000 strong (McLynn 1983, 24–5), not enough, as Lord George Murray, the best of the Jacobite generals, observed, to maintain an effective blockade of the walls, 'the posts being at such distance that the militia within the town might easily have beat up one of the quarters before assistance could come from another'. Nor were matters made easier for the besiegers by the Highlanders' inexperience of and dislike for siege work, sentry duty and anything else smacking of the formalities of regular army life (Tomasson 1958, 74–5, 76). And in terms of firepower they were inferior to their enemy, for whereas there were twenty cannon, all six-pounders, in the castle and ten on the city walls, the Scots had one unmounted iron gun which had to be carried about in a pony-drawn cart, nine Swedish field-guns (two- to four-pounders) and six one-and-a-half-pounders captured at Prestonpans, sixteen in all, of which fifteen were not intended for siege work (Petrie 1958, 36–8). The advantage of the besiegers lay entirely in their numbers.

On the following day, 10 November, the Pretender sent in a formal summons to surrender, threatening the city with 'the dreadful consequences that usually attend a town taken by assault' should it remain obdurate, but the only answer given was cannon-fire (Mounsey 1846, 43–4). The defenders' gunnery seems to have been quite effective, Murray writing later of the difficulties he had encountered in placing his own guns 'so as not to be annoyed from the cannon and small arms of the town' (Tomasson 1958, 74–5), but it was handicapped by 'such foggy weather that they only shoot at randome...' (Dalton 1947, 110). Nevertheless, the castle's nine-gun battery directed its fire so effectively upon the Duke of Perth's men stationed at Stanwix that it forced them to retire (Jefferson 1844, viii). In fact on 12 November it looked as though the siege might be raised altogether, as the Jacobites withdrew from Carlisle to Brampton; Marshal Wade was reported to be on his way from Newcastle, and the Pretender made preparations to meet him. Pattinson, who knew nothing of this, wrote a ridiculous letter to Lord Lonsdale boasting that 'we have outdone Edinburgh, nay all Scotland', and asked him to inform the Duke of Newcastle and Marshal Wade of Carlisle's triumph (PRO *SP36/73* f 340). Unfortunately, Wade, who had been kept guessing by the Jacobites as to their movements and intentions, had not left Newcastle and was consequently in no position to be cheered by such news (Mounsey 1846, 43). All he felt able to do was send a dispatch to Carlisle, in effect admitting that he could not come to the city's relief: 'I cannot follow them the way they may probably take... but I hope to meet them in Lancashire (ibid, 87). When he finally did get his forces moving, he ran into atrocious weather, with a heavy fall of snow, and could get no further than Hexham. The same weather, 'a storm of frost and snow all night', made life miserable for the Highlanders too, as they returned to their works before Carlisle (Tomasson 1958, 74–5). But if the spirits of the besiegers were low, those of the besieged were considerably more depressed. Wade's dispatch had arrived late in the afternoon of 13 November, and from then on Carlisle's defenders could be in no doubt 'that Marshal Wade could not come to their relief' (Mounsey 1846, 88).

Without hope of assistance, they would have to resist the rebels alone. They continued to fire at the besiegers, but could not prevent them digging trenches.[2] By 14 November the Scots were so close to the walls that the garrison was able to throw grenades at them (HMC 1913, 124), and on the following morning they were only 80 yards away (Mounsey 1846, 49). It was now that the absence of flanks and outworks was so telling, for without them the defenders had no way of keeping attackers away from the walls, they could only wait until they came within range and then shoot at them, protected as they were by their own trenches. Back in October Durand had had all the ladders to be found in the neighbouring villages brought into Carlisle, to prevent their being used against the city, but now the Highlanders sent out detachments to cut down fir trees, with a view to making more (McLynn 1983, 40). Obviously they intended to carry Carlisle as they had routed Cope – with the fury of their charge. There may not have been enough of them to encircle the city and castle for the purposes of a protracted siege, but there were many more of them than there were defenders, who could hardly hope to safeguard the entire circuit of walls at once. By now the defenders were exhausted anyway. When organising sentry duty, Durand had proposed to divide the militia and the townsmen into three reliefs, but the militia, perhaps distrustful of the townsmen's competence, would not accept this, 'but would be upon the ramparts every night all or none and insisted likewise on all the townspeople doing the same duty...' (Mounsey 1846, 63). The result, as Durand had foreseen, was that within a week everybody was worn out – 'for the last seven days neither the officers nor men had scarce an hour's rest'. For the militia matters were made worse by continuing anxiety about the legality of their position, for it was now several weeks since the month of their mustering had expired. Thoroughly disheartened, its morale disintegrated; the officers announced their intention of capitulating, and their men began to desert, 'multitudes of them deserting every hour over the walls, till the officers of many companies were at last left with not above three or four men'. It is not surprising that on 14 November the mayor and corporation should have 'determined to hang out the white flag' (PRO *SP36/74* f 16).

Durand protested angrily against the proposed capitulation, and when he found the militia men and citizens to be for the most part immovable he resolved to fortify the castle and continue resistance there. Some of the city's guns he nailed up on the walls, others he

removed into the castle (Mounsey 1846, 53; HMC 1913, 126). He bought up such stores in the city as he thought he would need, and did his best to secure all the gunpowder in Carlisle. He brought in a handmill (borrowed from the Dean and Chapter) to grind wheat, and fitted up a smith's shop complete with a forge and the necessary tools. He had large quantities of coal, candles and straw, considerable supplies of meal, wheat, potatoes, cheese and butter, some 27 bullocks, 30 to 40 sheep, even two medicine chests (Mounsey 1846, 78, 92). Throughout the siege, as throughout most of their history, city and castle had been militarily interdependent. But now the castle was going to stand alone; even the citizens hoped so, for they entrusted their valuables to the castle for safekeeping (HMC 1913, 125). But their hopes were in vain, for in the first place when the Jacobites received the city's offer to surrender they refused to accept it unless the castle surrendered too, threatening the city with fire and sword if the castle held out; in the second place once Durand, with his 83 invalids and such of the militia men and officers as had not already given up, had retreated into the castle, he found the militia men no more anxious to defend that than they had been to defend the city. Quite apart from the threat to the city from the Jacobites, the castle was very vulnerable. It was over five hundred years since it had last been attacked from the city side, and it was not well equipped for resistance on that front; in Waugh's words, 'The approach from the Town to the Castle is much the easiest & the Castle much the weakest on that side of any...' (Mounsey 1846, 69). On the east side of the outer gate the wall was 'very low... and might have been scaled with great ease' on the west side it was 'very old, thin and decayed... and being so very weak might have been easily thrown down'. The drawbridge was 'of no sort of use', and the Dacre postern at the foot of Queen Mary's Tower, which had only recently been bricked up, 'might have been open'd again in a very little time...'. Like the city, the castle had no outworks to keep attackers off, indeed, there was an earth bank and hedge some eighty feet from the south curtain which would have sheltered them in their approach to it (ibid, 80–1). Only a large body of men could have held the castle walls against a determined attack, and this was just what Durand did not have. Lieutenant-General Folliot, the lieutenant-governor of Carlisle, questioned afterwards about the size of the garrison which the castle would have needed in order to make a satisfactory defence, estimated that 'not less than sixty men would be required as centrys, and about five or six hundred men to defend the Castle properly...' (ibid, 94–5). As the militia men refused to continue, all Durand actually had were his 83 invalids, now exhausted and 'in a manner rendered useless' (ibid, 81).

Resistance was, in fact, impossible, and Durand had no choice but to surrender. At 10 am on Friday 15 November, less than a week after the Jacobites had first appeared before Carlisle, its gates were opened to them. The Duke of Perth took possession of city and castle; he was said to have shaken the remaining members of the garrison by the hand and 'commended them as brave fellows' (Jefferson 1844, xi), but that was the limit of his generosity, for he gave Durand (who had gout) and the militia officers an escort to Penrith which, in Durand's own words, 'drove them like so many sheep...' (HMC 1913, 125). Everything in the castle, including 1500 firearms, 160 barrels of gunpowder, 500 grenades and some 120 good horses (McLynn 1983, 48), fell into the invaders' hands and probably did almost as much for their cause as the possession of Carlisle itself. The Young Pretender himself entered Carlisle on 17 November, reputedly preceded by 100 pipers, (Mounsey 1846, 50) but he and his army did not stay for long. There were problems about lodgings for the soldiers, Murray complaining that some of his men were 'lodged in the Castle in vaults and a ruinous house without coal, candle, meat and drink' (Tomasson 1958, 75), and in any case it was a matter of urgency for the Jacobites to press on south before troops could be brought back from the continent to resist them. On 18 November, therefore, their cavalry left Carlisle, and two days later their foot began to march south, doubtless to the relief of the townsfolk, since the Highlanders were said to have 'behaved in a most beastly manner, spoyling all the places where they lay, and especially St. Mary's church...' (Dalton 1947, 111). But they did not all depart, for the castle was left in the hands of Captain John Hamilton, with a garrison of some 100 men (HMC 1913, 131), while Sir John Arbuthnot acted as governor of the city (Mounsey 1846, 107–8). There was no enthusiasm for the Pretender's cause in Carlisle. Only six of its inhabitants were said to have joined his army when the city fell (HMC 1893b, 166), and once that army had departed, young townsmen frequently brawled with members of the garrison 'when they found them at a disadvantage...' (Mounsey 1846, 107–8). And at the end of November, when the garrison had been reduced by 40 men being sent south into Lancashire, the citizens formed a conspiracy to capture the castle. This was to be 'effected on a market day, when a curiosity to gaze drew the rebel garrison from their stronghold...', but the plot was betrayed to Captain Hamilton, who 'craftily' invited the mayor and leading citizens to an 'entertainment' in the castle, and once they were there obliged them to undertake to discourage such conspiracies in future (Smith 1746c, 302; Mounsey 1846, 107–8).

It was not an undertaking they were obliged to honour for very long. On 19 December the Jacobite army was back at Carlisle and on the very next day it continued its retreat into Scotland. Lord George Murray advised that Carlisle should be entirely evacuated and the castle blown up (Mounsey 1846, 146); had his advice been taken, this narrative would end here. But the Pretender, anxious to cover his retreat, for he was being closely pursued, and had already had to fight off the Duke of Cumberland's troops at Clifton, decided to leave a force to hold Carlisle while he and his men withdrew into Scotland. The main army therefore sold off its surplus provisions, though it commandeered all the horses and even all the shoes that could be found (ibid, 138), and by 20 December had departed. Left behind were some 400 men, both English and Scots, under the command of the Lancashire Jacobite, Colonel Francis Towneley (ibid, 146). To defend themselves, they had ten brass cannon left behind by the main army, together with the guns captured in the

castle when it surrendered in November, and perhaps a few other pieces. They used earth and sandbags to create ramparts on the walls behind which they could shelter, fixed iron spikes (*chevaux de frise*) on the gates, and burnt down houses outside the English Gate in order to prevent their giving protection to attackers approaching from the south (HMC 1913, 154; Mounsey 1846, 149, 155; Jarvis 1954, 382–3, 385). And they carried into the castle all the provisions they could lay hands on, together with beds, bed-clothes and other household furniture 'impressed' from the citizens (Ray 1753, 212–3).

There was need for haste, for Cumberland was close at hand, and in fact on 21 December arrived at Carlisle and surrounded the city. Fresh from the battlefields of the continent, where he had become familiar with fortifications of up-to-date and formidable complexity, he did not need long to appreciate the deficiencies of Carlisle. With scant respect for its historic character, he is said to have described the castle as 'An old hen-coop, which he would speedily bring down about their ears, when he should have got artillery' (Mounsey 1846, 149). He sent for guns from Whitehaven, and in the meantime had batteries made for them on Primrose Bank, some five hundred yards to the north west of the castle (shown on PRO *MPQ* 17(1)), which as the centre of resistance was from the first intended to come under attack. This was a mercy for the citizens, who must have been longing for that attack to succeed, not only because of their own Hanoverian sympathies but also because they were suffering from a severe shortage of food; the rebels had taken into the castle all the supplies they could find, and now the besiegers would not permit the townsmen to obtain more from outside the walls, knowing that if they did, they too would be taken from them to victual the castle (Defoe 1748, IV, 342–3). Indeed, matters were made even worse when Cumberland had the city mills stopped by cutting off their water supply (Mounsey 1846, 150). On 27 December, however, the guns arrived, six eighteen-pounders – much larger, probably, than anything ever seen at Carlisle before – and on the following day they opened fire (ibid, 151), Cumberland himself setting the match to the first gun.[3] Dutch troops stationed at Stanwix also shelled the castle, but it was the guns on Primrose Bank which did the damage, as they concentrated their fire on the four-gun battery on the turret near the sally port, half-way along the west curtain, and on the battery at the north-west angle, where seven guns were placed.[4] The former lacked a rampart, and an earthwork was placed on it to shelter the gunners, but this was soon swept away and one of its guns was dismounted. Unable to retaliate, the Jacobites moved to the relative safety of the east curtain of the inner ward, and used the ten guns positioned there to fire upon the Dutch soldiers at Stanwix, but since all their shots that day killed only one man this seems to have done little except, perhaps, support their morale.

During the night Cumberland brought up a mortar and fired shells from it into the castle and town (Dalton 1947, 112–3). Even so, the rebels used the hours of darkness to rebuild the rampart on the sally port battery, and in the morning, that of Sunday 29 December, were able to fire from it once more. Their hopes may have been raised when the English response became less fierce than it had been on the Saturday, but this was only because of a shortage of ball (Cumberland's guns were reckoned to have fired over 1100 shot on the previous day), and when a fresh supply was brought up, the eighteen-pounders 'continu'd battering very briskly for two Hours, and rent the Walls very much'. By evening the sally port was was 'observed to totter'. During the following night Cumberland had a new battery of three eighteen-pounders set up fifty yards north of that already in place, but it never had to fire. For no sooner had the old battery opened up again than the garrison, recognising the hopelessness of their situation, hung out the white flag. There were already two substantial breaches in the west curtain, one just below the north-west angle and the other at the sally port, and the Jacobites were in no position to prevent more, with the storming of the castle to follow. Sixteen of them had been killed or wounded during the brief siege. A short exchange of messages followed, and then Towneley surrendered, the only terms that he had been able to obtain being that he and his men 'shall not be put to the sword, but be reserved for the King's pleasure' (Mounsey 1846, 153). The governor and officers were to surrender at once, the rest of the defenders being ordered to move into St. Mary's church, the name given to the cathedral nave. Between 7 and 8 p.m. English soldiers moved into the city, where they were said to have 'Plundred the Castle' (Dalton 1947, 112–3), while Cumberland himself arrived the following day. He did not stay there for long, however, quickly setting off in pursuit of the retreating Jacobites, and he left Carlisle under the command of General Charles Howard (Mounsey 1846, 157).

Howard, a son of the Earl of Carlisle who was also MP for the city, was clearly determined to take no risks. He laid in 'great plenty of provisions at the castle against any accident that may happen', while he had under his command no less than two regiments of foot, increasingly to the inconvenience of the townsfolk (ibid, 181–3). But at least he had the Jacobite prisoners removed from the cathedral, which was left in a filthy condition. Seven or eight of them, men captured at Prestonpans who had then thrown in their lot with the rebels, had been hanged as soon as Carlisle was recaptured; the rest were now sent to prisons at Lancaster and Chester (Hughes 1962, 94; Mounsey 1846, 157). Living conditions for the soldiers were decidedly unhealthy, 'partly by their bad lodging and getting more drams and drink than proper victuals...'; inevitably, this particularly affected the private soldiers, for whereas their officers were lodged in the 'best houses', the men were billetted on 'the lower townspeople' (Mounsey 1846, 198). Smallpox became rife, and between 20 January and 15 June 1746 111 soldiers were recorded as having been buried in the city's two parish churches; not surprisingly, service in Carlisle came to be regarded as a 'worse than Egyptian bondage' (ibid, 214 note; Jarvis 1961, 254). In February, Howard had referred to himself as 'applying for the Castle to be filled up, or barracks to be built for a garrison...', and in April Waugh knew of an order 'for 400 men to go directly into the Castle', though in fact nothing was done because Howard had 'remonstrated for want of

utensels – pots, kettles, plates, trenchers &c...'. Letters to and from Chancellor Waugh continued to refer to 'the Castle still continuing empty', and at the beginning of August the soldiers had still not yet gone into their new barracks, in spite of appalling congestion in the city (Mounsey 1846, 193, 219, 241, 246).

One reason for this was probably the government's intention of conducting at Carlisle the trials of Jacobite prisoners, who were to be brought there from Scotland as well as from prisons in England. There would not be enough space in the castle for both soldiers and prisoners, of whom in fact 382 were sent to Carlisle at the end of July 1746 (ibid, 246). Indeed, there was not enough space for all the prisoners, so it was decided that most of the less important ones should be got out of the way by the process of 'lotting', that is, by being divided into groups of twenty, from each of which one man, chosen by lot, would be tried for his life, while the rest were transported overseas. Alexander Stewart, one of a group of prisoners from Stirling, would later give a vivid account of this procedure. How no sooner had they arrived in Carlisle than they were required 'to draw for our lives' from 'a hat full of tickets', and then, when he and the others who had avoided the unlucky number were sitting on the grass in the castle's outer ward, they were obliged to sign the petition for the king's mercy which would have them sent to North America instead of to the gallows. This done, they were forthwith removed to the county gaol, where they stayed from 17 August until 24 April following, when they were removed to Liverpool (Paton 1895, 236, 238–9). Prison-space in the castle was reserved for the 127 men who in the end faced charges of treason. With two exceptions, all of them were said to have been confined in one room in the castle, 'strongly ironed' (Prevost 1964, 320). It may be that they were all kept together while the townsfolk were summoned to the castle in the hope that they would be able to identify their former conquerors among the prisoners – they were brought up in groups of fifteen for this purpose (Mounsey 1846, 250) – but a reference on a map of the late 1740s to repairs made to the upper storeys of the outer gatehouse to enable it to hold Jacobite prisoners (EH *931/1055*) suggests that some were later dispersed among other buildings. If so, one reason may have been the need to prevent them concerting plans of escape, Bishop Fleming referring in August 1746 to a plot by the prisoners 'to have sett themselves at Liberty ye other night' (Hughes 1962, 97).

On 9 September the trials began, and 96 of the prisoners were condemned to death. Nearly all these men were thereafter confined in 'one long room in the Castle', where seven-foot chains attached them to an iron bar fixed to the length of the wall (Prevost 1964, 323). It is not certainly known where this room was, but it is most likely to have been on the first or second floor of the keep, which a map of 1749 marks as a prison (PRO *WO78/1406*). All the soldiers in the castle were ordered 'to keep their arms continually loaden' but this did not prevent the captives renewing their plots to escape. By means of what was aptly described as an 'extraordinary Invention', they cut through their irons using a drinking-glass which had been given a serrated edge by being chipped with a knife, a silk handkerchief having been stretched tightly over the mouth of the glass so as to muffle the sound of sawing. The scheme was detected, but not before seven men had removed their irons (Jefferson 1839, 28–9). Not all the condemned prisoners were in fact executed, for many had their sentences commuted to transportation, but nine men suffered the penalties of treason on Harraby hill on 18 October, another eleven on 16 November, and a further eleven were executed at Brampton and Penrith (Mounsey 1846, 263–4, 268–9). Sir Walter Scott, who knew Carlisle well (he was married in the cathedral), may have drawn on local memories and traditions when he described Edward Waverley visiting the condemned Fergus MacIvor and Evan Maccombich in 'a gloomy and vaulted apartment' in the keep, from which they were brought down into the outer ward, where the prisoners took their places in a black-painted sledge, itself set in a hollow square made up of dragoons and infantry. A 'short ceremony' followed at the outer gatehouse, whereby the condemned men were handed over by the military to the civil power, and then the procession set out for Harraby (Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley, or 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, chapter 69). Bishop Fleming noted that the crowd attending the first executions at Carlisle 'is said to have been very great upon the occasion, but many returned home with full resolution to see no more of yt kind, it was so shocking...' (Hughes 1962, 97–8).

Declining into picturesqueness 1746–1793

The battle of Culloden, on 16 April 1746, and the months of repression in the Highlands which followed, might appear to have made the fortifications of Carlisle redundant for ever. But the completeness of Cumberland's victory may not have been at once apparent, for it took the government some time to decide what role the castle and city should play in the future defence of the realm. One thing that must have been instantly clear, however, was that the military interdependence of castle and city, together making up a single defensive system, was now played out. Many centuries earlier, the city had been intended to serve as an outwork for the castle, one on which attackers should exhaust their strength before they tried to come to grips with the castle. The introduction of artillery endangered this arrangement, making it much easier for besiegers to attack the castle independently of the city, but even in the seventeenth century, during the siege of 1644–45, the two had been blockaded together for many months, though they also surrendered together when their supplies of food ran out. But in 1745 not only had its obsolete defences enabled the Jacobites to make short work of an already demoralised city, but identical deficiencies had at once made the castle untenable as well, so that it was unable to act even as the core of Carlisle's defences. And then when the Jacobites held Carlisle against the Duke of Cumberland, the latter did not feel it necessary to force his way into the castle by way of the city, but concentrated the firepower of his heavy guns on the castle alone, and

quickly bombarded it into submission. After 1745, any defensive value the castle might possess it would have as a free-standing unit.

Immediately after its recapture from the Jacobites, nobody seems to have doubted that the castle should be strongly manned and heavily defended. The barracks were at last completed, a plan of 1746 showing that Queen Mary's Tower and the Governor's House were converted for this purpose – probably it was now that the Governor's House was heightened by two storeys (PRO *MPQ* 17(2)) – and a report of February 1748 shows that Carlisle was then held by a garrison of ten infantry companies, and that city and castle together had a total of 42 guns, 35 of them in the castle (PRO *SP36/94* ff 267v, 268). Nine of these were eighteen-pounders, the same number as had been brought up from Whitehaven in 1745, which suggests that these had never been sent back again. In spite of the preparation of barracks in the castle, there may still have been troops quartered in the city, and there were certainly some on guard duty there, where their presence may have aroused old passions. In October 1747 John Graham, a city apothecary, having 'quarrelled about Charly' in the Globe Inn in Carlisle, fell into company with a sergeant in General Guise's regiment, who drank to the health of George II; Graham refused to follow him, saying that Prince Charles had a better right to the throne, and 'that King George was a bastard and was borrowed from Hanover'. Questioned two months later, Graham claimed that he could not remember what he had said, and he may indeed have been too drunk to know what he was doing. But he had earlier been one of the city's few inhabitants said to have thrown in their lot with the Jacobites (HMC 1893b, 166), and in January 1748 order was given for his arrest (CRO *D/Mh* II, ff 230–1). Perhaps this sort of minor alarm helped to justify the military presence in Carlisle. But it was hardly enough to warrant expenditure on the defences, at least on any scale. Dugal Campbell, surveying the defences of Berwick and Carlisle in 1749, reported that 'Since the late rebellion there has been some small repairs done to the castle...'; nevertheless, 'As to its condition and strength I must acknowledge it is very bad...' (PRO *WO55/2269(6)* f 6).

Appreciation of the castle's weakness led to a series of proposals for strengthening it, most of them wildly impractical. First in the field was Thomas Armstrong, Director of Engineers, who in May 1746 submitted no less than three proposals for the Board of Ordnance to consider, in ascending order of expense (PRO *PC1/5/109* ff 6–7). The first, 'Without making any considerable additional works', would have involved repairs to the walls and citadel, the construction of barracks in the castle, and the making of 'a Covered Way and Glacis before the side of the Castle facing the City'. This would cost about £3000. A second possibility was to construct bastions, half moons and other outworks right round the entire circuit of the city and castle walls, while erecting 'Barracks, Storehouses, Powder Magazines and other necessary Buildings' within them. This would cost between £12,000 and £15,000, 'without reckoning the purchase of the Ground, Houses &c.' Finally, and here Armstrong's imagination appears to have run away with him completely, the Ordnance Board could 'enclose the City with a new Fortification, with Bastions and Curtains, all faced with Masonry; to make a Ditch, Covered Way and Glacis round the City; and to erect proper Buildings for the use and accommodation of a Garrison...'. Even without the cost of buying the necessary land, this would cost between £60,000 and £80,000. With his proposals Armstrong submitted a plan illustrating the possibilities he had outlined (PRO *MPQ* 17(1)). For what was probably the third of these he suggested a circuit of outworks punctuated by eight bastions, with the line of the defences actually cutting across the castle's outer ward, in order to place a bastion outside each of its east and west curtains. In fact Armstrong seems to have realised that there was little chance of any of his proposals winning acceptance, and none at all for the last two. So he also brought up an older plan, 'to build a Citadel at Carlisle and leave the Walls round the City in their present condition'.

As in the sixteenth century, this would have meant that any attacker forcing his way into the city would have risked being caught between two fires, from the northern and southern ends of Carlisle, and so would have done something to modify what the events of November 1745 had shown was one of the castle's great weaknesses, its vulnerability on its south side, facing the city: a plan of 1748 shows that a battery of guns was placed on a platform on the south curtain, in front of the Governor's House (EH *931/1043*). Awareness of the castle's near-defencelessness at this point explains the recurrent suggestions, as in Armstrong's first plan, for elaborate fortifications in front of the south curtain. Armstrong had proposed 'a Covered Way and Glacis', which would have entailed a reordering of the ground on the far side of the outer ditch so that it could be more effectively swept by cannon fire from the walls behind. Other plans went much further. One of January 1747 envisaged a large ravelin right in front of the outer gatehouse, laid out on the lines of a tenaille trace with further, smaller, projections at the points at which the ravelin was connected to the curtain (BL *K Top X 17c*). A number of 'thatcht' houses in Annetwell and Finkle streets would have to be pulled down, and an 'artificial bank' in the garden on the west side of the approach to the gatehouse (perhaps the late fourteenth-century mound?) removed. Since the point of the ravelin would cover that approach, it was suggested that a new entrance to the castle should be made, some yards to the east of the existing gatehouse.

Another plan from this period proposed two ravelins in front of the south curtain (BL *K Top X 17d*). But even that was sanity itself compared with Dugal Campbell's scheme of 1749, which he put forward in the map which accompanied his report (PRO *MPHH* 703). The castle was to be surrounded by a double fortification, which was 'proposed to be of Earth and Sods'. Immediately outside the existing walls there was to be a rectangle with a bastion at each corner, and this would itself be enclosed in another rectangle, this time with a ravelin projecting from the middle of each (markedly indented) side. Within the castle both the Governor's House and the entire palace complex were marked as now serving as barracks, but Campbell

proposed to build three more in the outer ward, sufficient to hold 300 men, and two other 'new barracks & storehouses' outside the castle's north-east curtain wall. So extensive would these new works be that Campbell found it necessary to mark his map with 'The course of the river Caldew as proposed to be altered', in order to allow space for his improvements. His estimate of the likely cost was £12000, but this seems decidedly optimistic. Armstrong and Campbell were contemporaries of William Kent and the young Capability Brown, and in scale and ambition, if nothing else, their projected works have more than a little in common with the remodelled landscapes which the landlord class of England was now beginning to commission from those two great men. The Ordnance Board, however, was moved only by considerations of military utility, and there is no reason to suppose that its members took any of the proposals of the late 1740s seriously. Certainly none of them was implemented. Only the damage to the castle walls done in 1745 was made good. The repairs may have been carried out by 1752, when a letter from York reported that 'the fortifications of Carlisle are in exceedingly good order', and had certainly been completed by 1769, when it could be said that 'the Fortifications, which had received some Damage in that Rebellion, are now quite completed...' (*BROCNS* vol 2 no 2 (Dec 1936); Defoe 1769, III, 326).

The castle continued to be manned for some years. At first there was a garrison of regular soldiers in the barracks prepared for them. In October 1755, for instance, Berwick, Newcastle and Carlisle were all manned by men of Folliott's 18th Regiment of Foot (Houlding 1981, 98); but this dispersal among garrisons meant difficulties of discipline and control, and since between 1751 and 1758 a military road was built between Newcastle and Carlisle (*VCH Cumb*, II, 308–9), so that the North West could be quickly reinforced from the North East (this was a lesson learnt from the recent revolt, and particularly from Wade's difficulties in the course of it; Sir James Lowther had suggested just such a road as early as January 1746 (Hughes 1962, 96)), these men seem to have been withdrawn soon afterwards. Even in 1754 there may not have been many soldiers in Carlisle, in the light of the scheme put forward by Dr. John Brown, the literary vicar of Lazonby, 'to erect a chaplain and chapel in the castle of Carlisle and to be himself the man...' (Horsley 1969, 242 *DRP*). But the castle continued to be manned by invalids for a while. When in June 1757 a shortage of corn and potatoes led to riots in Manchester, a company of Carlisle's invalids was sent to help to restore order, though they were only partly effective (Hayter 1978, 105). And in the following year there were still two companies of invalids, who 'kept garrison in the castle; and did also duty as centinels at the several gates...'. No doubt they also helped to keep an eye on the numerous French prisoners-of-war sent to Carlisle in 1758 (Hutchinson 1794, II, 663). Some years later, however (probably about 1765), hoping that Carlisle 'would never again be wanted as a frontier town, the government resolved entirely to dismantle it... ordered the two invalid companies with which it was garrisoned, to march to Plymouth...'.[5] This move was much regretted by the old soldiers involved, and thereafter any military stationed at Carlisle were billetted in the city (ibid, II, 658), with the possible exception of a few invalid gunners, who may have lived in the outer gatehouse; there were six of them there in 1806 (PRO *WO55/2294* no 9), and a detachment of the Invalid Battalion Royal Artillery was doing duty in the castle in the 1790s, when they shared the Master Gunner's walled garden in the outer ward.[6] Perhaps they were made responsible for the castle's fire engine, though in 1793 this seems to have been as decrepit as the invalids themselves (*Cumb Pacq* 16 Jul 1793 *DRP*).

Once the main force, at least, of the invalids had departed, there was little left in the way of military usefulness that could be claimed for the castle, and it could therefore be treated as little more than a piece of real estate. In 1767 Sir James Lowther obtained a grant of the castle from the crown. This led to prolonged litigation with the Duke of Portland, who claimed to hold it by a grant made to his ancestor, the first earl of Portland, in 1696 (details from CRO *D/Lons/Lawsuits and Legal Papers* Box 3; *VCH Cumb* II, 310–11). That grant had in fact said nothing about Carlisle, giving Portland rights only in the honour of Penrith, but after Catherine of Braganza's death in 1705 he had nevertheless received the £50 rent previously paid to her, and when the Earl of Carlisle's lease expired in 1729 the second Duke of Portland became tenant of the manor as well (CRO *D/Lons Duke of Portland's Lands*). The Portland claim was based entirely on earlier occasions when exalted figures like Richard of Gloucester and Henrietta Maria had held Penrith and Carlisle together under the same grant, and Lowther's lawyers had no difficulty in exposing the flaws in such a title. But although Lowther was able to secure his right to the castle itself, Portland succeeded in holding on to the manor, until in 1787 he sold his rights in it to the Duke of Devonshire (*VCH Cumb*, II, 310–11). The question of ownership became important when the castle was being refurbished in the early years of the nineteenth century, but at the time it involved nothing more than a dispute between two local landowners, not least because although it might have become a backwater, the castle was still a nominally military establishment, commanded by a governor. In 1794 this post was described as a sinecure (Hutchinson 1794, II, 658), but its holder may not always have seen it in this light. In 1772 the then governor, the third earl of Darlington, fluttered his usually undisturbed dovecote at Carlisle by giving orders that the guns which had once been fired at five o'clock every morning and at ten o'clock every evening should 'be put into repair & made fit for firing'.[7] According to the Reverend William Gilpin, himself writing in 1772, this once traditional salute had been 'discontinued these six years, to the great regret of the country around, whose hours of labour it regulated...' (Gilpin 1786, 94). The two gunners who received the earl's orders were very put out by the thought of the demands which now seemed likely to be made upon their time and strength. They protested that they were both ill – one of them actually confined to his bed, where he was attended daily by a physician and an apothecary. They pointed out that the purpose of firing the guns was to give the signal for the opening

and closing of the city gates, which had not, however, been shut for several years, and 'to regulate other matters of garrison duty which are not now done here', not least because there was in fact no garrison. Even if they wanted to fire the guns, it would be very difficult for them to do so, since not only did their cannon have no carriages, but several years had passed since the castle had last been supplied with powder by the ordnance board. They satisfied themselves, therefore, with the conclusion that the proposed innovation was 'the caprise of some vain fellow', and asked the governor to withdraw his orders and, for the moment, at least, 'to dispense with matters as they are at present'.

They appear to have had their way, at any rate for the time being. Certainly, the guns do not appear to have been made fit for firing. In 1773 Francis Grose remarked on the presence in the castle of 'several ancient guns mounted on rotten and unserviceable carriages' (Grose 1773, s.v. Carlisle Castle, Cumberland) and five years later another writer noticed 'the guns sinking in rotten carriages' (Defoe 1778, III, 366–7). Nor by this time were the walls in very good order; some were 'rent to their foundation', and all were 'neglected and going to ruin'. Grose described the castle as 'of little or no use in the present mode of defence'. There appears, however, to have been a measure of rehabilitation in the years around 1780. The *Cumberland Pacquet* in November 1779 referred to new barracks to be sixty feet long and eight yards wide, which were being built in the outer ward, while the former barracks (doubtless the buildings in the inner ward used for this purpose in the late 1740s) were prepared for prisoners-of-war (*Cumb Pacq* 30 Nov 1779 *DRP*), works which must be connected with those referred to by the *Carlisle Journal* in 1804, when it was said that the government had 'thought the Castle of consequence enough to merit considerable repairs, which were going on with great spirit, when the peace of 1783 put a period to them...' (*Carl Journ* 7 Jan 1804 *DRP*). The cause of these building operations must have been France's intervention in 1778 on the colonial side in the American War of Independence, which raised the possibility both of direct invasion from the continent and of French exploitation of Ireland's ever-simmering discontents, leading perhaps to an attack from there on England's west coasts. There is no evidence, however, either that the prisoners came (it was not a war in which English armies took many prisoners) or that the new barracks were ever completed; no building of the proportions described appears on any later map. And there were certainly no troops in Carlisle in 1781, for when a disturbance among the prisoners in the county gaol rose to dangerous heights in March of that year, the sheriff had to send for a troop of the Westmorland militia at Cockermouth to restore order (PRO *WO1/1013* ff 85, 109; Western 1965, 432–3). It seems probable, therefore, that the works did not get very far before either it was decided that they constituted an unnecessary expense or, as the *Carlisle Journal* said, the ending of the war made it pointless to proceed with them.

Nevertheless, they had their effect on the castle. A watercolour of the early 1780s, showing guns firing from the north curtain,[5] indicates that its artillery had been overhauled and brought back into service. Nor were the cannon allowed to fall back into disrepair afterwards, for they were still being fired in salutes in the 1790s, nine six-pounders being fired each 22 September (George III's coronation) and 22 October (his accession), and also on 5 November (the Gunpowder Plot), 18 January (Queen Charlotte's birthday) and 29 May (the Restoration) (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* ff 2, 2v, 3v, 4). Likewise after 'considerable repairs' had been carried out in about 1780, other works were also executed in the years following, at least in those parts of the castle which were still in use. In 1791 a report on the city walls described them as 'not deserving attention further than to preserve the Old Materials, which may be useful if applied to the common Repairs of the Castle and Citadel...' (PRO *WO55/714* 22 Nov 1791), and in August 1792 the Master Gunner drew the Ordnance Board's attention to the fact that 'the parapet and flags at the breach (back of my garden) was not done...' (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* f 2).

Two years earlier, *The Universal British Directory* confirmed that the castle was 'still kept in repair', but added that 'the rooms are out of repair', and that Queen Mary's Tower, in particular, was 'a dreary place, nothing to be seen but bare walls. The arsenal is not well stored...' (*The Universal British Directory*, 625), an opinion corroborated in 1792 when the keep, now in use as a powder store, was said to hold only 238 barrels of gunpowder though it had the capacity to take 400 (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* f 1v). But the *Directory's* interest in the castle was only partly military. It is clear that its compiler had had easy access to most, if not all, the buildings, and that in particular he had been able to ascend the keep, even though it contained the powder store; '...the view of the surrounding country from the top of the castle, or from the ramparts, will give pleasure to those who have a taste for rural scenes...', he wrote. He was not the first to appreciate the view. In 1778 another visitor had noted that 'The prospect from the great tower is noble...' (Defoe 1778, III, 366–7). It would take time, however, for the developing cult of the Picturesque to find matter for admiration in the castle itself, as opposed to the view from it. In 1805 the citizens of Carlisle would complain that by putting a pitched slate roof on on the new armoury, now projecting above the walls of the outer ward, the Ordnance Board had spoilt 'the antique appearance of the castle' (PRO *WO55/714* 25 May 1805). But in 1790 the *Directory* found that the castle 'cannot much attract the attention of strangers', and a few years earlier the high priest of the Picturesque movement, the Reverend William Gilpin, had been even more severe. 'The castle', he wrote, 'is heavy in all its parts, as these fabrics commonly are. It is too perfect to afford much pleasure to the picturesque eye; except as a remote object, softened by distance. Hereafter, when its shattered towers, and buttresses, give a lightness to its parts, it may adorn some future landscape...' (Gilpin 1786, 95). After several centuries during which successive reports on the state of Carlisle castle had done little but lament its deficiencies, there is a pleasant irony about Gilpin's complaint that the castle was insufficiently decayed.

Foreign war and civil disturbances 1793–1815

On 1 February 1793 England went to war with France. It was not a conflict in which Carlisle castle was likely to have any part to play, being debarred from participation by geographical position and military obsolescence alike. Late eighteenth-century muster rolls record a garrison consisting solely of governor, lieutenant-governor, town major and master gunner, reinforced by such dignitaries as an engineer, a barrack-master, a storekeeper, and three 'quarter gunners' (PRO *WO12/11589*; Hutchinson 1794, II, 663). These last posts tended to be given to prominent townsmen, 'so that frequently the chief magistrate was a quarter-gunner at the same time'. Repairs continued to be made as the need for them arose. The carriages of ten guns, found to be rotten, were replaced in 1794, and in the same year the Master Gunner reported that not only had ten yards of his garden wall fallen down, but 'two small gates leading to the west bastions of this garrison' had lately been blown down by a strong wind, so that 'the Bastions lay open to the Rabble of this City, and I cannot keep them from going on the walls.... £1 12s would suffice to make new gates' (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* ff 5v, 6v). Presumably the money was found, as the problem is not referred to again. In 1795 there was work in progress on the nine gun battery on the inner ward's north-east curtain (ibid, f 8), and in 1796 seven more cannon received new carriages (ibid, f 10). Perhaps the Ordnance Board became tired of paying for new carriages for Carlisle guns, for in 1799 it ordered that all but eight of them should be dismounted, whereupon the Master Gunner went into a sulk and refused to fire the customary salutes with the cannon which were left to him until he had received formal permission to do so (ibid, ff 15v, 16); a description of Carlisle in 1800 shows that it was the nine gun battery which was spared (Housman 1800, 434). In 1802 twenty more yards of the Master-Gunner's garden wall tumbled down and had to be built up again, at a cost of of £2 1s 8d (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* f 20v).

The impression such transactions give of Carlisle is of a place which had become a military backwater. So it had, but in fact it became less so as time passed. There were various reasons for this. One was that it soon became a centre for raising recruits for the armies raised to serve overseas. Already in 1794 the Master Gunner was being helped with the mounting of his guns by 'the Recruiting Party and Recruits of the first battalion Royal Artillery' (ibid, f 6), and by 1798 at the latest there was a small group of recruiting officers permanently stationed at Carlisle (PRO *WO12/12232*); however, they and their recruits were probably quartered in the city (which they had to leave when assizes were held there, something they would not have had to do had they been in the castle, which was not juridically part of the city) rather than in the castle. Another was Carlisle's position near the west coast of England, a circumstance making for ready access to Ireland, whose condition became increasingly disturbed during the 1790s (Price 1980, 65). But the most important was certainly the development of political radicalism in North West England, and above all in Carlisle itself. Carlisle was strongly Whig in its political sympathies, fervently so on some issues. In January 1792 a meeting was held in the city in support of the abolition of the slave trade (ibid, 69 n 4), and early in 1795 the freemen of Carlisle presented a petition to Parliament calling for peace with France, expressing themselves 'alarmed at the immense expenditure of public money' being made on a war which seemed unlikely to achieve any of its 'avowed purposes', though the force of the petition was somewhat diminished when it was found to contain some seventy forged signatures (ibid, 81–3; Emsley 1979, 41). And late in July of the same year there were 'very serious disturbances' in the city. The issue here was not political. Against a background of harvest failure, exacerbated by the activities of Lancashire corn merchants, who bought up all the grain they could find in order to supply the growing industrial towns of their own region, over 2000 people rioted and 'seized all the corn they could find and sold it at their own price'. They destroyed the furniture in a corn-merchant's house and twice tried to burn the house itself down, and when one of their ring-leaders was arrested they assembled in such force that the prisoner had to be released. In 1795, as in 1781, there were no troops in Carlisle. When the military arrived to restore order, it was not from the castle but from Dumfries, led by the earl of Darlington, the son of the castle's previous governor (PRO *WO1/1087* ff 377–9; *HO42/35*, ff 315–6; Booth 1977, 85, 95, 96–7).

In 1793 Pitt launched a large-scale programme of barrack-building, directed by a barrackmaster-general whose new department functioned in independence of the Ordnance Board, hitherto responsible for all fortresses. The Prime Minister was perfectly open about his motives – 'a spirit had appeared in some of the manufacturing towns which made it necessary that troops should be kept near them...' (Fortescue 1906, IV, pt II, 903–7; Forbes 1929, 150–1). Carlisle was certainly considered as a possible site for barracks, a later memorandum noting that 'Part of the Castle at Carlisle was received by the Barrack Department from the Ordnance in 1795' (PRO *WO55/1578*(11)), quite possibly in response to the riots of that year. But no barracks were built on the land so commandeered. It was probably recognised that the disorders of 1795 had had purely temporary causes, and though the city was in fact in process of becoming an important textile centre (it was soon to be recognised as the fourth most important in the United Kingdom (Barnes 1978, 150)), the significance of this development, which would eventually have momentous consequences for the castle, does not seem to have been appreciated as yet. No doubt it was felt that troops could always be brought in from outside when necessary. Thus by October 1795 Lord Darlington's men from Dumfries had either been reinforced or, more probably, replaced by a force of Ayrshire Fencible cavalry. They were quartered in the city, but their surgeon applied for a room in the inner ward for use as a hospital. The suggestion was strongly opposed by the resident officers, by the Town Major, the Storekeeper and the Master Gunner, who clearly wanted to remain in undisturbed seclusion, for they

drew the Ordnance Board's attention to the 'dangerous consequences' that would follow if the surgeon's proposal won acceptance – the 'general intimidation' that would result if fire broke out and looked like igniting the 226 barrels of powder kept in the keep, the danger of 'depredations' from the Storekeeper's and Master-Gunner's stores, which were kept in the inner ward. The Ordnance Board agreed, and issued an order 'that none of the Rooms in the Castle of Carlisle be appropriated to the purpose of an Hospital' (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* f 7v).

Two years later there were further riots in the city, this time over proposals for a supplementary militia. Once more soldiers were brought in from Dumfries, this time two troops of Norfolk Fencibles (Price 1980, 28). Again, the castle was of little consequence, and it remained so for a while longer. In 1788 there had been suggestions that the castle green would make an ideal site for a new county gaol (*Cumb Pacq* 17 Sept 1788; Hutchinson 1794, II, 681 *DRP*), and although nothing was done, the idea was still in the air in 1800, the proposed site being regarded in some quarters as one which 'cannot be too much recommended for the purpose...' (Housman 1800, 440). Clearly, the castle's military function was not being taken very seriously at this time. Nor does the threat from the mob appear to have been particularly pressing. Late in 1800 the Master Gunner received instructions to fire a salute of twenty-one guns on New Year's Day following, in celebration of the Union of Great Britain and Ireland. He duly did so, 'saluting the New Union Flag', but afterwards submitted a bill for 7s 'for sewing over the New Pattern Union Flag'. The new Union Jack, he explained, had been 'so slightly sewed' that had he hoisted it in the condition in which he received it, 'it would have blown all to pieces... for my part, I would not have had it blown all away for all my worth, as the Jacobin Anti-unionists in this Place would have rejoiced at the event...'. As it was, the flag flew nobly and the twenty-one gun salute 'made these fellows hang down their heads, and look much dejected' (*Jackson Collection 2BC 728* f18, 18v). If the greatest danger to the *status quo* in Carlisle came from radical laughter, it is not surprising that the castle should have been left ungarrisoned, nor that a visitor in 1802 should have described it briefly as 'neither strong nor magnificent' (Warner 1802, II, 62).

In March of the latter year England and France made a treaty of peace. But the respite was only brief, for in May 1803 the war began once more, and with the resumption of hostilities Carlisle castle began to come to life again. At first it served only as an assembly-point, store-house and training-ground. A visitor in 1803 who made his way into the inner ward found most of the buildings in it locked. Having wandered a while among 'ruinated Buildings', moralising to himself about the 'strok of time' and 'the horror of war', he made his way up to the ramparts, where he enjoyed the view towards Scotland and the scent of the flowers growing out of the walls, before nervously entering the keep. Here at least, were some men working, one of whom told him there were 'about 3,000 stand of arms in this place' (CRO *D/WM/7/184/5 DRP*). Perhaps it was with the weapons stored here that the newly-formed Cumberland Rangers, one of the numerous militia groups created for the defence of the realm at a time when there was a serious threat of invasion, practised their rifle-fire both on the castle green and behind the castle, where 'a portrait of Buonaparte' was used as a target (*Carl Journ* 19 Nov, 26 Nov 1803 *DRP*). And in December 1803 two battalions of the 53rd. Regiment came to Carlisle, staying there until they left for Ireland in the following February (*Carl Journ* 31 Dec 1803, 25 Feb 1804 *DRP*). 1803 was the year of Robert Emmet's conspiracy, a scheme for an armed uprising in Ireland, perhaps with French assistance. There were fears that North West England would be invaded from Ireland (Emsley 1979, 119), fears likely to have been an important reason for the proposals described in the *Carlisle Journal* for 7 January 1804, 'that Carlisle may become a military depot'. Arguing that 'the situation of Carlisle, its proximity to Ireland on the west and to Scotland on the north (from each of which places the attacks of the enemy are dreaded) points it out as an object consequence...', the writer claimed that there were in the castle 'many spacious apartments which, with a very little alteration, might be converted into an extensive arsenal...', and that since the buildings were in good condition, thanks to annual repairs, they might also 'contain barracks for a considerable number of men...' (*Carl Journ* 7 Jan 1804 *DRP*).

Repairs could be expensive. In March 1803 the Storekeeper submitted estimates for works on the roofs and floors of the Armoury (probably the palace), the Chapel, the Assembly Room (presumably the old Great Hall), the Master Gunner's House, the Gun Room and the Keep, and 'For the repair of the Batteries and works', altogether amounting to £413 12s 2d (PRO *WO55/714* 20 Mar 1803). A few months earlier, having first applied without success to be allowed to occupy the Master Gunner's House (ibid, 12 Aug 1802), he had sent in a plan for a new house to be built for his own occupation at a cost of nearly £750 (ibid, 28 Jan 1803). This scheme was turned down flat, and not all his proposals for repairs to existing buildings appear to have been accepted. A new roof for the Assembly Hall would cost an estimated £204 10s, easily the largest single item on the list. To the iconoclastic Captain Hartcup this probably seemed far more than an old and decrepit building was worth, and since a plan of 1805 shows it only in outline (PRO *MPH* 952(3)), while another plan from the following year shows just an open space to the north of the palace (PRO *MPH* 851), it seems certain that by May 1806 Hartcup had had the Assembly Hall pulled down, making it the first of the castle's major medieval buildings to disappear. Nor was this the only change to be made to the fabric of the castle as a result of its rehabilitation to act as a depot. The *Carlisle Journal* for 21 April 1804 spoke of the masons' and carpenters' work that would be needed to put the rooms into 'immediate repair', and added that 'The greatest expedition is to be used in finishing the same and we hear that an immense quantity of military stores is constantly to be here...' (*Carl Journ* 21 Apr 1804 *DRP*). Perhaps that quantity was too immense for the existing buildings, for by August 1804 it had been decided to build a new armoury on the castle green, along with workshops for armourers and smiths, large

enough to contain 7500 stands of arms for infantry and 500 for cavalry, altogether more than two and a half times as many as had been kept in the keep the previous year. The estimated cost (considerably exceeding that of the repairs proposed in 1803) was £1202 16s 10¾d. A plan submitted with the estimates shows the projected armoury as a long single-storey building; it was to have a rounded door in the middle, with a rectangular window on either side of it, and a flat-lintelled door at each end of the facade (PRO *WO55/714* 4 Aug 1804).

The new armoury, which was made of brick, was put up in a considerable hurry, Captain Hartcup, in charge of the works reporting in October 1804 that 'the building is going on with rapidity, in order that it may if possible be slated before the hard weather sets in...' (ibid, 4 Oct 1805). Described in 1811 as 'very elegant and spacious' (*Jollie's Cumberland Guide and Directory* pt I (Carlisle, 1811), 22–3), it cost considerably more than was originally estimated, judging by a note on Hartcup's letter cited above – '£2721, exclusive of £350 4s 10d for arms racks'. This must have been because it was much larger than originally intended, a two-storey rather than a single-storey building, with space in 1823 for no less than 12000 stands of arms.[9] It was the extra height which raised it above the level of the curtain walls and made the citizens complain about the way it had altered their familiar skyline. The new armoury stood in the outer ward, between the Master Gunner's house and the west curtain, where Arroyo block (of which it was later to form the core) now stands. And it soon had a companion, for a new storehouse, also of brick, had been built by 1806 to stand at the south-west corner of the armoury and parallel to the west curtain behind it, probably on ground now occupied by Gallipoli block (PRO *WO55/2294; MPH* 851). These two new buildings, taken together with the demolition of the old Hall, constituted the first significant changes to the appearance and composition of the castle since the construction of the Governor's House in the 1570s. But their erection now immediately led to further works, when it was found that 'owing to some drains being choked up, a part of the castle is laid under water...' (PRO *WO55/714* 24 Nov 1804). This affected both the magazine 'some time since fitted up' in the old hall in the inner ward and the new armoury, when in May 1805 Hartcup found 'water springing fast upon the work, in three different places...'. This water could only have come from the ditch in front of the half-moon battery, so Hartcup examined the berm (the strip of grass immediately outside the walls) and the ditch below the south curtain, to see if he could find any traces of a drain from the inner to the outer ditch, 'being of opinion from an oozing perceptible about Ten feet below the Bank that such a drain existed'. His quest was successful, and he found 'a very capital drain of cut stone, about two feet square, choked up by the roots of trees then in a state of decay...' (ibid, 24 May 1805).

All sorts of complications followed. Hartcup cut the trees down (they were ash trees), and, having decided that it would be much cheaper and easier to reopen the old drain than to make a new one, sold the timber to finance his works (ibid, 25 May 1805). These were not ordinary trees, however, for local legend had it that they had been planted in 1568 by Mary Queen of Scots, from whom the land on which they stood took its name of the Lady's Walk. As that name suggests, the land had been open to the public as a promenade, access being through a door in the wall immediately in front of the outer gatehouse. That door Hartcup now blocked up, 'to prevent persons from troubling the drain, and to prevent accidents which might happen in the night time, this place having been the resort of a certain unhappy class of females in the evening...' (ibid, 24 May 1805). It was not only Carlisle's fallen women who were unhappy, however. There was a good deal of discontent among the citizens, who 'much regretted the loss of their favourite walk' (ibid, 21 Feb 1817), and also objected to the building of the new armoury, greatly to Hartcup's irritation, since he was obviously proud of what he called 'a beautiful and modern building' (ibid, 25 May 1805). And Hartcup's actions brought him, and the Ordnance Board, into conflict with Lord Lonsdale, who, as the heir of the Sir James Lowther to whom the castle had been granted in 1767, claimed to be the crown's tenant of the castle gardens, right up to the south curtain (PRO *MPH* 851). In 1805 Lonsdale gave notice to the invalid gunners to hand over to him the castle berm, which they had occupied as gardens (PRO *WO55/714* 4 Oct 1805). This was probably connected with Hartcup's reopening of the old drain, which Lonsdale appears to have opposed. As it was, his superior right was incontestable, and the Ordnance Board could only apologise for the occupation of the berm and offer to negotiate to buy it from him (ibid, 9 Oct 1805). And there was also the problem of relations with the Duke of Devonshire, who held the land surrounding the castle on its other three sides.[10] In the early years of the nineteenth century it was altogether unclear as to where the boundaries of these various properties were. 'With respect to the Boundaries of the Ordnance Property at Carlisle', wrote the Board's solicitor in July 1806, 'I feel great difficulty in attempting to ascertain them... .' (PRO *WO55/714* 24 Jul 1806).

Two related issues seem to have lain behind these difficulties. In the first place there was the (frequently unofficial) demolition of the city walls and the construction of a new southern gateway into the city, a process gathering pace in the first years of the nineteenth century; in May 1805 Hartcup referred to 'the hourly depredations of the inhabitants for a series of years... these depredations have increased to a degree of barefaced insolence beyond all parallel...' (ibid, 25 May 1805). As the walls vanished apace, there disappeared with them the physical remains of Carlisle's centuries-old system of unified defence, involving castle and city together. The castle now remained the only fortified structure in Carlisle, a fact which made it necessary to give precise definition to its physical limits in a way not necessary before. The city had to be kept at a distance, for reasons of security. Perhaps it was for this reason, as well as to keep the townsfolk off the Lady's Walk, that a break was made at about this time in the parapet of the wall flanking the castle gardens on their eastern side.[11] Until such a break was made, it would have been possible for anyone walking along

that wall from the city to make his way to the very foot of the castle's south curtain. Similarly, when the disposal of the city walls was under discussion in July 1805, it was laid down that those near the castle should not 'on any account be removed, nor the Ground sold, otherwise it will be immediately built on, much to the danger of the Powder &c. in the Castle, from fire' (PRO *WO55/714* Jul 1805). A comparison of maps of 1774 and 1805, showing how the row of houses along the north side of Annetwell Street had been extended along Finkle Street as well, and how garden plots had been laid out behind the houses, makes it clear that the city was indeed inclined to encroach upon the castle (BL *1945(20); Maps 11 b 3*). Instead of functioning together, the two had now to be kept apart, and the castle authorities had to know where they stood, and indeed who they were dealing with, in trying to bring this about.

But it was not the problem of the exact whereabouts of the citizens' garden boundaries which most exercised the minds of the members of the Board of Ordnance, for there was another sort of security problem to be considered, and one that became increasingly urgent in the early years of the century, that posed by radicalism. The weavers of Carlisle were becoming increasingly active as they agitated in defence of their traditional livelihoods, in particular by forming combinations. The city's geographical position made for easy contacts between Carlisle's textile workers and those of southern Scotland and of other parts of the North of England. Carlisle was in touch with Lancashire in 1802, and it was at Carlisle that the Committee of Delegates of the General Association of Operative Weavers of Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland and Durham and the Southern Counties of Scotland met in October 1809 (Barnes 1978, 152–3). No doubt it was with such activities in mind that in March 1808, as he considered where a new powder magazine should be placed, Colonel De Butts gave it as his opinion that 'The defences at present are also perfectly adequate to resist any attempts that might be made by a mob...', though he also recommended 'putting the ramparts into a more respectable state, particularly on the South or Town side...' (PRO *WO55/714* 16 Mar 1808). It came to be felt that for Carlisle Castle to be secure it was essential for the Ordnance Board to have control of the land immediately outside the castle walls, and so in July 1808 it was 'decided to be necessary to obtain possession of the lands described by Lt. Colonel De Butts as claimed by the Duke of Portland and Lord Lonsdale', and order was given that their lordships be informed of 'the necessity which exists for possessing the Ground, in order to complete the Reform of Carlisle Castle as a Military Work...' (ibid, 6 Jul 1808). In fact, the business of 'possessing the Ground' dragged on for years, in the present context it is 'the Reform of Carlisle Castle as a Military Work' which is important.

The proposals put forward for works on the castle were certainly far-reaching. The castle had become an essential strongpoint for the control of Carlisle's disaffected working men. And its use as a military depot, said by 1811 to contain 10,000 stands of arms (PRO *WO55/2376* no 8), made its security additionally important, for fear that a mob should obtain access to its store of weapons. For the same reason it was necessary to safeguard the powder magazine, for the building of which proposals were aired in March 1808. Colonel De Butts noted that the outer ward was 'in some respects well calculated for the erection of a Powder Magazine of the magnitude required'. But when the ground near the armoury, in the north-west corner of the outer ward, was investigated, it proved to be 'extremely wet, and spongy to a considerable depth'. If it was only a temporary store that was required, the Governor's House (described as 'the Old Building called "Mary's Palace"') would serve, but the expense of fitting up a structure so large and so decrepit made its restoration for permanent use out of the question. And there was the further consideration that the citizens, already uneasy at the presence of a powder store so close to themselves, would certainly make 'strong remonstrances' if a new and much larger one was built in the castle. De Butts therefore recommended alterations to the keep, where some powder was already in store (a plan of 1809 also marked the tower half-way along the outer ward's west curtain as a magazine). These would cost only a quarter of the expense of building a new magazine, and 'would have the advantage of not alarming the minds of the inhabitants to so great a degree as that of erecting a building upon so large a scale expressly for powder'. And what was more, 'The inner castle yard is also much more secure and inaccessible than the outer...' (PRO *WO55/714* 16 Mar 1808).

There were other suggestions, too, for the improvement of the castle's defences. Military men were still concerned about its lack of outworks ('The defect of the defences of this castle is the want of Flanks'). It was therefore proposed to construct two ravelins projecting from the outer ward, one from the west curtain and the other from the north curtain, with two ordnance howitzers on each side of each ravelin. Outer walls themselves were mostly in good condition (there had been some repairs to the north curtain in 1808), but the south curtain of the outer ward was said to have its 'interior face totally dilapidated', much as it had been in 1746, and a 'banquette' or platform would be necessary if it was to carry guns. Repairs were also urged for the batteries on the south and east walls of the inner ward. For the latter, said to have 'a very commanding situation', it was recommended that its six-pounders be replaced by eighteen-pounder guns, while the south-facing battery, described as 'effectually commanding the Esplanade and the adjacent parts of the town', should be reinforced by the deepening of the moat running in front of the whole south curtain and by the substitution of a drawbridge for the bridge of stone at present spanning that moat (illustrated in *Jollie's Cumberland Guide*, 16–17). Should a garrison be required, Queen Mary's Palace (probably the Governor's House and Queen Mary's Tower together) could, it was estimated, hold between 700 and 1000 men (PRO *WO55/714* 22 Jun 1809).

Not for the first time, it may have been felt by the Ordnance Board that there was a certain lack of proportion about the suggestions submitted to them for large-scale restoration work on Carlisle castle, and they could reasonably have doubted whether it was necessary to incur so much expense simply to control recalci-

trant weavers, especially when money was badly needed for more obviously urgent military purposes elsewhere. It was probably reckoned that local disorders could without much difficulty be contained by the militia forces often stationed in Carlisle (they were billetted on the city's innkeepers (*Carl Journ* 9 Jun, 14 Jul 1810 *DRP*), sometimes on manoeuvres, sometimes, it would appear, to supply a garrison for a potentially troublesome spot. Some of these militias were local, like the Loyal Cumberland Rangers, the Loyal Carlisle Volunteers and the Royal Cumberland Militia, but others came from outside the region. Thus in June 1806 a detachment of the Third West Riding York Militia replaced one from the Royal Cumberland Militia, and stayed until October, 'doing duty in our castle', when it departed for Sunderland; 'their behaviour in every respect', conceded the *Carlisle Journal*, 'bespoke the soldier and gentleman' (ibid, 14 Jun, 18 Oct 1806 *DRP*). In the following year there were two extra-regional bodies on duty in the city, for in July 1807 a detachment of the Royal Cornish Militia took over the task of what was described as garrison duty (surely a clear indication of their function, at a time when there was no danger of invasion) from a detachment of the Royal Lancashires (ibid, 11 Jul 1807 *DRP*). In October 1810 detachment of the Forfarshire and Kincardineshire militia was stationed in Carlisle (ibid, 13 Oct 1810 *DRP*), while in the spring of 1811 the Carlisle local militia assembled in the city for training, while the Cumberland Ward Local Militia was on duty at the same time (ibid, 13 Apr, 11 May 1811 *DRP*). In July a detachment of the Forfarshire Militia was back in Carlisle, quartered there on its way to a turn of duty in Ireland (ibid, 27 Jul 1811 *DRP*), while since the previous October soldiers from the 55th Regiment (the Westmorland Regiment) had been stationed in the city after their return from Jamaica (ibid, 20 Oct 1810 *DRP*; Noakes 1875, 63). These last, who were described as 'the skeleton of four companies', had probably come to regroup and recruit rather than to act as a garrison. But they stayed for two years, and their presence, along with that of so many amateur soldiers, must have heightened the impression given of Carlisle as a centre of military activity.

So it is not surprising that many of De Butts's suggestions for works on the castle were never implemented. It is certain that no ravelins were built, and there is no record of improvements to the batteries or the outer ditch. But a frequent, if not continuous, military presence underlined the castle's importance as a depot (in June 1810 alone 24 wagon-loads of military stores were deposited in the castle (*Carl Journ* 2, 9, 16, 23 Jun 1810 *DRP*)) and it was this which led to improvements to the keep, though without any noticeable sense of urgency in their implementation. In 1808 it was suggested that the keep might be used as an enlarged powder magazine. A letter from Captain Fanshawe to the Ordnance Board in December 1810 makes it clear that nothing had been done since then, for though the keep was 'occupied as a magazine' it contained only 76 barrels of powder. Indeed, the letter shows plainly that it had been proposed to defer action still longer, Fanshawe admitting that when he submitted his estimates for 1811 he had hoped 'that its present roof would have served for another year; however the late rains have discovered so many leaking places, and the lead has been so much worn by frequent repairs, as to preclude my hopes of making it serviceable...'. Therefore he proposed to remove the lead roof and replace it with one of slate, at a cost of nearly £500 (PRO *WO55/714* 10 Dec 1810). He had to revise his estimate (ibid, 5 Jul 1811), but the need to reroof was accepted. In May 1811 the Royal Engineers' Office in Newcastle invited 'Masons, Bricklayers, Carpenters, Plumbers, Glaziers, Painters, Slaters &c.' to apply for work 'for service of this department at Carlisle and its vicinity for a period of one Year...', beginning on 22 September next (*Carl Journ* 1 Jun 1811 *DRP*). The roof itself however, was to be covered with 'Patent Tessera' made by Hallett of London (who supplied it with a two-year guarantee); the material was unfamiliar in Carlisle, so the manufacturer sent his own workmen to lay the new roof down, while the local overseer of the works was instructed 'to make such observations upon the mode of using the Tessera, as will enable him to direct the mode,of using it in future...' (PRO *WO55/715* 3 Jun 1812). By that time it had been decided that the work should involve more than the roof of the keep, for in May 1812 estimates were also submitted and accepted 'for repairing the floor of the Magazine, strengthening the walls and fitting up an apartment in the Square Tower at Carlisle...' (ibid, 29 May 1812). It is possible that the work on the keep roof was in itself sufficient to revive earlier proposals for the refurbishment of the rooms below as a powder magazine. But the coincidence of dates makes it more likely that it was the result of events in the previous month.

1812 was a year of great economic distress, the result of harvest failure – at 126s a quarter the price of wheat was higher than at any other time in the entire nineteenth century (Evans 1983, 5) – compounded by the restrictions placed by the government on Britain's overseas trade as a means of exerting pressure on Napoleon's continental empire (Thompson 1968, 616). Against a background of widespread suffering and discontent, British weavers had continued to agitate for a minimum wage, those of Carlisle among them.[12] On Monday 6 April there was a grain riot at Sandsfield on the Eden estuary, some six miles from Carlisle. Large crowds, 'unable to endure the sight of so much grain passing by their doors, whilst themselves and families were at the point of starvation' had assembled there 'for the purpose of taking away by force, from vessels lying there, a quantity of grain and flour...', and they also broke into a large granary. The magistrates therefore called out the military, a detachment of 130 men of the 55th Regiment, but the soldiers were not called upon to act, as the magistrates themselves, promising 'that the markets in future should be duly regulated, and the proposition of advancing the wages of the manufacturing poor should have their consideration, succeeded in conciliating the populace, who relinquished their booty and returned peaceably home'. Of the soldiers, an officer and 30 men were left at Sandsfield, and the rest marched back to Carlisle. They chose to enter the city as though on parade, with drums beating ('a ceremony which, in our opinion, had better have been dispensed with', observed the

Carlisle Journal), and trouble soon followed. A woman threw a stone at an officer, who pursued her with his sword. Other bystanders began throwing stones, and in a short time 'a very large mob was collected who struck us with stones in a most violent manner with repeated insults...'. The soldiers appear to have kept their heads, for the men were actually dismissed, apparently at the Main Guard in the market-place. But as the officers made their way to their 'Mess House', which appears to have been in the city rather than in the castle, they were attacked again. They therefore applied for help to the magistrates, who read the riot act, 'which was paid little or no attention to by the populace'. The officers then withdrew, accompanied by one of the JPs, but as they went towards the 'Mess House' they were 'continually surrounded and struck with stones and other rubbish...', and once they got there 'the high windows & shutters were totally destroyed and the officers threatened...'. There was nothing for it, therefore, but to send back to the Main Guard for a company of soldiers, and when they arrived the attendant magistrate ordered them 'to fire in all directions'. There were now 'thousands of the inhabitants of the city' in the streets, most of them, according to the *Carlisle Journal*, ignorant of the riot act's having been read, and gathered only 'from motives of curiosity to learn the cause of this unusual commotion'. Perhaps the soldiers appreciated this, for at first they fired over the heads of the crowd, but this only 'irritated them the more', and in the end they obeyed orders 'to fire upon the populace'. Thirty-eight arrests were made, and one person was killed; by a tragic irony, she was the wife of one of the soldiers who had been left at Sandsfield. The *Carlisle Journal* expressed surprise that more people had not lost their lives, 'as a very great number of balls were next morning found in the streets, and some had perforated the walls of the houses'.

Since on the very next day quarter sessions were held in the city, in the course of which the Carlisle Weavers' Memorial was presented to the magistrates, begging them 'to alleviate our present sufferings, by exercising your official authority in our behalf, and affixing such prices to the different fabrics of cotton cloth, as will enable the workers thereof to live by their labour', only to be rejected, it is understandable that the authorities should have felt considerable anxiety about their ability to keep the peace in Carlisle. Major Hogg of the 55th wrote to Newcastle asking for reinforcements – 50 men of the 2nd Dragoon Guards were sent (PRO *HO42/122* f 145) – and he also expressed a concern which probably had a good deal to do with the works undertaken on the castle in this year. 'There is', he wrote, 'another circumstance which I conceive hazardous, the store of the local militia arms, being in a very unprotected state, and which was threatened to be broke open by the mob...'. In 1811 the new armoury was said to contain 10,000 stands of arms, and there were also muskets and 'small arm ammunition' stored in the keep (PRO *WO55/2376* no 8; *WO55/715* 10 Dec 1810). In the same year *Jollie's Cumberland Guide and Directory*, in its account of Carlisle, observed of the castle that 'being a garrisoned place and a very considerable depot of ordnance stores, we conceive it imprudent to describe it minutely...', but it nevertheless showed, by reference to the 'still shewn' apartments in Queen Mary's Tower, and to 'the beautiful and extensive prospect which the great tower affords...' (*Jollie's Cumberland Guide* 22–4), that in spite of the closure of the Lady's Walk public access was easily had, even to the inner ward and the keep. It is very likely that the militia arms were kept in the castle. Even if they were not, the riot of 6 April was probably sufficient to arouse fears that the populace might obtain access to the guns and ammunition so inadequately guarded there. On 29 May order was given that work on the keep should proceed, and in August the repairs were said to be 'carrying on' (PRO *WO55/715* 29 May, 12 Aug 1812).

This was not the only work in progress. In 1811 the old Governor's House was described as 'Unoccupied and in a state of Ruin' (PRO *WO55/2376* no 8), and in the following year it was demolished. The move may not have been unconnected with the works on the keep. There was no shortage of building materials locally, but in the disturbed conditions then prevailing, the authorities may have feared for the safety of materials brought in from outside. So they used old stonework instead of, or as well as, new. Captain Boothby, Commanding Royal Engineer in the Northern District, suggested that he 'apply the materials of certain old buildings belonging to the Ordnance in the Repairs carrying on to the Powder Magazine and the Square Tower in Carlisle Castle', and the Ordnance Office agreed, adding only that the Ordnance Storekeeper should dispose of such materials as Boothby did not want 'by public sale to the best advantage'.[13] Yet when the work was done, events seem to have followed their usual pattern for this period, with alarm being speedily followed by apathy, for the keep was only partly put to its intended use; a report of 1820 described its storerooms and magazines as 'never until the end of last year one fourth part occupied...' (PRO *WO55/715* 25 Jul 1820). Perhaps without a permanent garrison it did not appear to be worth the government's while to provide the castle with all the stores of munitiions it could hold. As it was, although in 1813 a new privy was built 'within the walls of the Garrison', replacing one outside the castle which had been 'represented as a great nuisance' (ibid, 17 Apr 1813), Carlisle castle was so far from being regularly manned by soldiers that the Master-Gunner was able to rent the castle green in the outer ward from the Ordnance Board in order to keep cows on it,[14] while the Master-Gunner's own garden, which until 1814 had been worked by one of the Ordnance pensioners living in the outer gatehouse, was thereafter 'resigned to the Storekeeper to grow a few flowers' (PRO *WO55/2456* no 2).

A garrison was probably regarded as unnecessary as long as representatives of the militias continued at intervals to take up station in the city (early in 1814, for instance, men of the Royal Lanark militia were recorded as being replaced by a detachment of the Berwickshire militia (*Carl Journ* 19 Feb 1814 *DRP*)), reinforced by regular troops if the occasion seemed to demand it. At least once the occasion did so demand. Although the tension apparent in 1812 might seem to have eased sufficiently for the possibility to be mooted in September 1814 that the Lady's Walk would be

reopened 'for public accommodation' (ibid, 8 Sept 1814 *DRP*), the weavers of northern England and southern Scotland were still unreconciled to the decline of their craft. In October 1814 those of Carlisle were active in forming a combination with other weavers and calico printers (Barnes 1978, 156), which probably explains why in the previous month a troop of the 3rd. Dragoon Guards was stationed in the city.[15] And when the 3rd. Dragoons were sent off to the continent in July 1815, to form part of the army of occupation imposed upon France after the battle of Waterloo, they were nevertheless replaced by a troop of the 5th. Dragoon Guards, sent 'to do the duty of the place' (*Carl Journ* 1, 29 Jul 1815 *DRP*). France in the aftermath of defeat, and a potentially turbulent English textile centre like Carlisle, differed, it would appear, only in the number of English troops billetted upon them. The militias were, indeed, disbanded during the months after Napoleon's surrender in April 1814 (ibid, 28 Jan, 25 Feb 1815 *DRP*), and the Hundred Days were too brief to allow their reconstitution. But a military presence was still felt to be necessary if order was to be maintained in Carlisle, and as long as that remained the case, the castle would have a part to play in the process.

Notes

1 A point I owe to Denis Perriam

2 Those on the eastern side of the city are shown on a map of 1746, PRO *MPQ* 17(1)

3 Jefferson 1746, xiii–xiv. This account goes on to say that Cumberland was nearly killed when the castle returned his fire, but other accounts attribute his narrow escape to an earlier day when he was marking out batteries, Mounsey 1846, 150, 160

4 This account of operations is based on Ray 1753, 206–8; Mounsey 1846, 151

5 Jackson 1879. In 1792 it was said that there had been no garrison 'for the last thirty years', Hutchinson 1794, II, 663

6 Carlisle City Library, Jackson Collection 2BC 728 ff 3, 20v. I am grateful to Denis Perriam for drawing my attention to this document

7 CRO *D/Mh* II ff 234–237 *DRP*; the hours at which the guns were fired are given in *The Universal British Directory* (1790), 625

8 Thomas Hearne, Watercolour of Carlisle Castle, in Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery *DRP*

9 PRO *WO55/1578*(11) 25 Sept 1823. I am grateful to Denis Perriam for advice about the final form of the armoury

10 PRO *MPH* 851. Documents sometimes refer to the Duke of Portland as holding the properties in question, but this would appear to have been an error, no doubt the result of bureaucratic inertia, since the Duke of Portland sold his rights to the Duke of Devonshire in 1787, (*VCH Cumb*, II, 311)

11 A point I owe to Denis Perriam

12 This account of the riot of 1812 is based on PRO *HO42/122* ff 146–8 and *Carl Journ* 11 Apr 1812 *DRP*. The former was written by Major Hogg of the 55th, on the day after the riot, and was concerned to justify the conduct of the military, the latter was more sympathetic to the rioters. Inevitably there are some discrepancies between these two sources on points of detail, the most important being as to when the riot act was read. But on the whole they describe what are recognisably the same events

13 PRO *WO55/715* 12 Aug 1812. It would appear that the Governor's House was not entirely demolished at this time, there still appears to have been a wall connecting the keep to Queen Mary's Tower in 1819, PRO *MPH* 984 no 4. But this disappeared soon afterwards

14 PRO *WO55/1578*(11). In 1791 a dispute had arisen between the Master Gunner and the Town Major because the latter had taken possession of the castle green, which had 'always been in the possession of the Master Gunner', and leased it to a butcher, who no doubt kept his own cows on it, *Jackson Collection 2BC 728* back cover

15 *Carl Journ* 10 Sept 1814 *DRP*. There were also disturbances at Workington

14 Radicalism and reconstruction, 1815–1848

1815–1820

Carlisle Castle in 1815 still had no regular garrison, with the possible exception of a few pensioned-off artillerymen living in the outer gatehouse (PRO *WO55/2294* no 9; *WO55/2456* no 2). Having stagnated for most of the eighteenth century, it had indeed been revived somewhat in the early years of the nineteenth when new buildings were erected in its outer ward, but this was primarily so that it could serve as a depot of arms, not because it was intended to become a centre of military life. Nevertheless, it had retained its defensive potential, its walls and most of its buildings having been kept in a reasonable state of repair. Those structures had been raised in order to meet the threat from north of the border. But now the castle's role depended on political and economic developments at its gates, in the city which it had once existed to protect. For Carlisle, the years immediately after 1815 were barely distinguishable from those before it, being characterised by great economic hardship which was exacerbated by the depression which followed the end of the Napoleonic wars. Unemployment was widespread. This meant in turn that, after Waterloo as before it, a military presence in the city was regarded as essential if the resulting discontent was to be contained. That presence usually consisted of cavalry (then, as now, regarded as the best means of dealing with riots and tumults). There were men of the 13th Light Dragoons in Carlisle in 1817 (*Carl Pat* 17 May 1817 *DRP*), two troops of Scots Greys a year later (*Carl Journ* 11 Apr 1818 *DRP*). It was the former who were sent out to Allonby, on the coast of Maryport, to deal with a riot there at the beginning of March 1817 (*Carl Pat* 8 Mar 1817 *DRP*). But disturbances early in 1817, when a magistrate's haystack was set on fire just outside Carlisle, causing Sir James Graham to shake his head over the 'very bad set' of people responsible for such misdeeds (PRO *HO42/160*, 18, 23 Feb 1817) seems to have led to infantry being called in as well, for a company of infantry, from the 33rd Regiment had been stationed in the city by the end of April that year (*Carl Pat* 26 Apr 1817 *DRP*), while when the 33rd left for Bolton it was replaced by a company of the 54th (ibid, 3 May 1817 *DRP*). All these men, horse and foot alike, would have been billetted in the city, where together the 54th and the 13th Light Dragoons commemorated their share in the victory of Waterloo at a joint dinner in the Wool Pack Inn (ibid, 21 Jun 1817 *DRP*). The castle continued to be only a depot of arms, and in spite of the hardness of the times it seems to have been felt that the stocks of weapons in it were secure. So much so that early in 1817 the citizens won the Ordnance Board's approval for the reopening of the Lady's Walk, immediately below the inner ward's south curtain, as a public promenade, 'such as it formerly was when the castle was more considered than it is at present...'. The only conditions were that the city should pay 1s yearly for the privilege and that a gate should be made giving access to the walk (replacing the door bricked up by Captain Hartcup), whose key should be in the keeping of the guard stationed in the gatehouse nearby (PRO *WO44/13* 21 Feb, 1 Mar 1817).

The presence of troops was one way of containing the prevailing discontent, the provision of public works, it was hoped, was another. A committee had been formed to undertake works 'for the very laudable purpose of employing the labouring poor'(ibid, 21 Feb 1817). One of these works, proposed in February 1817, was for a walk on the castle's north side (*Carl Pat* 15 Feb 1817 *DRP*). The consent of the Duke of Devonshire, the Crown's tenant for the land involved, was secured, and so was that of the Ordnance Board (PRO *WO55/715* 11 Apr 1817; *WO44/13* 24 Feb 1817). Subscribers were soon found, and by the first week of March a 'great number' of men were said to be employed on the walk (*Carl Pat* 8 Mar 1817 *DRP*). Men may have been numerous, but they were hardly enthusiastic, most of them were weavers, and they would have preferred to have been earning their livings at their looms (Barnes 1978, 156). But this did not discourage their benefactors, and late in 1817 a subscription was opened to pay for a walk from the castle to the Eden bridge (*Carl Pat* 20 Dec 1817 *DRP*), and fifteen months later, in March 1819, there were plans for a bank 'on the north side of the Bitts from the New Eden Bridge to the Castle Walk', towards which the Corporation agreed to pay twenty guineas (CRO *Ca2/9* 18 Mar 1819). These were mere palliatives, perceived as such, and certainly insufficient to keep a growing discontent in check. The military authorities became increasingly alarmed, and at the beginning of 1819 a report to the Duke of Wellington as the new Master General of the Ordnance (in which capacity he had ultimate authority over Carlisle castle) drew attention to 'the defences of this place... not having been attended to for a very long time past', although also to 'their susceptibility of defence with a little previous preparation...' (PRO *WO55/715* 25 Jul 1820). It looked increasingly as if the castle might indeed have to be defended, as the cause of radical reform won ever more support and sympathy in the city below. The consequences of this development for the castle would be momentous.

At the beginning of 1819 there still seems to have been no garrison in the castle. When the 18th Hussars arrived early in January, 195 strong (*Carl Journ* 9 Jan 1819) they would have been billetted in the city. But infantry may have been a different matter. There were certainly foot-soldiers in Carlisle by mid-June, and even if they did not yet *live* in the castle, they were undoubtedly much in evidence there, the Master Gunner being ordered to remove his cows from their hitherto untroubled grazing on the Castle Green because they 'interfered with and prevented the drilling and parade duties of the Garrison' (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 23 Jun 1819), then made up of men of the 6th Regiment of Foot. They may have been sent to Carlisle in anticipation of the mass-meeting of weavers from northern England and southern Scotland which was held on Carlisle Sands on 3 June (Barnes 1978, 156); the military was in attendance on that occasion, and though its presence proved to be unnecessary, discontent on a scale which could prompt so large an assembly, and fears for the safety of the arms in the

castle should that discontent lead to violence, may have made it seem essential that the infantry should stay in Carlisle thereafter. The foundation of the Carlisle Political Union Society in July, one of many such societies set up at this time to further the cause of political reform (Barnes 1984, 207; Thompson 1968, 739), showed that radicalism was not going to fade away, and there was certainly no possibility of its doing so in the aftermath of Peterloo, an event which caused widespread outrage (Thompson 1968, 754–60, 779–80). Even before Peterloo, in the first half of August, there were 'great marchings and countermarchings of soldiers' to overawe the 'seditiously inclined', while 'additional measures of precaution' were taken for the security of the castle (*Carl Journ* 14 Aug 1819 *DRP*). A month later it was 'numerous parties of malcontents' who were said to be drilling, and the 'utmost vigilance' was being taken at the castle for the safekeeping of the 'vast quantities' of arms and ammunition stored there (ibid, 18 Sept 1819 *DRP*). The fears of the authorities were intensified by a belief that the ranks of the radicals had been stiffened by numerous disbanded soldiers, who had a grievance of their own, in the inadequacy of their pensions (Mather 1958, 111–12); 'several persons from Carlisle' who watched the radicals training reported that they went through their manoeuvres 'with a precision not to be exceeded by regular troops' (*Carl Journ* 25 Sept 1819 *DRP*).

The radicals protested that they had been misrepresented (ibid, 9 Oct 1819 *DRP*), but by the end of September the military and civilian authorities were taking counsel for the security of the castle. Colonel Birch, the Commanding Royal Engineer in the Northern District, proposed that the 'Sallee port' in the outer ward's west curtain be walled up, and asked the Home Office if other 'preparations of defence' like parapets and platforms should be put up now or left until next year. The castle wall, he explained, was essentially to be 'regarded as one of enclosure to the depot of arms, though susceptible of defence with some previous preparation...'. He also wanted to know if any measures taken should cover both wards or only the inner one, pointing out that the outer ward contained the armoury, the inner ward the magazine (PRO *HO42/196* 30 Sept 1819). Not long afterwards Colonel Bainbridge wrote from Carlisle to General Byng, the officer commanding the troops in the North of England, giving notice that a radical meeting had been fixed for Monday 11 October, 'bearing eight flags with the usual inscriptions'. There were rumours, wrote Bainbridge, 'concerning the intentions of the mob to possess themselves of the arms in the castle of this place', and 'known disaffected persons' had been observed looking over it. Bainbridge's only response, however, had been the somewhat bathetic one of a notice posted up saying 'no person is to (be) admitted within the Castle except on business' (ibid, 7 Oct 1819). Stronger measures were called for, and Colonel Birch was just the man to implement them – since he would subsequently refer to such as might take it into their heads to attack the castle as 'the enemy' (PRO *WO44/14* 16 Oct 1819), it would appear that he regarded radical as synonymous with Jacobin, and looked on disaffected weavers with a furious dislike matching that with which he had doubtless once confronted the armies of Napoleon.

On the same day (7 October) that Bainbridge wrote to Byng, Birch was instructed by the Ordnance Board to take steps to protect the inner ward (referred to as the Citadel). Platforms were to be constructed to carry two four-pounder guns, and all communications between the ramparts of the outer ward and the walls of the inner ward were to be cut, while Birch was also ordered 'to prepare plans and estimates of the works necessary to put the Citadel of Carlisle in a state of defence against a mob' (PRO *WO55/715* 7 Oct 1819). At the same time the Storekeeper was told to have the small arms and pikes moved out of the armoury on the Green and into the keep (PRO *WO44/14* 7 Oct 1819). The move was completed on 11 October (ibid, 4 Dec 1819) and as far as the Ordnance Board was concerned that was what mattered most, that the weapons had been placed where they were least likely to fall into radical hands. Unfortunately, Colonel Birch was not content with anything so simple, and considerably exceeded his instructions, in that not only did he propose alterations to the defences but he also proceeded to implement them. He later explained that he had only been told of the impending emergency – the radical meeting – on 8 October, and had hastened at once to Carlisle, where was given to understand (wrongly, as it turned out) that the Clerk of the Ordnance, visiting the castle, had given orders that guns should be mounted on the walls facing the city. It appeared to Birch, however, that the antiquity of the guns, 'being old heavy iron six-pounders on nine-pounder ship carriages', together with the likelihood of there being 'old soldiers supposed to be in the ranks or as trainers of the radicals', made such a measure futile, and he took it on himself to make other provision for 'the defence of a long dismantled old place, fortified in antient times...' (PRO *WO44/14* 16 Oct 1819).

On 9 October he informed General Mann, the Inspector General of Fortifications, that he had already turned the north-west angle of the outer ward into a separate fortification, cut off by deep ditches from the ramparts on either side of it and surrounded by a parapet,[1] placed a platform over the barbican in front of the outer gatehouse on which infantry could be stationed, put similar platforms on the two small turrets at the south-east and north-west angles of Queen Mary's Tower, and set a 'machicoulis defence', probably a sort of platform with murder-holes, over that tower's entrance. There was already a platform over the entrance to the Captain's Tower (it seems clear that the crenellations here and over the outer gatehouse's barbican date from this year), and from all these vantage points it was possible to 'completely command both the outside and inside of the castle, enveloping the armoury on all sides with their fire'. It seems to have escaped Birch's attention that the armoury was being emptied of weapons, for he had all its ground-floor windows closed up, and planned to do the same on the first floor with musketry-proof plank. He also proposed that some officers should 'sleep constantly within the castle', although the only place in which they could do so was the Master Gunner's house (another indication that there was no resident garrison).

It obviously did not trouble Birch that he had only been ordered to prepare estimates for putting the castle in a state of defence. He informed the Ordnance Board that he would 'continue completing these defences' until he received further instructions, remarking that the cost 'cannot be much for a few days work and a few ends of plank', and added as a postcript that 'the above measures are not merely meant for Monday next, but as permanent, or preparations for permanent ones for the ensuing season' (PRO *WO44/14* 9 Oct 1819).

Monday next was the day of the radical meeting. With sprigs of laurel in their hats, carrying banners inscribed 'Trial by Jury' and 'Liberty and the Rights of Meeting', not to mention 'Liberty or Death', the 'radical reformers' marched through the city, past the castle, and out to Coalfell Hill near Newtown, on the west side of Carlisle (Barnes 1984, 207; *Carl Journ* 16 Oct 1819 *DRP*). Several guns had been been mounted on the battlements of the castle, while infantry were placed on the outer gatehouse. The meeting itself was attended by three magistrates, who therefore had to listen to speeches delivered in what Birch was told was 'the *most highly* inflammatory language'. Birch reckoned the numbers at the meeting at only about a thousand, 'of a low description', moreover, 'without any supporters of respectability'. The *Carlisle Journal* probably more reliably, estimated the attendance at between two and three thousand. There were no signs of disorder, and there was probably never any likelihood of it. But Birch gave the credit to his own precautions, describing how when the meeting broke up those returning to the city passed under the castle walls, and looking up exclaimed 'there are the soldiers' and 'appeared alarmed and stupified by them' (PRO *WO55/715* 11 Oct 1819). A sense of triumph did not, however, deter Birch from offering further suggestions for improvements to the castle's defences, particularly those of the inner ward. By now there was a detachment of the 40th Regiment actually in the castle, but it was probably not a large contingent, and Birch decided that rather than attempt to line the ramparts with the few men at his disposal, his manpower should be distributed among the buildings of the inner ward where it would be most effective. The proposals which he sent to General Mann were very much in line with those he had already made – works on the turrets and entrance of Queen Mary's Tower, 'a strong machicoulis defence' over the whole entrance to the Captain's Tower, with loopholes on either side of it, and a parapet to be thrown out at the north angle of the inner ward, to act 'as a flank to the scarps'. Birch would have proposed machicolating the battlements of the keep, and providing troops below with speedy access to them by making a hole through the roof to the rooms immediately beneath it, had this not been certain to nullify those rooms' function as a store. But he suggested turning the reserve ammunition store, the southern end of the palace complex, into an officers' barrack, as well as the construction of a palisade in front of the Lady's Walk and the removal of the parapet wall on top of the outer gatehouse, so that its upper levels could be commanded from the inner ward (PRO *WO44/14* 13 Oct 1819; *MPH* 984 no 4).

Many of Birch's suggestions went unheeded. Wellington himself, as Master General of the Ordnance, approved his plans for the defence of Queen Mary's Tower and the Captain's Tower, but accompanied his approval with a stiff rebuke, observing that 'when an officer is called upon for a plan and estimate he should not take upon himself to execute a work which was quite unnecessary...' (PRO *WO44/14* 20 Oct 1819), and later censuring Birch's 'extraordinary haste' (ibid, 2 Nov 1819). And the Ordnance Board, in a letter to Wellington, was of the opinion that 'the fears expressed by the Lieut. Colonel are greatly exaggerated', and that the only thing which mattered was the security of the arms in the castle, 'nor was any thought ever entertained beyond that as to the fortification of the Castle' (ibid, 19 Oct 1819). Yet at one point, at least, Birch's ideas were running in parallel with those of his superiors, when he envisaged a garrison for the castle, 100 men for the inner ward and 50 for the outer gatehouse. The possibility of placing a garrison in Carlisle castle was being seriously considered at this time by the senior officers in the North of England, and on 15 October the Horse Guards (the office of the commander-in-chief of the British army) wrote to the Ordnance Board reporting that General Byng had represented it as 'extremely desirable' that two complete companies of infantry should be quartered in the castle, and that there were five rooms available which might serve to accommodate them. Three were in Queen Mary's Tower, the other two in a building 'Formerly a Depot for Powder but now almost empty', almost certainly the palace. The Ordnance Board was asked to transfer these to the Barrack Department, 'with a view to their being immediately converted into a Barrack' (ibid, 15 Oct 1819).

This was a decisive moment in the history of the castle, for from the decision to bring it back into use as barracks flowed consequences for its function and fabric which are discernible to this day. It was a decision taken in direct response to the social and political conditions then prevailing in Carlisle and its neighbourhood. The execration aroused by Peterloo was so great that efforts made to raise a force of Yeomanry cavalry in Carlisle had been abandoned by the end of October. 'Such', commented the *Carlisle Journal*, 'is the detestation in which the conduct of the Manchester Yeomanry Cavalry is held by the gentlemen of Carlisle' (*Carl Journ* 30 Oct 1819 *DRP*). This failure to recruit a local peacekeeping force may well have given a strong impetus to the decision to bring the castle back into use as a garrison. But continued radical agitation must have played an equally important part. On 1 November another reform meeting was held in the the city, considerably larger than that of 11 October (ibid, 6 Nov 1819 *DRP*). No magistrates, constables or military were present on this occasion, but although proceedings were once more entirely orderly, this did not stop Birch putting forward yet more proposals for the protection of the castle and its contents – clearly he went in fear of its being stormed at any moment. Among his suggestions was that the doors into the ground-floor rooms of the outer gatehouse, then opening into the arch of the gateway, should be replaced by doors

which opened directly into the outer ward, so that if the gatehouse should be captured, anyone advancing beyond it would be forced out into the open and exposed to the fire of the defenders of the inner ward (PRO *WO44/14* 27 Oct 1819). This idea was ignored, and though Birch's proposals for fitting up an armoury in the keep, to accommodate the weapons moved into it from the outer ward, won an initial acceptance (it was to cost just under £100), work was subsequently suspended (PRO *WO55/715* 25 Jul 1820). There was work in progress at other points, however. On 27 October the cutting off of the outer from the inner ward, and other works to enable the latter to resist attack, were 'so far finished as to be in a state of defence' (PRO *WO44/14* 4 Dec 1819). It was probably in connection with this development (specifically, with the machicolated platform that Birch had proposed for the Captain's Tower) that during the week ending 30 October workmen engaged in 'removing the inner wall of a room above the gateway that leads into the inner castle' discovered a quantity of bones and some fragments of cloth and metal. It must have been with considerable regret that local devotees of the Gothic novel learnt that the bones were not human (*Carl Journ* 30 Oct, 6 Nov 1819 *DRP*). And on 29 October the Ordnance Board approved the surrender to the Barrack Department of Queen Mary's Tower and the Reserve Ammunition Store to be made into barracks, though with the reservation that this was to be regarded as a temporary measure, and the proviso that although the Barrack Department was to pay for the conversion, the work was to be 'so far under the inspection of the Commanding Royal Engineer as to prevent any detriment to the defences...' (PRO *WO55/715* 29 Oct 1819).

His superiors may have regarded Birch's response to the crisis of the times as one of excessive zeal, but there is no doubt that they took that crisis seriously themselves. By 13 November Carlisle Castle could be described as intended to be 'one of the principal depots in the North' (*Carl Journ* 13 Nov 1819 *DRP*), and there were even plans to make it the only 'depot of arms and military stores' in the North of England (PRO *WO55/715* 25 Jul 1820). Such a scheme was overambitious, but the castle had not yet reached the limits of its development. Two days later the Ordnance Board licensed the surrender of 'the inner gate or Citadel Gate Tower, including the Barrack at the outer gate entrance, for the further accommodation of the Troop...' (ibid, 15 Nov 1819) and on 25 November two six-pounder guns from Woolwich were put on board the *Lord Howick*, a Newcastle trading ship, to be carried up to Newcastle and conveyed thence to Carlisle (PRO *WO44/13* 25 Nov 1819). They arrived there on 18 December, when they were smuggled into the castle 'at a very early hour in the morning and then not without a strong guard of military... lest they should be intercepted by the Radicals!'(*Carl Journ* 18 Dec 1819 *DRP*). A few days later two brass guns from Whitehaven were brought into the castle (ibid, 24 Dec 1819 *DRP*). The *Carlisle Journal*, which recorded these arrivals, reported that it had been claimed in the House of Commons 'that amongst the various districts that are in a disturbed state there are none more so than our good city of Carlisle', an assertion, observed the *Journal*, which 'must strike terror and alarm amongst all the respectable 'old women' of both sexes'. The *Journal*'s irony would have been lost on many of its readers, not unreasonably, since for weeks previously it had been carrying reports of searches by both troops and magistrates for 'persons found assembling for military training' and for pikes (ibid, 4, 11, 18 Dec 1819 *DRP*). They found neither, but the cavalry were nevertheless ordered to have their swords sharpened (ibid, 4 Dec 1819 *DRP*), and on 9 December were reinforced by a troop of dragoons, who were billetted in the assembly rooms of the Crown and Mitre tavern (ibid, 11 Dec 1819 *DRP*). The castle, it was said, was 'as safely kept as if the place were in a state of siege' (ibid, 4 Dec 1819 *DRP*), and the Earl of Lonsdale, the Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, subsequently described himself as 'greatly satisfied' with the improvements lately made there 'to protect it from the pretended threatened attack of the Radicals...' (ibid, 24 Dec 1819 *DRP*).

At the end of 1819 those improvements would have consisted of the defensive works initiated by Colonel Birch and such measures as had been necessary to convert existing rooms into barracks. There were also a few minor works ordered which were carried out in the following year, a wooden store-shed beside the keep for the Master Gunner, privies in the inner and outer wards (PRO *WO55/2456* no 8). Perhaps it was with these in mind that on 20 January 1820 the *Carlisle Patriot* contained an advertisement inviting tenders for work in the castle, applicants being asked to contact the Master Gunner (*Carl Pat* 29 Jan 1820 *DRP*). There was no immediate end to the social unrest, however. Although the men of the 40th left Carlisle on 27 January, they were replaced on the same day by a contingent from the 33rd Regiment (*Carl Journ* 29 Jan 1820 *DRP*), and when the castle guns were fired on 6 February to salute the accession of George IV, the sound was said to have been audible nine miles away, and to have given the countrymen who heard it cause to fear 'that the old story of the Radicals intending to storm the castle had been verified' (ibid, 12 Feb 1820 *DRP*). No doubt such alarm seemed absurd to others beside the *Carlisle Journal*, but there was nothing comic, though there was much that was pathetic, about the Scottish weavers who rose in revolt early in April and appear to have expected the weavers of northern England, those of Carlisle among them, to have risen in their support (Thompson 1968, 775–6). It is not entirely surprising that there should have been further proposals to remove arms and stores into the castle's inner ward (PRO *WO55/715* 14 Feb 1820), together with plans to erect a cavalry barracks under its walls (ibid, 23 May 1820). The latter proposal was abandoned late in May, but £1000 was spent on three acres of land in Caldewgate, where it was decided such a barracks should be built instead (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* n d; *WO44/557* 6 Jan 1834). This background of continued discontent probably explains why late in January 1820 Colonel Birch believed that accommodation was needed for two more companies of infantry, and recommended that the field-train shed, which stood near to and parallel with the outer ward's west curtain, between the north-west angle and the sally port, and

was probably identical with the Carriage shed built in 1805 (PRO *WO44/547* plan of 31 Mar 1811, copied in Jan 1820; *WO55/1578(11)* 25 Sept 1823) should with the reserve ammunition store be adapted to hold one company each. It was true, he admitted, that the latter had only just been converted into officers' barracks, but he suggested that the officers be transferred to the armoury in the outer ward, 'because the inside of the Citadel is terribly dull, and the armoury otherwise used would make nice accommodation for officers...' (PRO *WO55/715* 25 Jan 1820). The armoury would indeed become a barracks, but not for several years to come. It was later reported that during 1820 the barrack space in the castle had been increased from sixty-two men to 160 (CRO *D/MUS A/1/19 DRP*), but this was achieved without any more buildings being taken over.

1820–1831

The truth of the matter was that after an anxious start the early 1820s were years of relative prosperity, during which prices and unemployment both fell (Thompson 1968, 778). As early as April 1821 General Byng, though still regarding Carlisle as 'a very desirable station' for a cavalry barracks, felt unable to deny that to delay building them 'in the present improved state of the country' would not be 'detrimental to the public service' (PRO *HO40/16* 30 Apr 1821). The barracks remained unbuilt and such works as were carried out on the castle were more likely to be intended for the convenience of the garrison than for the repression of radicals, as when in 1820 two of the old casemates in the wall to the north of the Captain's Tower were brought back into use, the one as a store for engineers' tools and the other as a cook-house for the troops – it cost £113 19s 4d, slightly less than had been estimated (PRO *WO55/2456* no 8; *WO55/715* 30 Aug 1820; *WO55/1578*(11) 25 Sept 1823). Colonel Birch submitted a report on the magazines and stores at Carlisle, in the course of which he debated the relative merits of Carlisle and Tynemouth as the government's principal depot in the North of England, and came to the conclusion that its geographical position made Tynemouth strong favourite (PRO *WO55/715* 25 Jul 1820). He put forward ideas for adapting Carlisle keep to make it a store for arms and gunpowder, but there is no evidence that they were acted on, the keep was still a magazine and storehouse in 1823 (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 17 Nov 1823) as it had been in 1820, and it only became an armoury in 1827. In the meantime the castle remained a visible centre of authority, and salutes were regularly fired from its battlements to celebrate anniversaries associated with the existing order like the king's birthday and coronation day, Oakapple day and Guy Fawkes night. There seem to have been disturbances in the city in 1821 (*Carl Journ* 6 Apr 1833 *DRP*), and troops of cavalry periodically succeeded one another at Carlisle. These then had to be billetted on the city's innkeepers, who found their presence so burdensome that in January 1825 they planned to petition Parliament to accommodate the cavalry in barracks (ibid, 29 Jan 1825 *DRP*). The infantry continued to be stationed in the castle, but in considerably reduced numbers; in May 1825 it was reported that 'it has not been occupied for the last three years by more than 60 men, and in fact never has been much occupied by a regular Garrison...' (CRO *D/MUS A/1/19 DRP*). On 12 March 1823 the castle guns fired a new salute, to celebrate the opening of a ship canal connecting Carlisle to the Solway, a development which would be of considerable benefit to the local economy during the next thirty years (*Carl Journ* 15 Mar 1823 *DRP*; PRO *WO55/1578(11)* Ordnance Receipts 1823; *VCH Cumb* II, 346). As times became easier, the townsfolk worried less about law and order – plans to establish a police force in the city came to nothing in 1823 (CRO *Ca2/9* 3 Feb 1823; *Ca2/306, 310*) – and gave little thought to the castle's defensive function. In the spring of 1821 the inhabitants of St. Mary's parish applied to be allowed to convert land outside the castle's south curtain into a burial ground (PRO *WO55/715* 25 May 1821). Rebuffed on that occasion, they returned with the same proposal in June 1824, but although they now had the support of the Bishop, the Dean and Chapter and the Lord Lieutenant, the suggestion was no better received than before. The land in question was part of that held by Lord Lonsdale on the strength of the grant of the castle to Sir James Lowther in 1767, and the grounds for refusing were the same on each occasion, 'it being probable that the land may be required as an exercising ground for the Military when resumed by Government...' (PRO *WO44/14* 22 Jun, 2 Jul, 20 Jul, 2 Aug 1824). But in spite of this disappointment, relations between the city and the military were generally easy in these years, the *Carlisle Journal* more than once commenting on the good behaviour of the cavalry stationed in Carlisle (*Carl Journ* 15 Jun 1822, 28 Jun 1823, 27 Mar 1824 *DRP*).

Little building work was done in the castle – it was hardly necessary, given its reduced garrison. Early in 1822 part of the inner ward's north-east wall, supporting the Saluting Battery, collapsed, the result, it was said, of a hurricane, or, more prosaically, of 'the late continual rains'. The breach was more than thirty yards long, and it was decided to take down more than half the wall, in order to make a proper repair. It was a substantial operation, and an expensive one, the cost of 'a thorough repair' being estimated at £1604 10s 8d (PRO *WO55/715* 23 Jan, 18 Feb 1822; *WO44/14* 25 Feb 1822). It also took a long time to complete, possibly because of a lack of skilled workmen, or at any rate of skilled direction. In October 1822 work may not yet have started, since it had to be recommended that the breach be temporarily filled with a wooden paling (PRO *WO55/715* 8 Oct 1822), and eventually, in August 1823, the Ordnance Board had to be asked to send the overseer of works at Tynemouth to Carlisle 'to superintend the rebuilding of the Castle Wall' (PRO *WO44/14* 22 Aug 1823). Earlier in the summer there had been work in progress on the wall, a workman being severely injured by the collapse of part of it (*Carl Journ* 19 Jul 1823 *DRP*).[2] The work was not finished until the spring of 1824 (PRO *WO55/715* 7 Apr 1824). One may suspect that in spite of the difficulties the repairs would have been taken in hand with greater urgency had there still been fears of a mob attack on the castle. As it was, the military were even prepared to give up a

strongpoint in the city. This was the Main Guard, built in the market-place in the late 1640s and a centre for military operations against urban rioters as recently as 1812. Ten years later the Corporation regarded it as a nuisance, 'an obstruction to the street and a most unsightly object', one of the 'chief disfigurements of the town' (*Carl Journ* 23 Mar 1833 *DRP*). As for the castle, for which in the early 1820s it served as a barrack-store, its position so far away made it very inconvenient (PRO *WO55/715* 14 Dec 1825). It is not clear where the idea originated, but the Corporation expressed itself willing to pay the Ordnance Board the cost of building a new barrack-store in the castle, in return for permission to demolish the Main Guard in the market-place. The estimated cost of the new store was £497 10s, rounded up to £500, and on 12 April 1826 the deal was completed (CRO *Ca5/2/20*). On 7 August it was reported that 'New barrack store rooms are now erecting in the Castle' (PRO *WO44/602* 7 Aug 1826). The principal one, a long rectangular structure, extended into the outer ward from the west end of its south curtain, and there were to be others next to the Master Gunner's house and at the south end of the west curtain (PRO *WO55/2531* nos 8, 9 and plan). The lack of such storage space had been 'a subject of constant complaint', which the new buildings would 'in some degree remedy...'; even so, the military may have come to regret the loss of their vantage point at the centre of the city.

In May 1826 the Ordnance Board, which had recovered in 1822 the control over barracks lost in 1793 (Raudzens 1979, 95–6), gave instructions that the possibility of converting the armoury into a barracks should be investigated (PRO *WO55/716* 8 May 1826). Without much doubt this suggestion was related to the new arrangements for regimental organisation devised by Wellington in the previous year, for the division of any regiment going abroad (except to India) into six service and four depot companies. The depot's function was to be to raise and train recruits for the service companies, and to provide a billet for soldiers who had become elderly or infirm; it could also perform police duties (Strachan 1984, 211-3). A garrison of four companies was certainly larger than any recently stationed in Carlisle Castle (in 1837 it was reckoned that there should be 56 men in each depot company), and more barrack space would have been needed for it, though inevitably this was not provided at once. The men of the 55th who arrived in Carlisle on 18 June 1825 'for the purpose of exercising and training the recruits belonging to the regiment' would certainly have constituted a depot, and were in fact later referred to as such (*Carl Journ* 18 Jun 1825, 29 Sept 1827 *DRP*). But they were not called upon only to handle recruits. After the comparative prosperity of the previous six years, 1826 saw a brief depression. There was loom-breaking in Lancashire (Evans 1983, 194) and distress in Carlisle, where on the evening of May Day some twelve or thirteen hundred weavers staged a procession through the streets and presented a petition to the mayor (*Carl Journ* 6 May 1826 *DRP*).

There were much greater troubles to come, however, for 1826 was an election year, and the feelings aroused by political contest were exacerbated by those aroused by economic distress. There are two accounts of the violence that followed, published in the Tory *Carlisle Patriot* and the Whig *Carlisle Journal* respectively; they differ noticeably in tone, less strikingly in detail, though the *Patriot's* narrative[3] is probably the fuller of the two (ibid, 10 Jun 1826 *DRP*). On Tuesday 6 June the Tory candidate Sir Philip Musgrave, with what the *Journal* clearly regarded as more courage than sense, ventured in his pursuit of votes into Shaddongate, a suburb of Carlisle largely inhabited by weavers, who proceeded first to question him, 'with no extraordinary degree of politeness', and then to mob him. Stones were thrown, and the candidate and most of his friends were forced to take refuge in a private house where, later legend has it, Sir Philip was forced to sit down and work at the loom, to learn for himself how so many of his would-be constituents were obliged to live (Creighton 1889, 198). Some of his companions had escaped, however, and they informed the city magistrates, who swore in a number of special constables and set off to the rescue. But the weavers were waiting for them, and had heaped up piles of stones, and when the mayor and his men came within range they pelted them so effectively that they scattered. Several constables were ducked, many more were injured, and Sir Philip remained a prisoner. There was nothing for it but to call in troops from the castle, and half an hour later two companies of the 55th Regiment, some 120 strong, came onto the scene, together with a few artillerymen.

Given that the 55th was in the castle in order to train recruits, it is not altogether surprising that it was some of these recruits who now had to confront the city mob; the *Journal* described them as 'unskilled, inexperienced and undisciplined lads', and the *Patriot* admitted that 'some of them were young soldiers'. The details of what happened are not always clear, but it would appear that the troops, on being greeted with 'most tremendous' showers of stones, tried first to disperse the crowd by firing a volley into the air. This had no effect, since the mob 'kept up the attack with unabated ferocity'. Then bayonets were tried, but to no better effect, since the weavers withdrew out of harm's way and continued throwing stones as before. Finally orders were given to fire once more, and the troops opened what the *Patriot* called 'a partial fire'. Some of the shots were aimed high, but others were not. Two young women were killed (one of them, according to the *Patriot*, had been helping to stone the troops, and had her apron full of stones, an allegation indignantly denied by the *Journal*), and two young men were seriously injured. At least twenty shots were fired, which not unnaturally quickly dispersed the mob (except for a few weavers who even now went on throwing stones), after which the soldiers were able to release Sir Philip Musgrave from his confinement and return to the castle. At the coroner's inquest held on the following day the jury found the deaths to have been accidental, but with the rider that the soldiers had 'continued to fire in a very indiscreet and inconsiderate manner, and particularly at private houses, when the necessity for so doing seems to them to have ceased'. Four days later, on polling day, there were further disturbances, the result of the action of the mayor, who in the hope

of preventing a repetition of the recent violence had stationed a troop of cavalry in Botcherby Lane, an infringement of electoral law which almost caused a riot (*Carl Journ* 17 Jun 1826 *DRP*). And unrest in the city, and hostility towards the military, persisted well after June 1826. To some extent this was the soldiers' own fault, on 8 July the *Carlisle Journal* recording that men of the 55th had been parading in Shaddongate, allegedly for their own amusement (ibid, 8 Jul 1826 *DRP*). The resentment this sort of insensitive behaviour aroused may be judged by an incident a few weeks later, when two N.C.Os. , one of them with his wife, were stoned in the street by a group of weavers as they made their way back to the castle one evening (ibid, 29 Jul 1826 *DRP*). Late in November a petition was being drawn up for presentation to the House of Commons 'against the introduction of the military at the late election for this city, and also with respect to the proceedings in Shaddongate...' (ibid, 25 Nov 1826 *DRP*), and over a year later, in February 1828, a group of privates was rabbled in Botchergate (ibid, 9 Feb 1828 *DRP*).

They were men of the 90th Regiment, which had arrived in Carlisle on 26 July (ibid, 29 Jul 1826 *DRP*), no doubt to replace the 55th. Their commanding officer at once wrote off to the Ordnance Board complaining of 'the deficiencies in the Carlisle barracks for the accommodation of four companies' (PRO *WO44/602* 28 Jul 1826), and in particular of the lack of storage space, the need to paint and whitewash the barracks (which were 'much annoyed with smoke' (PRO *WO55/716* 30 Sept 1826), doubtless from the city), and the shortcomings of the Officers' Mess, described as 'wholly inadequate to allow of it being conducted in a manner consistent with the respectability of His Majesty's Service...'. There was not even a stable for the officers' horses. Such a complaint, the product in the first instance of the reorganisation of 1825, which meant an enlarged garrison for the castle anyway, coming as it did at a time of tumult and sudden death in the city (it was probably important that the Home Office had received the *Carlisle Patriot*'s account of the riot of 6 June, in which the weavers were described as 'infatuated aggressors' and tribute was paid to the soldiers as having 'displayed a great deal of moderation as well as firmness in the discharge of their painful duty...'), was one that could hardly be ignored. The result was a substantial programme of additions and alterations, carried out with surprising speed and leaving a permanent mark on the castle.

At their heart was the conversion of the armoury in the outer ward into an eight-room barracks, which when completed would house 114 men and enable the castle to accommodate 214 men altogether (PRO *WO44/602* 23 Mar, 23 Apr 1827). The estimated cost was £392 9s 2½d, and work was in progress by April 1827 (PRO *WO55/716* 18 Feb 1827; *WO44/602* 23 Apr 1827). The conversion of the armoury meant that a new home was needed for the guns hitherto stored in it, so these were transferred to the keep, where a new armoury was fitted up, the expected cost to be £179 15s 0½d. There had originally been a magazine on the upper floors of the keep, but this was moved out, the stores previously downstairs taken upstairs, and the armoury set up in their place, two rooms being taken over for the purpose (PRO *WO44/547* 6 Sept 1827). This meant that a new position was required for the magazine. The site chosen was the north angle of the inner ward, where the officers' privy stood. This was cleared away, though the damp left in the ground caused dry rot later (PRO *WO55/718* 25 Nov 1851), and the magazine, a two-storey building which had three rooms on each floor and was surrounded by a stockade, was constructed in its place, the anticipated cost being £422 7s 3d (PRO *WO44/547* 6 Sept 1827, 15 Oct 1827 (plan)). The conversion of the armoury into barracks meant that a new kitchen was needed to serve it, and by the middle of October 1827 one had been built, at the north end of the outer ward's west curtain (ibid, 15 Oct 1827 (plan)). A privy was built for the new barracks as well (PRO *WO55/716* 22 Aug 1827). The new kitchen had been intended to serve the entire garrison, but the commanding officer pointed out that it would be an inconvenience for the men quartered in the inner ward barracks to be forever crossing from one side of the castle to the other for their meals, so the old one was retained for a while. Its position, however, made it desirable that it be replaced, for in the casemate on the north side of the Captain's Tower it was now dangerously close to the magazine. It was decided, therefore, to build a new one, 'in a less objectionable situation', in the yard behind the officers' mess (PRO *WO44/547* 22 Aug 1827). The likely cost was reckoned to be £116 11s 5½d (PRO *WO55/716* 15 Oct 1827). A new storekeeper's office was built near the south-east corner of the keep, while just over £100 was to be spent making an 'area', a sunken courtyard, on two sides of the keep (ibid, 12 Apr 1827). The men's barracks had been whitewashed in 1826, and now it was proposed that the officers' quarters should be painted, at a cost of £33 14s 8d (ibid, 30 Sept 1826, 7 Jul 1827).

All this amounted to a comprehensive overhaul of the castle buildings, but that was not the limit of the changes made in this year. Although the Master Gunner had been ordered to remove his cows from the Castle Green in 1819, the subsequent reduction of the garrison appears to have allowed it to be used once more for grazing purposes, since in 1826 the Master Gunner now had sheep on it. Late in May of that year, however, he petitioned (successfully) for a reduction of his yearly rent, then £5, on the grounds that 'under existing circumstances he did not consider the rent of the above to be worth more than £3 *per annum*', those circumstances being probably related to his ceasing to rent the Green altogether after 1 April 1827, 'in consequence of the herbage being destroyed by the erection of buildings and exercising the troops thereon' (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 9 Jun 1826, 18 Apr 1827). In January 1828 the Ordnance property at Carlisle was said to include the 'Castle Green, now the Garrison Parade' (ibid, 10 Jan 1828). It seems overwhelmingly probable, therefore, that it was in 1826/27 that the Green disappeared, to be replaced by 'hard and grating gravel' (Nutter 1835, 40). And with the Green, without much doubt, went the inner moat and the lower levels of the Half-Moon Battery. The moat, according to Nutter, was filled up with rubbish. It was certainly filled up with something, to provide instant access from the

outer to the inner ward, and 1827, when there must have been continuous coming and going with weapons and building materials between the two, making the detour round behind the battery a considerable nuisance, seems by far the most likely date. Filling it will have been all the easier because it had been dry for years. Captain Hartcup had hoped that by restoring the drain between the inner and outer moats he would achieve 'the getting rid of the water in the inner ditch of the Castle...' (PRO *WO44/14* 24 May 1805), and his hopes were fulfilled. Still shown as full of water in a plan of 1806, (PRO *MPH* 851), by 1811 the inner ditch stood empty (PRO *WO55/2376*), and was never shown as containing water again. The works on the outer ward involved more than the filling of the inner ditch and the gravelling of its surface, for its level was raised as well, at least at some points – basically its east and west ends, since its central parts, for instance where the armoury of 1804 and the Master Gunner's house stood, do not seem to have been touched (ex inf *DRP*). At the east end, where Nutter's engraving of 1835 seems to show the Green as sloping from west to east,[4] it was probably necessary to do more than just fill the inner moat if the ground there was to be brought up to the same height as the entrance to the inner ward. There are no drawings known of the west end of the outer ward in the days when it was still under grass, but it seems at least possible that there was a fall in the level of the ground towards the west curtain steep enough to prevent buildings being placed close to the wall. It is noticeable that whereas the Master Gunner's house was placed immediately next to the north curtain, and stables right up against the south curtain, the west curtain was left clear of buildings; the proposed barracks shown as parallel to it in the plan of 1749 were to have been some distance in front of the wall (PRO *MPH* 703 no 8). But by 1830, as the map of that year shows, the entire outer ward had come to have a uniform surface (PRO *WO55/2531*), and one which now allowed buildings to be placed against the west curtain. It had done so, in fact, by the time the new cookhouse was constructed at its northern end, a building planned in April 1827 and completed by September; the year is doubtless significant, perhaps the selective raising of the level of the outer ward was one of those 'circumstances' which had reduced the value of the Castle Green to the Master Gunner. In 1829 a foul bedding store was built at the south end of the same wall (PRO *WO55/1578* (11) 10 Jan 1830).

The canteen in front of the sally port, also built in 1829, rested on eleven or twelve feet of 'forced soil' (Ferguson 1880, 341 *DRP*); the sally port itself, however, appears to have been kept open, being blocked up only in 1830/31 (PRO *WO44/193* 31 Jan 1831), after which it was covered with earth. The infill extended from the west curtain at least as far as where Ypres block now stands, since the basements of that block rest on ground nine and a half feet below present ground level (ex inf *DRP*), as no doubt was necessary in order to make a secure foundation for a very large building. It was with good reason that Nutter remarked in 1835 on the changes to the outer ward which recent years had brought.

The basic reason for those changes was the larger garrison stationed in the castle from 1826 onwards. It was not by any means always the same one, however, for depots were moved around quite as much as service companies. But there may have been a trend towards longer stays. The 90th Regiment, which arrived in July 1826, did not leave until March 1828 (*Carl Journ* 15 Mar 1828 *DRP*). The 24th Regiment of Foot, in occupation by 18 January 1831, was certainly there earlier, for when it departed in February 1833 the *Carlisle Journal* reported that it had been at Carlisle for over three and a half years 'during which time their conduct justly entitled them to the respect and good will of the inhabitants' (ibid, 7 Jan 1831, 16 Feb 1833 *DRP*). The army authorities were very wary of allowing contacts between soldiers and civilians, especially in areas of radical support, for fear that the men would pick up dangerous opinions and become untrustworthy when called on to suppress riots (Spiers 1980, 77–9). All the same, during a long stay the soldier could hardly be kept in total isolation from the world beyond their barrack walls, which allowed the good relations implicit in the *Journal's* remarks – and others like them (eg *Carl Journ* 30 Aug 1828 *DRP*) -- to be established and maintained. In 1828 the Lady's Walk was once more closed to the public (PRO *WO44/194* 3 Sept, 10 Oct 1836). This had nothing to do with the security of the castle, indeed the initiative came from the Corporation, which refused to go on paying the annual shilling for access to the Walk, respectable citizens having discovered that 'it was a nuisance to the town on account of the *women on the town* making use of it.' Even when the gate was locked, such women got in under the bridge over the outer moat. In the city the Walk acquired the reputation of 'a most vile hole', while in the castle the presence of these women caused an 'interference with the discipline of the soldiery'. A comfort of another sort was introduced for the soldiery in the following year, however, when a brick canteen was built in the outer ward, and was leased to William Johnstone for a yearly rent of £10, together with the traditional 'privilege' money of (in this case) ls 6½d per month for every ten men in barracks (PRO *WO55/2531* nos 6, 8; *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1830; Strachan 1984, 66). Drinking was traditionally the principal leisure-time occupation of the private soldier; at least he could now indulge in it in barracks, though it is likely enough that he was still fleeced when he did so.

1828 and 1829 were relatively quiet years at Carlisle, so much so that by April 1827 the cavalry stationed there had been withdrawn (*Carl Journ* 28 Apr 1827 *DRP*) though this was not permanent, a troop of the lst Dragoons spending the summer months of 1828 in the city (ibid, 3 May, 26 Sept 1828 *DRP*). In 1829 there were said to be only two guns on the castle ramparts (Parson and White 1829, 132). George IV died on 26 June 1830, and his death meant the end of Lord Lonsdale's lease of the castle gardens. The Ordnance Board at once began to consider their resumption (PRO *WO44/194* 5 Jul 1830); not with any obvious urgency at first, but later in that year circumstances arose which made the issue more pressing. As usual, they were related to economic and political developments. The harvests of

1829 and 1830 were both poor, and in southern England there were outbreaks of rick-burning and machine-breaking. Against a background of widespread discontent, revolutions in France and Belgium provided one encouragement to reformist agitation in England, the death of the reactionary George IV another. The Tory government which had ruled England for a generation disintegrated, and as the political conflict at Westminster intensified, so the campaign for Parliamentary reform in the country became ever more dynamic. Vast processions and demonstrations took place, and a violent revolution began to seem a possibility (Evans 1983, 206–8). There were certainly radicals who wrote and spoke as if they wanted one (Thompson 1968, 844, 895, 898–9). A government informer at Carlisle described (admittedly at second hand) how a Mr Johnston had told a meeting there 'that they must all be ready to rise at a moment's notice' with pikes and other weapons, one of them a device for throwing vitriol. 'E.F.' went on to say that these revolutionaries had no plans to attack the castle, 'that would take too much carrying; and in any case the 79th Regiment would be taking up station there shortly, and they could expect to find many sympathisers in its ranks – 'They are sure the soldiers would not act against them, at least they expect not…' (PRO *HO40/25* 19 Oct 1830). The possibility that political sympathies would undermine the loyalty of the troops was one which had always haunted the authorities, and now they took the trouble to contact the commanding officer of the 79th, then at Glasgow, who denied that his men were untrustworthy (PRO *HO40/26* 27 Oct 1830). But his denial gave little reassurance. At the end of October there was still alarm at Carlisle, 'caused by the radicals in the neighbourhood', and a feeling that 'something should be immediately done to strengthen the old castle…', and orders were quickly given that measures should be taken 'to resist the effects of a mob at Carlisle Castle…'. Up to £100 might be spent (PRO *WO44/193* 27, 29 Oct 1830).

It was not a large sum, and perhaps Sir Henry Bouverie, commanding the troops in the North of England, did not expect any very serious trouble. All the same, it cannot have appeared unreasonable that when Colonel Arnold, the Commanding Royal Engineer in the Northern District, was considering at the beginning of November what should be done with the castle gardens, he should have proposed as conditions for any future lease not just the removal of the piggery which now stood on them ('a general nuisance') and a ban on the grazing of cattle on the slopes between the wall and the ditch, but also the removal of both the old guardhouse, 'it being in a ruinous condition, and affording cover from the fire of the castle', and of all trees and hedges, as 'affording a screen from the observation of the castle'. His final recommendation was that the lands should be resumable at a moment's notice, 'as they may be required in an emergency for the public service' (PRO *WO44/194* 4 Nov 1830).[5] That emergency might yet take the form of an attack on the castle. November saw great reform meetings in Carlisle, with 'tumultuous processions' in which the weavers seem to have been prominent and which aroused considerable alarm (CRO *Ca2/472* 11,13 Nov 1830; Barnes 1984, 209). Sir Robert Peel, the Home Secretary, received information of disturbances 'of the most scandalous description' (CRO *Ca2/472* 15 Nov 1830), and he had every right to be scandalised, because on successive nights he and the Duke of Wellington had been burnt in effigy (PRO *HO40/26* 19 Nov 1830). A plan to treat the new king, William IV, in the same way was abandoned, but there were alarming rumours that 'if they could draw out the soldiers from the castle it was what they wished that they might get the arms…' (ibid, 10 Nov 1830).

The magistrates were anxious not to have to call out the military, and the commissioners of the city's recently established police force tried to pour oil on troubled waters by issuing a statement denouncing as 'an unfounded alarm' claims that 'the People of Carlisle and its Suburbs are in a state bordering on Insurrection…'; the truth was, they said, that recent meetings and processions had been 'conducted with as little disorder as could possibly be expected…' (CRO *Ca2/472* 18, 22 Nov 1830). Bouverie was inclined to agree, on 1 December informing the Home Office that 'feeling is less violent than it was…' (PRO *HO40/26* 1 Dec 1830). But he had spoken too soon, for on 30 November two ricks were set on fire near Carlisle, and 'the means used to extinguish the fires' were hampered by bystanders who greeted with cheers shouts of 'it is the swing system'. In the following week another rick was set alight at Dalston (ibid, 2 Dec 1830; CRO *Ca2/472* 6 Dec 1830). Farmers and magistrates began to receive threatening letters. John Studholme of Lambfield, near Sebergham, was denounced as 'a scourge to the indigent and starving poor and a tyrant' and threatened with a 'most terrible fate' (his correspondent chose the rather inappropriate sobriquet of 'A Philanthropist'), and William Hodgson, clerk of the peace in Carlisle, where he had been mayor in 1826, received a letter from 'Swing' himself to say that orders had been given that his house was to be burn to ashes (CRO *Ca2/472* 10 Dec 1830, 4 Jan 1831). The magistrates felt that the situation was getting out of hand. They applied to Sir Hew Ross, the officer to whom Bouverie had delegated his command in the four northern counties, for a troop of cavalry to be stationed in the city, and when they proposed to venture into Shaddongate in pursuit of suspected rick-burners, arranged that a force of 100 foot-soldiers should be on hand to assist the civil arm (ibid, 3, 4 Dec 1830). In fact this last show of power seems to have been sufficient to restore order. By 5 December the magistrates had decided that the cavalry would not be needed after all (PRO *HO40/26* 5 Dec 1830), and on 18 December Ross was reporting that 'we still continue quiet here… although we are certainly more indebted to the forbearance of the disaffected than to the energy of the Magistrates or the Conduct of the Police…' (ibid, 18 Dec 1830). Lord Lonsdale saw matters differently, however, on 29 December congratulating the magistrature on its 'vigilance and activity', to which, he wrote, 'the public is indebted for the repression of tumult & for the reestablishment of peace & good order…' (CRO *Ca2/472* 29 Dec 1830).

They may have been less sure in the castle that order had been entirely restored, Colonel Arnold reporting

at the end of January 1831 on his recent expenditure of £98 5s 3d on putting the castle into a state of defence (PRO *WO44/193* 31 Jan 1831). As before, the protection of the inner ward, 'in consequence of the gunpowder and principal stores being placed there', was what mattered most. In fact it is not always entirely clear what was done. Colonel Birch in 1819 had proposed to protect the Captain's Tower by 'cutting two loopholes on each side to flank the scarp to right and left.' Perhaps these were blocked up again when the Tower was made into barracks shortly afterwards, and Arnold now reopened them, or perhaps when he described how he had defended the inner ward with an 'inner gate loopholed, so that if a mob should force the outer gate they could be received by musketry from within...' he was referring to loops now made at ground level, even in the gate itself. But Arnold certainly followed Birch in his use of wooden platforms. These were probably always intended to be only temporary; supported by stone corbels, they could be taken down when they were no longer needed. Those put up by Birch in 1819 would have been removed once the castle had ceased to be regarded as in danger of attack, but now they were brought back into use. Described as 'banquettes of wood for musketry', they were once more placed over the entrances to the Captain's Tower and Queen Mary's Tower. Precautions were also taken for the defence of the outer ward. The outer gate appears to have been already fitted with 'loopholes for small arms', but the sally port in the west curtain was now blocked up, using 'masonry four feet thick', and the south-west angle, where the wall was in a 'ruinous' condition, was protected by a 'strong oak fence, pointed with iron spikes, which it would give a man no little trouble to remove...'. It was true that the castle was, as ever, deficient in flanks, but its walls were reasonably high, and Colonel Arnold, whose responses to the threat of mob action seem to have been much the same as those of Colonel Birch ten years earlier, thought that 'a few hand grenades or small shells thrown over would most probably soon disperse a rabble'. He had no hesitation in concluding that the castle was now 'perfectly secure from almost any mob that could be brought against it'. There is no mention in his report of a suggestion that came to the ears of the *Carlisle Journal*, to wall in the castle gardens and raze all the buildings standing on them, 'in order to render the fortress more secure'. The *Journal*, writing in what it implausibly claimed was a 'time of profound peace', described this proposal as 'somewhat astounding as well as inexplicable' (*Carl Journ* 29 Jan 1831 *DRP*). Military and civilian authorities alike would have disagreed, and in February 1832 tried to form the army pensioners in the region into an effective corps for local peacekeeping purposes (ibid, 5 Feb 1831 *DRP*).

Unrest died down for a while, and the castle gardens went unwalled, but during the course of 1831 the Ordnance Board may well have wished that they had been bricked up and gravelled over, since their disposal led to a good deal of trouble. Lord Lonsdale had himself leased the gardens to a tenant, one John Barnes, who, so he told the Board, had only recently 'at considerable cost put fruit trees therein; and has lately put in a crop of vegetables, and manured and managed the ground for the same...' (PRO *WO44/194* nd). He therefore asked to be allowed to remain as tenant until Martinmas. The Board agreed, but made its consent conditional on Barnes removing his piggery, consisting of five sties (themselves leased out to other pig-keepers), a shed with a boiler in which pigswill was prepared, and a public and private privy (ibid, 21 Apr, 23 Jun 1831). The whole complex must have been offensive to eye and nose, and it is not surprising that it was described as having been 'a very great nuisance to this garrison for many years'. Barnes gave the required undertaking, and remained in occupation. In the meantime Lord Lonsdale declined to renew his lease of the gardens (the Ordnance Board was only prepared to offer a term of twenty-one years), and so the lease was put up for tender. Several bids were made, the highest being that of Mrs. Isabella Ritchie, who was willing to pay £22 *per annum* for the tenancy; 'she has kept a respectable public house in the suburbs of the City of Carlisle for some years, and bears a good character...', the Board was told (ibid, 25 May 1831). When the conditions of the lease were worked out at the beginning of the year, it was recommended that the ground should be 'used solely as pasture land (CRO *D/Lons/L Carlisle 22* 9 Mar 1831)', and no doubt Mrs. Ritchie kept cows on it. Late in May, however, it was found that John Barnes had not yet dismantled his piggery (PRO *WO44/194* 27 May 1831), and a month later Mrs. Ritchie was complaining to the same effect; the sties were 'occupying a considerable space within the field', and had not been removed according to agreement (ibid, 23 Jun 1831). The Ordnance Board decided that it had no choice but to take legal action, and began a lawsuit against Barnes in the Exchequer court. This move had the desired effect; on 25 November the Board's solicitor reported that Barnes had abandoned his tenancy, and proceedings were therefore discontinued (ibid, 1 Jul, 25 Nov 1831).

1831–1837

This dispute is important not just because of the way the conditions of the new lease took into account the castle's defensive needs, but also because it illustrates, by their attitude towards John Barnes's pigsties, the concern of the military authorities for the hygiene and even the appearance of the castle. The same concern is even more apparent in their treatment of the outer ditch and of the Lady's Walk immediately behind it. In October 1831 Colonel Holloway, the newly appointed Commanding Royal Engineer in the Northern District, made a visit of inspection to Carlisle castle, where he remarked to the Barrack Master on 'the injury which must accrue to the health of the troops, as well as the discredit to the Department' from the Ditch of the Entrance front of the Castle being allowed to continue the filthy and neglected state in which it then appeared...'. Something should be done, said the colonel, and the need soon appeared all the greater when the cholera epidemic which had begun that month in north-east England started 'showing itself in the District' (PRO *WO44/194* 5 May 1832; Woodward 1962, 85). Perhaps it was in response to this epidemic that the 'Governor's House', formerly the Master Gunner's

house, had by January 1833 been converted into a hospital for the troops; hitherto a building in the city, capable of accommodating twenty patients, had been hired to serve as a hospital for £50 *per annum* (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1833; *WO55/2531* no 7).

Lieutenant Sheppard, the officer commanding the castle's small detachment of gunners, then offered to set his men to clean out the ditch and improve the condition of the ground behind it; he was, he said, 'desirous of employment for his men and of improvement to the appearance of the castle…'. Holloway said that 'the Department would necessarily be obliged to him.' The Department may have been, but Hugh Dalrymple, the castle storekeeper, was not. He believed that 'the Board property at this place is under my superintendence and care', and that Sheppard and his men in their concern for its improvement had practically turned the Lady's Walk into their private property. In February 1832 he described how the Walk had been remodelled and gravelled, with a border under the wall planted with bushes and shrubs, and the rest of the ground parcelled out into allotments for growing vegetables on (PRO *WO44/194* 7 Feb 1832). By the end of March he had even more changes to report, a flight of stone steps down into the moat, fruit trees nailed to the wall, large quantities of turf cut from the borders of the parade ground to lay down on the Walk, even the initials R.A. cut in letters seven feet high 'emblematical of the Ground being attached to the Royal Artillery'. And there were also plans, he added at the last minute, to put up a wooden summer house or shed. He felt that 'if this spot of ground can thus be rendered so advantageous and useful to these persons it ought to be let for the benefit of the public', and he pointed out that the inhabitants of the city had once had 'the privilege of walking upon the spot of ground in question' (PRO *WO44/194* 31 Mar 1832).

Holloway took the matter up with Sheppard, who made clear his intention 'to root clean out the dock weed, the thistle and the brier', and to 'lay the whole front down in grass as smooth and like a gentleman's lawn'. The shrubs he had planted were the smallest possible, 'they will not hide a cat', and the vegetable gardens were only for the present year, to encourage the men to dig the ground. The gravel and tools used he had paid for out of his own pocket, but, he assured Holloway (in words highly expressive of the day-to-day tedium of ordinary garrison life), 'my reward is great. My men instead of going to public houses or idling about the town, go there after drill and amuse themselves at work; by which means they are out of mischief and I am saved much trouble and anxiety…' (ibid, 20 Feb 1832). Holloway decided that Dalrymple's complaints were unfounded. The vegetable gardening, as Sheppard had said, was intended only 'that thereby the men might be enabled effectually to root out the immense thistles, briers and dock weeds which overgrew the spot…', and the steps would be very useful, especially if fire broke out in the castle and water was needed to put it out. As for the summer house, the letters R A, the cutting of turf, 'it must surely have proceeded from some fatality, for it is difficult to account for the misconception under which he has laboured…'. Sheppard, he told the Ordnance Board, deserved praise for having 'reinstated a disgraceful, stagnant, disgusting, ditch, with banks overgrown with noxious weeds, and holes the receptacle of filth of all sorts, into its regular and proper form, productive alike of comfort and respectability to the garrison and satisfaction to all inspecting officers…'. Sir Hew Ross agreed with him, and hoped that the castle berm on the other side of the entrance could be similarly rehabilitated, being then 'kept in an unsightly state by the Barrack Serjeant and Armourer, who have clothes drying, a privy and till I objected thereto, pig sties very unseemly to the view of a military establishment' (ibid, 5 May 1832). Sheppard himself boasted that he had received in writing the thanks of the Mayor, the Medical Board and 'the Gentlemen of this town' for his work in 'removing nuisances from Carlisle and making a stagnant ditch a running stream…' (ibid, 20 Feb 1832).

The castle was not yet just an ancient monument, but no more than in the eighteenth century was it purely and simply a military establishment either. Sheppard reported that 'an orderly of the Royal Artillery' had charge of all the castle keys; it was his job 'to watch all strangers, and should any one want to see the castle, he is there to shew them round…' (ibid, 20 Feb 1832). The castle's appearance was a matter of concern both to the Ordnance Board which administered it and the townspeople who lived so close at hand. Of course it was still essentially military in its function, and there may well have been an alert in June 1832 when a grand procession of over six thousand people, the weavers prominent among them, marched through the streets of Carlisle to celebrate the passing of the great Reform Bill (Barnes 1984, 210). And since that Bill did little to remedy the discontents of working men, radical agitation continued after 1832, in the North-West as elsewhere. In 1834 the question of cavalry barracks was raised yet again. No cavalry had been stationed in Carlisle since 1828, and there was no suggestion that any were going to be now, or that barracks should be built. But 'keeping in view the manufacturing population of that city and neighbourhood', it was recommended that the land bought for such barracks in 1820 should not be sold, just in case (PRO *WO44/557* 13 Jan 1834). A meeting of between 800 and 1000 weavers on Carlisle Sands early in May 1836 (*Carl Journ* 7 May 1836 *DRP*) pointed to grievances which remained a potential source of trouble, but the mid-1830s seem to have been largely peaceful in Carlisle, and the works carried out on the castle reflect this fact.

In January 1833 Major Kelly of the 24th, then garrisoning the castle, proposed the removal of the upper levels of the Half-Moon Battery, and Colonel Holloway agreed; it was 'unnecessary and useless… its continuance occasions positive and constant inconvenience to the Garrison, owing to the passage of the troops and stores into and out of the Keep being by it impeded…'. On 25 February, therefore, the Ordnance Board authorised its demolition, the estimated cost thereof being only £6 9s 6d (PRO *WO44/193* 23 Jan, 9 Feb 1833; *MPH* 974). It had stood for nearly three hundred years, but there is no sign that anyone regretted its disappearance. The same cannot be said of changes made in the following year. Early in 1834 the

Principal Storekeeper inspected the barracks at Carlisle and reported to the Ordnance Board on their condition. They were intended to house five officers and 208 men, but the garrison being larger than usual, between seven and nine officers and 60 men had to be billetted out (PRO *WO44/557* 6 Jan 1834). The congestion was probably less than it had been in April 1828, when 350 men of the 80th Regiment had arrived in Carlisle (*Carl Journ* 5 Apr 1828), but it was great all the same - 'The rooms are very crowded & the beds close together'. It was therefore recommended that the armoury in the keep be converted into barracks, and the arms taken upstairs; this, it was hoped, would provide accommodation for another 62 men. In fact, when the conversion was made, probably in April 1834, it was found that only 32 men could be housed in the two rooms thus taken over, but at least the castle could now accommodate 240 men (PRO *WO55/717* 5 Feb 1835). Later in that year, however, barrack space was reduced again, in a way which permanently altered the appearance of the castle.

Queen Mary's Tower, at the south-east angle of the inner ward, had been converted into barracks in 1819. Even then it had been in poor condition – in 1811 it had been described, with the old Governor' House next to it, as 'in almost a ruinous state (PRO *WO44/547*' plan of 31 Mar 1811, copied Jan 1820) – and now it was found to be on the point of collapse. In October Major Emmett, yet another Commanding Royal Engineer in the Northern District, reported to the Inspector General of Fortifications that 'the very decayed state of the joists' had recently made it essential to remove the men living in its second floor room, and that a close examination of the entire building had since made it 'absolutely necessary to have the whole of the men removed from it'. The fundamental cause of the Tower's problems, of course, was continual neglect, which had allowed the wooden joists to decay to the extent that they were only held up by their corbels, and led to the appearance of numerous cracks in the walls, some of them over three inches wide, while the arch of one of the rooms in the basement had 'settled irregularly near the crown'. But there were two important contributing factors. One was the weight of the very heavy lead roof, the other 'the vibrations of the flagstaff on the heavy turret', an octagon placed at the tower's south-east angle (PRO *WO44/553* 22 Oct 1819). This last was a recent development, in 1819 Colonel Birch, describing his measures of defence for the turrets on the Tower, referred to 'the octagonal one which I raised'(PRO *WO44/14* 13 Oct 1819). But its weight, and the vibrations of its flagpole, which had been on the keep, until it was transferred to Queen Mary's Tower, with such disastrous results, some time before 1816 (Nutter 1835, 39; *Carl Journ* 11 May 1816 *DRP*) soon seem to have been sufficient to endanger the entire fabric.

Emmett offered two alternatives for the Tower. He could remove the roof and floors but leave the walls as they were, adapting the parapets at the top so that they could still serve a defensive function. Or he could remove the roof and demolish the entire building down to the level of the rest of the inner ward' s curtain. The first, he admitted, would be preferable 'on the score of the antiquity of the building', since it would leave its external appearance untouched, but on all other grounds the second was to be preferred, since by reducing the weight at the top it left a better chance of preserving the lower portions; it might even be possible to put a new roof over the first floor room, thereby retaining some barrack accommodation there. The cost of his second proposal Emmett estimated at £152 0s 11d less some £56 for the value of the lead. A little over a month later Emmett wrote again (PRO *WO44/553* 29 Nov 1834). The parapet walls and roof had been removed, but when he examined what was left he found that the tower had continued to collapse. Walls had separated from ceilings, and cracks had widened. On the east side the top of the wall was now overhanging its base by five inches. Emmett therefore proposed to run two iron ties through the building in the hope that these would hold it together – 'what other means could be adopted I am at a loss to conceive…'. His anxiety to save some, at least, of the tower was probably partly due to his sensitivity to local opinion, which felt strongly on the subject. The tower took its name from the Scottish Queen whose sojourn in it had come to be regarded as one of the most romantic episodes in the history of Carlisle; it was also a familiar object on the city's northern skyline. It is not surprising that Emmett should have found that 'the gentry at Carlisle feel great interest in the retention of the Queen's Tower, and much regret at its partial demolition; or that 'One of the newspapers has also added its share of abuse…'. That newspaper was the *Carlisle Journal*, which in its issue of 22 November rebuked the citizenry (somewhat unfairly, it would appear) for failing to protest, and suggested (equally unfairly) that it was not 'upon any competent, any just, or disinterested testimony that Government has consented to demolish so fine an object of antiquity…'. The work of demolition was not yet completed, so there was still an opportunity to prevent its going further (*Carl Journ* 2 Nov 1834 *DRP*).

A week later the *Journal* reported that Major Emmett was indeed 'most anxious to respect the feelings of the citizens of Carlisle', and that some of the tower might yet be spared (ibid, 29 Nov 1834 *DRP*). But the decay of the fabric had gone too far. In a letter sent to the Master General of Ordnance on 24 December, Emmett described how the Clerk of Works, present to supervise the insertion of the ties, had come to the conclusion that the tower was past saving. The cracks had widened still further, and 'the extrados of the arch (there first bared) was found fractured to an extent which could not have been expected…. Keeping in view the state of the foundation', he concluded, 'it would be a waste of public money to attempt to keep up the walls…', and the tower would have to be demolished, down to its foundations in the case of the two external walls, after which these would have to be built up again to complete the inner ward curtain. The demolition of the tower would cost £227 7s 5¼d, rebuilding the outer walls about £350. The Ordnance Board gave its approval on the last day of 1834 (*WO44/553* 24 Dec 1834). On 10 January following, it was recorded that the tower was 'in progress of being taken down' (*WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1835) , and the work was still going on on 5 February, though by then

it seems to have been nearing completion (*WO55/717* 5 Feb 1835). Its disappearance caused much regret in the city. The materials (as was common practice) were put up for auction, most of them in July 1835 (*Carl Pat* 18 Jul 1835 *DRP*), though some not until August 1837 (*Carl Journ* 19 Aug 1837 *DRP*), and the first sale, according to the *Carlisle Patriot*, 'brought together a pretty numerous company and caused considerable competition', with some of the oak beams fetching very high prices from affluent souvenir hunters (Jefferson 1838, 111). In the meantime Archdeacon Markham successfully applied for a font and some of the tower's ornamental tracery, intending to transfer them to the cathedral (PRO *WO55/717* 20 Feb 1835). As Emmett remarked of these last, they 'may well be dispensed with, and will be considered by the inhabitants of the place generally as a favour done to Carlisle by the Board' (PRO *WO44/553* 5 Feb 1835). Since the *Carlisle Journal*, after its hard words in November 1834, felt able to observe in the following June that the tower 'has been taken down to prevent it falling down' (*Carl Journ* 13 Jun 1835 *DRP*), while M E Nutter, in a book published in 1835, though regretting recent innovations at the castle, could still 'commend the zeal of those to whose care it is intrusted' (Nutter 1835, 40), the favour would appear to have been received as such.

The demolition of Queen Mary's Tower caused problems in the castle as well as regrets in the city, since it had considerably reduced (by 38 beds) the already limited barrack space. In a letter sent to the Inspector General of Fortifications on 5 February 1835 Emmett asked whether the Ordnance Board had plans for a new building to serve as a barracks on the site of the Tower, but advised against it because of the narrowness of the site, and thought it would be better to find extra accommodation elsewhere in the castle. If the officers' quarters were converted into soldiers' barracks, and another barrack built for the officers, '60 men might be added to the numbers now provided for...' (PRO *WO55/717* 5 Feb 1835). In the following month, however, it was decided to leave the officers where they were, and to build new barracks containing four rooms for serjeants and four for 64 men, at an estimated cost of £1299 18s 10½d (PRO *WO44/557* 16 Mar 1835). But nothing was done at once, and there appears to have been some rethinking, for in January 1836 it was decided that £3500 should be spent 'for providing additional barrack accommodation at Carlisle' (ibid, 12 Jan 1836) and this, together with a reference in the following year to 'a building of considerable magnitude' (PRO *WO55/717* 9 Jun 1837), indicates that the new barracks were to be substantially larger than at first planned. This was almost certainly because they were now intended to include accommodation for officers, who expected more space (two years earlier several officers had had to be billetted in the city because there was no room for them in the castle), as well as for NCOs and men. In the end the new building was three stories high (PRO *WO44/556* 7 Aug 1838), and contained twelve rooms intended for a field officer and ten other officers, two rooms for four serjeants, three rooms for 54 NCOs and privates, a room for a library, a regimental storeroom, six servants' kitchens and two privies. A wash-room was added in the mid-1840s (PRO *WO55/2733* no 9; *WO55/2915* no 9).

Work on the barracks probably began in the late summer of 1836, since on 5 September the Foreman of Works, Northern District, was ordered to go to Carlisle to supervise their construction. He was kept there for an unexpectedly long time by very unsettled weather, 'constantly changing from frost and snow to thaw, rain & then for a short time fair...', which made prolonged working campaigns impossible, and his services were not dispensed with until 28 April 1837 (PRO *WO55/717* 9 Jun 1837), when the building must have been completed or nearly so. It was not very satisfactory, however. Not all the money allocated to its construction was spent (PRO *WO44/556* 7 Aug 1838), and it is possible that the work was somewhat skimped for the sake of economy. Certainly when the new barracks came to be occupied, they were found to be far from weatherproof. The walls of the two upper stories were only one and a half bricks thick, and, standing up as they did well above the west curtain, they took the 'full fury of the south westerly storms', which simply drove the rain through them (ibid, 1 Sept 1838); an examination of the officers' rooms in August 1838 found that the interior walls were 'actually running down with water', it was 'a discredit to the department to think of putting officers into such wet rooms...' (ibid, 29 Aug 1838). Major Fenwick, of the Royal Engineers' Office at Newcastle, submitted estimates both for slating the back wall of the barracks and for rendering it with cement; the latter was cheaper, and perhaps inevitably it was the method of weatherproofing chosen by the Ordnance Board' (ibid, 7 Aug 1838). But it seems to have been effective, since there is nothing in the report made in 1859 to suggest that rain was still getting into the building.

Keeping the rain out was of course an old problem for Carlisle castle, and the barracks erected in 1836/37 were not the only new building to have difficulty coping with it. In 1832 a lock-up room and two cells were built against the south curtain, immediately to the west of the gatehouse, to serve as an old-fashioned 'black hole' for the maintenance of regimental discipline (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1833). Unlike the barracks built so soon afterwards, these were made of stone, but so badly that in January 1834 it was reported that they were 'very damp & judging by appearance and the quality of the stone they will not for a long time be fit to be occupied...' (PRO *WO44/557* 6 Jan 1834). In 1859 they still seem to have been cold and airless, indeed, a drain under the lock-up room's floor made it downright dangerous (*CISCBH 1863*, 169). It is not recorded when the wall at the south-east angle of the inner ward, where Queen Mary's Tower had stood, was rebuilt, but it is likely to have been before August 1836, when the townsfolk were once more applying to have the Lady's Walk reopened. Major Fenwick offered no objection and he is unlikely to have been so amenable if there had still been a hole in the wall. On 16 September, therefore, the Ordnance Board gave its approval, on condition that the Corporation, as in times past, paid it an 'acknowledgment' of 1s *per annum* (PRO *WO44/194* 3 Sept 1836). The Tile Tower, which had

been allowed to fall into an almost ruinous condition, may have been repaired at this time (Ferguson 1876, 59). Regiments came and went, but they had little to do as peacekeepers. Relations between city and castle came to be expressed not in terms of riot and repression but through a cricket match played on 3 July 1835; the castle won by nine wickets (*Carl Journ* 27 Jun, 4 Jul, 1835 *DRP*). In 1837 the Ordnance Board was confident enough that violent protest was a thing of the past to feel able at last to sell the field it had bought in 1820 for a cavalry barracks (PRO *WO44/557* 30 Nov 1837). Not for the first time, such confidence turned out to be misplaced.

1837–1848

Late in 1837 Major General James Ramsey, the governor of the castle, died. His office had long been a sinecure, and in the heyday of utilitarianism it is no matter for surprise that he should have had no successor in it (*Carl Journ* 9 Dec 1837 *DRP*). But that utilitarianism was manifesting itself in other and more important ways than the abolition of outdated offices. In 1837 the New Poor Law was extended to the North of England, where it immediately aroused 'a violent and passionate movement of protest' (Rose 1966, 70; Evans 1983, 226–7). Political radicalism, dormant in Carlisle since 1832, came back to life and gained in strength; the Anti-Poor Law Movement shaded into Chartism, and as it did so the castle's military function revived also. The first great Chartist demonstration in Carlisle took place in October 1838 (Barnes 1984, 211), and over fifty years later old men could still remember the 'great gathering' held on the Sands, the flags and the brass bands, and the 'perfectly furious' enthusiasm with which the crowds received their leaders' denunciations of the New Poor Law. Although the soldiers in the castle were ready to be called out, good order was kept and no summons came (*Carl Journ* 29 Jul 1890 *DRP*). Even so, the completion of the railway line between Carlisle and Newcastle in the following year (*VCH Cumb* II, 346) must have been greeted with relief by the military authorities, since from now on reinforcements could be moved across the Pennines far more quickly than ever before. In April 1839 there were 248 men of the 81st Regiment in Carlisle (PRO *HO40/53* Apr 1839), a fact which may explain why it could be thought in the same month that 'a considerable degree of apathy' was now afflicting the city's Chartists. There were believed to be over 400 pikes in circulation there, but the demand for weapons had dropped in the past fortnight, as had the sales of the Chartist newspaper, 'The Northern Star' (PRO *HO40/41* 24 Apr 1839). But Chartism was a hardy growth. The 'armed meeting' expected near Carlisle early in May (Napier 1857, II, 31) may not have materialised, but on 21 May some 2000 Chartists assembled in the city, for a meeting which, however, 'passed off without the least disturbance' (PRO *HO40/41* 22 May 1839). During the same month troops from the Carlisle garrison were requested for Maryport, and in July soldiers were sent to keep the peace at Cockermouth and Wigton (ibid, 13, 22 Jul 1839). They would soon be needed nearer home.

On 26 July Sir Charles Napier, commanding the troops stationed in the North of England, remarked on 'Rumours of war from Carlisle' (Napier 1857, II, 63), and early in August it was reported that a squadron of eighty dragoons was on its way to the city, as requested by the magistrates (PRO *HO40/41* 10 Aug 1839). On the 13th Carlisle was said to have been 'in a ferment' (Napier 1857, II, 80), and on the following day the city magistrates informed Sir Hew Ross that 'the working classes in Carlisle and the adjacent places are in a very excited state' (PRO *HO40/41* 14 Aug 1839). Ross called in the Yeomanry, 120 of whom arrived the very next day, enabling him to hope 'that the danger is partly over (ibid, 15 Aug 1839). A Chartist meeting which on 24 August completely filled Carlisle's theatre (PRO *HO40/54* 24 Aug 1839) may have been a blow to such hopes, but in fact things do seem to have become quieter. The arrival of the dragoons by 24 August (PRO *HO40/41* 24 Aug 1839) may have contributed to this. However, their presence led to considerable problems in other respects. Napier had made their being sent to Carlisle conditional on the magistrates supplying them with a barrack; he was not prepared to have them billetted on the city's innkeepers, which was an undue burden on the latter and reduced the efficiency of the troops. The magistrate duly hired a building, but then jibbed at the expense, the more so as correspondence with the Home Office led to their being informed that the cost could not be defrayed out of the county rates. So when the dragoons arrived, no barrack was ready for them, the magistrates having 'dissolved their agreement with the proprietor of the buildings, paying him a certain sum to relinquish his claim upon them...'.

Napier was not a man to be trifled with. He informed the magistrates that 'unless they found at their own expense a Guard Room and stabling for a mounted guard and rallying point the squadron should be immediately withdrawn', and the threat had its effect, a room and stabling being taken at the Spread Eagle Inn (Napier 1857, II, 89–90; PRO *HO45/41* 10 Aug 1841). It was clearly only a centre for cavalry operations, not a barrack for the entire force, which after all had to be billetted out. As Napier had feared, civilian discontent soon followed. On 8 October 51 innkeepers signed a petition to the Mayor complaining of the 'great inconvenience and loss' they were suffering from the presence of the dragoons, and asking that he urge on the Home Secretary 'the justice and expediency of removing them, all appearance of disturbance having ended' (PRO *HO40/41* 8 Oct 1839). Their request was turned down (the magistrates themselves may have disagreed that the cavalry was no longer needed), and the citizens began instead to urge on the government the need for a permanent cavalry barrack at Carlisle. In this they were joined by Napier himself. On 21 October he visited Carlisle, where he found the depot in good order and described its commanding officer as 'good nature in a cuirass without a crevice' (Napier 1857, II, 87–8) and he 'inspected some ground contiguous to Carlisle castle belonging to Government' which, he decided, would be a 'most eligible' site for barracks. The Mayor, who passed Napier's opinion on both to the Home Secretary and to the city's M.P., assured

both men that he had been given to understand that the cost 'will not exceed four or five thousand pounds' (PRO *HO40/41* 26 Oct 1839; *HO40/54* 31 Oct 1839). The magistrates, the Home Secretary was informed, considered such barracks 'absolutely necessary to maintain peace and good order in that large and populous borough' (PRO *HO40/41* 28 Oct 1839). The site in question, now that the land in Caldewgate had been sold, can only have been under the castle's south curtain – where it had been suggested nearly twenty years ago that a cavalry barracks might be built. In the following year Napier observed that 'the outside of the Castle wall affords great facility for such an erection against it...' (BL *Add MS 54515* f51v). But although he was still urging the *immediate* construction of barracks at Carlisle in February 1841 (PRO *HO45/41* 13 Feb 1841), nothing was done.

The reason, no doubt, was the cost. The Whig government consistently failed to balance its budget (Woodward 1962, 112–13), and had no money to spare for projects like barracks. It was enough that the cavalry should be at Carlisle, exactly how they were lodged there was comparatively unimportant. In 1840 they were still there, 69 dragoons in addition to 244 men in the castle (BL *Add MS 54515* f53). It was a year in which Chartism was in temporary eclipse, following the failure of its National Convention in 1839, and at Carlisle all was reported quiet in February and again in May (PRO *HO40/54* 3 Feb, 7 May 1840); a large Chartist meeting in June (Barnes 1984, 212) seems to have aroused little concern. The step-ladder put up late in April at the north-west angle of the castle' s outer ward 'to render a more ready access to the post of a sentry' may be the only pointer to military precautions taken during this year (PRO *WO55/717* 27 Apr 1840). Yet in February 1841, as already observed, Napier was still thinking in terms of barrack-building at Carlisle, and the continuing uncertainty of the situation was shown by events in June of that year. Not for the first time, the cause of trouble was a general election, held as a result of the fall of Melbourne's Whig government at the beginning of that month. On 23 June the Whig canvassers were pelted with stones and rubbish as they made their way round Caldewgate. Next day the Tory candidate and his followers, perhaps believing, as the *Carlisle Journal* put it, that 'because the one party was unpopular, they must have become objects of veneration and love...', went canvassing into the same part of the city and met with an identical response, only escaping a ducking by taking refuge in a public house, where a troop of soldiers from the castle had to be sent to rescue them (much to the *Journal's* indignation). 29 June saw the candidates appear in the market-place for their formal nomination. There were large crowds present, and a number of policemen were deployed to keep the peace. The presence of the latter was profoundly resented, at first they were hissed and then they were stoned, and when they were ordered by their superintendant to clear the square several were injured in the ensuing scuffles; one constable, struck down from behind with a life-preserver, died early the following morning. Nor was that all, for later in the day, as drink flowed increasingly freely, the windows of the candidates' inns were broken, and the police and special constables were driven into the police station by a mob. At last the magistrates went to the castle to call out the military, who marched back with them to the market-place. The Riot Act was read, and the crowds were ordered to disperse. Confronted now by armed force, they did so, and 'perfect tranquillity was soon afterwards restored...' (*Carl Journ* 26 Jun, 3 Jul 1841 *DRP*; PRO *HO45/41* 1 Jul 1841).

The end of the election campaign did not lead to more settled times. On 27 September the Mayor of Carlisle advised Horse Guards that 'with the present excitement existing in the public mind, and the probable distress during the ensuing winter, we do not consider it would prudent to remove the troop of cavalry'. Under ordinary circumstances, he added, 'the Depot of Infantry in the Castle would afford a sufficient support to the Civil Power' (PRO *HO45/48* 27 Sept 1841). There was certainly no likelihood of the castle garrison being reduced, and the events of 1842 showed why. An economic slump, beginning in 1841 and continuing into the following year, caused immense suffering in the North of England, and especially in the cotton trade (Evans 1983, 155). Strikes and disturbance were common (ibid, 256, Mather 1966, 10), and Carlisle was not immune from them. Chartism revived there, as elsewhere, and on 14 August a public meeting was planned to elect a delegate to the Chartist conference to be held in Manchester in the following week (*Carl Journ* 20 Aug 1842 *DRP*). When that delegate returned, it was with news of the conference's recommendation of 'a cessation of labour until the Charter was obtained', and on 22 August the workers in the cotton mills in and near the city were called out; most (though not all) of them answered the call. * The magistrates were prepared for this emergency, and they called in a force of 200 Yeomanry cavalry, banned public meetings and ordered all public houses to shut their doors at 9 pm. 200 special constables were sworn in. There were a few instances of intimidation, but 'prompt aid was afforded by the civil and military authorities and the threats prevented from being carried into execution...'. The Yeomanry 'rendered most efficient aid to the civil authorities in conjunction with the Garrison at the Castle...', and as a result Carlisle itself remained relatively peaceful. There were fears of disturbances elsewhere, however, and on 23 August troops of yeomanry and infantry were sent to both Dalston and Wigton, the infantry, men of the 66th Regiment then stationed in the castle, being conveyed in horse-drawn omnibuses. There was no serious trouble at Dalston, but there was some energetic rioting at Wigton, the troops were stoned when they arrived, and three men were arrested and taken back to Carlisle. There were fears that an attempt would be made to rescue them when they entered the city, and indeed, a 'very dense' crowd assembled in Caldewgate, but a large body of troops, including fifty more infantry, was successfully deployed to escort the prisoners to the county gaol.

The crowds in the street did no more than hiss and hoot, and the strikes ended soon afterwards. On 30 August the Yeomanry was dismissed (*Carl Journ* 3 Sept 1842 *DRP*), and by 8 October the *Carlisle Journal* could describe the city's Chartist Association as 'defunct' (ibid, 8 Oct 1842 *DRP*). When troops were next seen on

the streets of Carlisle it was as fire-fighters, at a blaze in Caldewgate (ibid, 3 Dec 1842 *DRP*). Yet in the decade which came to be known as the 'Hungry Forties' the possibility of further unrest remained. In 1843 a pit strike and consequent violence at Whitehaven led to the magistrates there sending to the commanding officer at Carlisle 'for such military aid as he could conveniently send...' (PRO *HO45/348* 15 Sept 1843), and there was a Chartist meeting held in Carlisle in 1846 (Barnes 1984, 212). And although Carlisle seems to have remained quiet during Chartism's climactic year of 1848, there were still Chartist meetings in the city in October and November, one of them attended by five hundred people (*Carl Journ* 6 Oct, 3 Nov 1848 *DRP*). Military men felt that they still had to regard the castle as a fortress. In May 1849 the Corporation's plan to sell for building the Bitts below the castle's north-east wall drew from Major Lynn of the Royal Engineers at Newcastle the observation that 'It is under the fire from 5 guns on the ramparts and 8 on the keep; this fire is too plunging to be very effective, particularly from the keep – it would however be sufficient to destroy the small houses which may be built if it were considered necessary', (PRO *WO44/195* 10 May 1849).

In fact it never seems to have been seriously suggested after 1831 that the castle might be attacked. Of course its security had to be maintained, but it became important mainly as a military centre, as a base from which troops could be deployed to keep the peace and suppress violence, both in the city and the region. It was this change in function which was primarily responsible, in less than thirty years after the battle of Waterloo, for more extensive changes to the castle's fabric and appearance than had been made at any previous time in its history. After Colonel Birch's defensive measures in 1819, nearly all the alterations and additions of the years which followed were made not to repel an external enemy but to enable the troops within to be better trained and housed. The extra barracks which were either devised in existing buildings or built from new were the most striking examples of this development, but they were not the only ones. It is now known that many of the reforms intended to improve the life of the private soldier which were once attributed to the aftermath of the Crimea War in fact originated in the decades preceding it. Some of these had an impact on Carlisle castle. Innovations like the library in the barracks built in 1836/37, with which should perhaps be associated the school-room set up in the outer gatehouse some time between 1834 and 1841,[7] (PRO *WO55/2733* no 9), and the fives court built in 1841 (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1842), reflect the miltary authorities' concern to encourage the soldiers in spare-time occupations which gave them alternatives to drinking (Strachan 1984, 85). The two washrooms ordered at the end of 1845, one next to the keep and the other in the barracks built in 1836/37 (PRO *WO55/2915* no 9), represented an important contribution to the castle's health and hygiene. Such developments were made piecemeal, and their results, in terms of comfort and cleanliness, often still left much to be desired. But the process thus begun was capable of being taken further, and it pointed the way to further changes, more methodically implemented, in the decades ahead.

Notes

1 No evidence for such ditches survives, and it is possible that all Birch had really had done was cut the wall-walks connecting the bastion with the curtain walls on either side of it. Information from Mike McCarthy and Denis Perriam.

2 Earlier in the summer there had been work in progress on the wall, a workman being severely injured by the collapse of part of it, *Carl Journ* 19 Jul 1823 (*DRP*).

3 For the *Carl Pat* account I have used the cuttings preserved in PRO *HO40/20*.

4 Nutter's engraving is derived from a view by Luke Clennell published in 1813 (*DRP*).

5 Pictorial evidence shows the guardhouse to have been a lean-to building with a sloping roof at the south-west angle of the outer gatehouse, overlooking the west side of the moat (*DRP*).

6 The rest of this paragraph is based on *Carl Journ* 27 Aug 1842 (*DRP*).

7 The absence of a school-room is remarked on in PRO *WO44/557* 6 Jan 1834.

15 1848–1962: from regimental depot to ancient monument

The mid-Victorian castle

When the Honourable Principal Storekeeper inspected the barracks in Carlisle castle at around the end of 1833, he observed that 'The soldiers' quarters are very much separated, the fact is the barrack have been fitted up by piece meal, but on no positive plan…' (PRO *WO44/557* 6 Jan 1834). It was a judgement fully borne out by all descriptions of the mid-nineteenth-century castle, and in particular by a survey made in 1851, which makes it possible to reconstruct the castle of that period, by now well on the way to becoming the castle visible today (PRO *WO55/2915* nos 8 and 9). Other reports and descriptions make it possible to say something about living conditions inside the various buildings as well. In the inner ward the powder magazine stood at the north end of the east curtain, surrounded by a palisade, with the shifting room and two gunsheds nearby. A rectangular two storey building, with three rooms on each floor, capable of holding 320 barrels of powder (PRO *WO44/547* 15 Oct 1827; *WO55/718* 16 May 1848), in 1851 the magazine was in poor condition. Built where there had once been privies, the resulting damp had led to its floors being 'completely destroyed by dry rot', while a reference by the engineer who relaid those floors to 'impure airs rising through the earth' suggests that the privies had left another disagreeable legacy to their successor. A layer of concrete over the earth at foundation level would, it was hoped, prevent further trouble (PRO *WO55/718* 25 Nov 1851).[1] To the south of the magazine, where the great hall had once stood, there was still an open space. It may have been deliberate policy on the part of the military authorities to keep other buildings away from the powder store. These could only have been heated by open fires, and it was obvious that 'the loss of life and property would be heavy, and the destruction of the Castle would ensue from an explosion of the Magazine…' (ibid, 22 Jun 1846). The expanse of curtain wall against which the hall had once stood was used instead to hold the tablet recording Lord Scrope's construction of the old Governor's House back in 1577, displayed there now for the benefit of visitors and passers-by (Ferguson 1893–5, 470).

At the south end of that wall stood the Officers' Mess, in what had once been the palace. It was something of a warren now, made up of five officers' rooms, a mess room, a kitchen, three rooms for servants (including another kitchen), a pantry, two cellars and a privy. A cook-house equipped with six boilers for the private soldiers stationed in the inner ward had been squeezed in between the mess and the curtain wall behind; an 'Ablution or Washing Room', built by an order of December 1845, stood next it, with a water tank nearby. Following the disappearance first of the Governor's House and then of Queen Mary's Tower, no buildings stood along the inner ward's south curtain, which was, however, dominated by the keep. This fulfilled more than one function. The two upper floors were used as ordnance stores and barrack stores, while the first floor was given over to three barrack rooms; the two main ones, separated by a dividing wall, housed 31 NCOs and privates, the other, a small one which must have been that from which the portcullis had once been operated, accommodated a single serjeant. The basements appear to have been empty. At the foot of the keep was a cluster of subsidiary buildings, stone-built and slate roofed; the master gunner's store, with the storekeeper's office next to it, stood on the south side, the turf house and engine house (for the fire engine) on the north side. The Captain's Tower, at the entrance to the inner ward, served entirely as barracks. Only two of its rooms were said to have been used, these being calculated to contain 18 NCOs and privates, fewer than were housed there in 1827, when a plan shows thirteen men on the first floor and twelve on the second, the beds being slotted in wherever space could be found for them (PRO *WO44/602* 23 Apr 1827). No doubt the building that had taken place elsewhere since then had relieved the pressure on the Tower. As recently as March 1850 an extension was ordered for the Captain's Tower on its north side, in the form of a room for an artillery serjeant, to be made of stone with a slate roof. And to the north of that again, the Tudor casemates set into the inner ward's north-west curtain were still in use, now labelled successively Coal Store, Cleaning Shed, Carpenter's Shop and Old Stores. Stores as well as barracks were scattered round the castle. A sundial stood at the inner ward's north angle, with a flagstaff on the ramparts above it, the latter having presumably been transferred to this new position when Queen Mary's Tower was demolished (PRO *WORK31/818*). In 1871 an indignant 'Observer' wrote to the *Carlisle Journal* complaining of the 'very old shabby Union Jack' then being flown there; it was, he declared, 'a disgrace to old England', and the War Office should replace it with a new one (*Carl Journ* 18 Apr 1871 *DRP*).

No single building dominated the outer ward as the keep did the inner one. Its central expanse was gravelled over as a parade ground, with buildings at its perimeter under the south, west and north curtain walls. As for centuries past it was entered through the fourteenth-century gatehouse, which in 1841 still served as barracks, with four rooms for 29 NCOs and privates (PRO *WO55/2733* no 9), but ten years later these men had been removed. Instead the gatehouse, like the keep, had been adapted to serve many purposes. Three rooms, probably on the first floor, were given over to 'Armoury, Staff Officers and Staff'. There were two guard rooms and an orderly room, most likely on the ground floor, while the school room, a small room for the librarian and the Serjeants' Rooms must have been fitted in wherever space allowed. A row of smaller buildings stood against the south curtain on the gatehouse's west side. First of all came the two cells and lock-up room built in 1832. They were made of stone, but the prison next to it, built in 1840 and containing two more cells and a lobby, was of brick. The small building next to the prison, and put up at the same time as it, was made of stone; in 1841 it was marked as a gunshed, but by 1851 it had been converted to contain one room for the Artillery District Office, another for Clerks' Quarters, and a third for the

Harness Room. At the west end of the south curtain the master gunner's quarters, consisting only of a kitchen, a sitting room and two small bedrooms, stood against the wall, with the barrack office in front of it.

The southern end of the west curtain was dominated by the barracks built in 1836/37. A long building with a block at its northern end, this had been intended from the first to serve a residential purpose. Its long southern part housed officers, containing twelve rooms for one field officer (that is, an officer above the rank of captain) and ten lesser officers, together with a regimental storeroom, a room to hold a library, two privies and no less than six servants' kitchens. The block at the end of the building housed 54 NCOs and privates on its three floors, with eighteen men on each (*CISCBH* 1863, 168), and also contained two rooms for four serjeants. Behind it, against the curtain wall, stood another 'Ablution or Washing Room' built at the same time as that in the inner ward; it, too, had a water tank nearby. Continuing north up the west curtain, we come to the brick-built canteen of 1829. Not a large building, it contained a tap room and bar, a room for NCOs, a kitchen, a bedroom (presumably for its lessee) and two cellars, while a privy stood against the wall behind it. North of the canteen more service buildings stood at the outer ward's north-west angle; in one, made of stone, was a cook-house with eight boilers, with a cleaning shed next to it, in another, made of brick, stood a privy, and beside it the officers' stable containing room for four horses. Privy and stable stood at the west end of the north curtain, with next to the stable a large open space which had probably once been a garden but was now described as the hospital yard (it seems to have been used for drying clothes and bedding). In front of that yard stood another barracks, originally the armoury, until in 1827 it was converted into an eight room barracks for 108 NCOs and men. Then at an unrecorded date between 1841 and 1851 it received an extension, a rectangular block placed at its west end to make the whole building T-shaped, which contained two rooms and increased the capacity of the barracks from 108 to 165 (this addition probably explains why by 1851 soldiers were no longer lodged in the outer gatehouse and why the numbers in the Captain's Tower had been reduced). Since the whole barrack was said to have been made of brick, there will have been no clash of materials. To the east of this barrack, set back against the wall, stood the hospital, a two storey building containing three wards for eighteen patients (one apparently on the ground floor, the others on the floor above (PRO *WORK31/815*), as well as a surgery, quarters for the Hospital Serjeant, a mortuary, a kitchen, a privy and two attics. Another group of service buildings stood on the hospital's east side: all made of stone with slate roofs, successively a straw store, a foul bedding store, a wash house and a barrack store, before pleasure had its place in the form of the fives court.

In 1852 a report on the condition of the castle's batteries concluded that 'This castle was formerly an important part of the defences of Carlisle, it now forms a good and safe depot for arms, ammunition, stores &c...'. The downgrading of the castle's defensive role implicit in this comment is confirmed by the report on the guns and batteries (PRO *WO55/718* 23 Dec 1852). Though there had formerly been sixteen guns mounted on the walls, there were now only three *in situ* two six-pounders on the saluting battery and one twelve-pounder probably at the south-east angle of the inner ward. The report of 1852 recommended that there be ten guns in the inner ward and nine in the outer, and also called for repairs to the walls and platforms which would take six weeks to complete and cost £572 9s 5d. In the prevailing conditions, as growing prosperity began to allay the discontents of the 1840s, there was little chance of these proposals being implemented, nor was there any likelihood of the castle being garrisoned on the scale reckoned to be necessary if all the guns were to be worked and all the walls manned, that is, by 80 artillerymen and 400 infantry. But there was a substantial garrison in the castle all the same. In September 1849 the men of the 63rd Regiment stationed there consisted of one field officer, three captains, five subalterns, eleven serjeants, three trumpeters and drummers and 199 rank and file, and there was also a small squadron of artillery made up of two subalterns, two serjeants and thirteen privates (PRO-*O45/2793* 16 Sept 1849). Altogether there were 239 men in the castle, and there could have been more, in 1861 the regulation number of men for the Carlisle barracks being put at 274 (*CISCBH* 1863, 255). In fact the numbers actually in residence must have varied. The castle now served as a depot, as a base for recruiting and training, and not for any one regiment. By the beginning of 1851 the 63rd had been replaced by the 33rd, which itself gave way during the year to the 21st (*Carl Journ* 18 Apr 1851 *DRP*). During 1853 the 28th and 48th Regiments succeeded one another in occupation of the castle (ibid, 17 Jun 1831 *DRP*), which later in the 1850s, reflecting the demands made on the services of the regular troops by the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, was manned by men of the Northumberland and West York militias (eg ibid, 9 May 1856, 4 Jan 1859 *DRP*). A depot establishment was supposed to consist of four companies each containing 56 rank and file, and of 253 men altogether (Strachan 1984, 211) but it is not likely that these numbers were maintained with perfect regularity – they were not in 1849, for instance.

In fact, it would probably have been as well for the comfort of the men at Carlisle if the depot had been undermanned. In the early 1830s the Principal Storekeeper had reported that 'The rooms are now much more crowded than they should be... there is no school room, no serjeants' rooms, no orderly room, nor any of those conveniences the soldiers are now (I fear too much) accustomed to...'. By 1851 there had certainly been improvements. Space had been found for a school room, serjeants' rooms and an orderly room in the outer gatehouse, and mention has already been made of such 'conveniences' as wash-rooms, a library and a fives court. Even so, the conditions of life for the private soldier left much to be desired in terms of comfort and hygiene. The evidence for this comes principally from reports of the late 1850s and early 1860s, produced by commissions set up to investigate the state of the army after the calamities of the Crimean War. There had been reforms in the 1830s and 1840s, but the living conditions of the army, it was widely

recognised, were still all too often deplorable, its peacetime mortality rate unacceptably high. Insanitary and overcrowded barracks came to be perceived as largely responsible for this (Skelley 1977, 27–33). As far as Carlisle Castle was concerned, the barracks built in 1836/37 and the extension added to the former armoury in the 1840s must have done something to ease the pressure on the available space. Something, but not enough. At the heart of the problem lay the fact that only the structures just mentioned had actually been built as barracks, all the others had been adapted from pre-existing buildings originally intended for some other purpose, and men had then been packed into them wherever room could be found. There were eight rooms in the old armoury, four at ground level and four more above. On the ground floor there were fourteen beds put into each room, and the same number into each of the two front rooms on the first floor; but it was discovered that the first floor's two back rooms could each hold one more, and so they duly housed fifteen men apiece (PRO *WO44/602* 23 Apr 1827). In the late 1850s it was decided that health and hygiene required a space of 600 cubic feet for every man in barracks. At that rate there was nominally room for 222 men in Carlisle Castle, but the way the rooms were laid out meant that in fact there was only space for 206. As already observed, the regulation number of men in the castle was 274, and it was estimated that had they all been present there, only 111 would have had 600 cubic feet or more, 76 would have had between 400 and 500, and 87 between 300 and 400 (*CISCBH*, 1863, 168; *CISCBH* 1861, 210).

This might have mattered less had conditions in the rooms themselves been better. When the corporation planned to build on the Bitts, below the castle's north curtain, in the 1840s, Major Lynn of the Royal Engineers decided that the castle's height above the proposed building site was such as to be 'amply sufficient to prevent any nuisance to the garrison from smoke etc' (PRO *WO44/195* 10 May 1849). He would appear to have been too optimistic, for it was reported in 1859 that there were now houses and factories close to the castle and that 'great nuisance is experienced in the rooms from clouds of smoke disengaged from the factory chimneys', so great, in fact, 'that it is at times impossible to open the barrack-room windows to admit fresh air'. The problem was all the greater because ventilation was not so much bad as non-existent – 'None of the rooms are ventilated...' (*CISCBH* 1863 167–8).

Litigation was therefore recommended to deal with the chimney smoke, and in the meantime the barrack rooms in ranges B and E (now Gallipoli and Arroyo) should be improved by 'shafts, inlets and remodelled grates', together with shafts through the ceilings and perforated window-panes on the stairs, while the NCOs' rooms should have ventilators of the sort invented earlier in the century by the Scottish physician Neil Arnott' (*CISCBH* 1861, 255). With poor ventilation went inadequate light The stairs were lit by gas, but candles were still used in the barrack rooms (*CISCBH* 1863, 168), which must not only have added to their stuffiness but also have considerably increased the risk of fire in rooms in which the soldiers still slept on straw; in January 1873 the *Carlisle Journal* carried the sad story of the soldier who hid his savings in the straw of his bedding, only to lose them when 'the straw beds and pillows were emptied and renewed...' (*Carl Journ* 10 Jan 1873 *DRP*). In 1859 at least one gas-burner was recommended for each room.

Hygiene was no less of a problem. Until the mid-1840s there had been no wash-rooms at all, and the men must have washed in water from wells in the keep and the outer ward, and even here there may have been difficulties, the Principal Storekeeper's report remarking that 'there seems great want of a pump...'. The two wash rooms ordered in 1845 were grim communal affairs, 'long, narrow, lean-to sheds built against the rampart walls', supplied with water from the nearby tanks and able to accommodate 62 men at a time. They had no pegs for the men to hang their clothes on, and no gratings for fresh air. The commission recommended better ventilation, and also two baths, 'with water laid on'. Drainage was particularly important, and particularly bad. In 1853 orders had been given that a new 'pipe drain' be constructed in the castle as soon as possible, at a cost of £127 (PRO *WO55/718* 7 Oct 1853), but this seems to have brought little improvement, for six years later the drain and privy behind the canteen were 'in a very offensive state', while the privies attached to the barracks were 'on a very bad plan, and they are very defectively constructed... the pipe drain intended to remove the soil is broken, and allows the fluid part to run onto the parade ground...'. It was therefore recommended that the privies be 'entirely reconstructed' as water closets, 'with division of seats, half-doors, light and ventilation', which should also be properly drained (*CISCBH* 1863, 169; *CISCBH* 1861, 255).

The castle had had its own hospital since 1832. It was another converted building, having originally been the Master Gunner's house, and it proved far from apt for its new purpose, being roundly condemned by the commissioners of 1859 as 'one of the worst army hospitals we have inspected...' (*CISCBH* 1863 169-70). It may in fact have undergone some alteration since 1851 but not for the better, for in 1859 it was described as containing four wards and twenty beds, though the former perhaps included one of the attics, 'which is intended as an itch ward'. The ward on the ground floor was described as 'a lean-to built against one end of the house...', but if this was meant to relieve the pressure on the other rooms it did not succeed, the hospital showing 'the largest extent of overcrowding we have met with...'. Ventilation was entirely lacking, some of the windows not even opening at the top, there was no wash-house, no means of washing or bathing the sick, the kitchen was 'imperfectly supplied with the means of cooking', and the only privy was a water latrine in the back yard. Where the army sick were concerned, it was reckoned that there should be a minimum space of 1200 cubic feet per bed. At that rate, the existing hospital should only have contained five beds instead of twenty. It was desirable that its ventilation should be improved, but more important still that the hospital should be enlarged, preferably by extending it onto the drying yard immediately next to it, which could be used 'for the erection of two or three

good wards. Meanwhile a hospital hut might provide temporary accommodation for the overcrowded sick' (*CISCBH* 1861, 305).

Another important reason for the bad health of men in barracks was inadequate diet, the standard ration consisting of one pound of bread and three-quarters of a pound of boiled beef per day, every day, the whole year through (Skelley 1977, 63–4). There is no reason to suppose that the men stationed at Carlisle did better in this respect than those in barracks elsewhere, and they may well have done worse, a diet of 'bread, margarine, tea and stew' apparently remaining usual there into the early years of the twentieth century (*Carl Journ* 7 Apr 1936 *DRP*). Of the conditions in which food was prepared, the report of 1859 remarked that the castle contained three cook-houses with boilers and recently erected ovens, and said nothing of them in criticism except that they were too dark (*CISCBH* 1863, 168). Another report, however, commenting only on two of them (the third was the hospital's), described one as 'in a very bad state' and the other as 'not fit to use' (ibid, 354). So what food the troops did get may have been badly cooked as well dietetically deficient. Drink, obtainable in the canteen, was the traditional solace of the private soldier. Until 1863 (Skelley 1977, 162) the canteen was leased to a private contractor, who continued to pay privilege money, but at a much lower rate, for whereas in 1835 he had to pay 3s 4d per month for every ten soldiers in the garrison, by 1843 he was paying only 1s 8d (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1835, 10 Jan 1843), and in 1848 the rate was fixed at 6d (PRO *WO55/2915* no 6), probably in the hope of giving the contractor less incentive to overcharge his customers and adulterate their beer. His rent, however, stayed the same, at £10 *per annum*.

Wellington had notoriously described his men as 'the scum of the earth enlisted for drink'. There certainly were some bad men in barracks. In 1833 a foot-soldier was arrested on a charge of picking a civilian pocket (*Carl Journ* 9 Mar 1833 *DRP*), and in January 1873 the *Carlisle Journal* carried a sordid story of how two men of the 55th had knocked down a recruit of their own regiment and robbed him of his watch (ibid, 10 Jan 1873 *DRP*). But on the whole the private soldier of the mid-nineteenth century was more likely to be poor than vicious, and his shortcomings were often those of youth, as, finding it difficult to adapt to the restrictions and routines of army life, he took refuge in insubordination or drunkenness (Skelley 1977, 143–4). It may be significant that all three men involved in the episode of 1873 had recently been drinking in the Rose and Castle Inn nearby. Drink was widely seen as a cause of ill health and indiscipline among the troops, and not just from within the army. A group of churchmen planning to establish a Temperance Society for Carlisle in 1874 discussed the possibility of enlisting the soldiers in the garrison, and observed that it was 'very desirable that men who joined such a society should have some association to make the thing a little pleasant and draw them away from the attractions of the public-house...' (*Carl Journ* 20 Mar 1874 *DRP*). It is significant, however, that this attempt at moral guidance came from the church in the city, for in contrast with earlier centuries, the Victorian castle contained no chapel, nor is there any mention of a regimental chaplain there (he was indeed an endangered species in the British army until the 1850s (Spiers 1980, 28), but he was still unrecorded at Carlisle even after that). The burden of maintaining moral standards, and of counteracting the injurious effects of alcohol, among the men in the castle therefore fell upon their regiments.

One way in which the military authorities could try to maintain order and discipline was through punishments. No evidence survives from Carlisle before the early 1880s, but records of fines – introduced in 1868 (Skelley 1977, 128) – and other penalties between 1882 and 1884 give some idea of the problems drunkenness could cause (details from PRO *WO16/1672*). The list of offenders between April and September 1882 contains 47 entries. There were not 47 offenders, however, for some names appear several times. Morgan Brian, for instance, with five entries, spent from 12 July to 30 September in the Guard Room and Prison, and he was joined there on 3 August by James Robson, with four entries. Neither man was improved by his spell in confinement, for in the six months following Brian's name went into the book six times and Robson's five, and Brian was penalised six times more between April and September 1883, before he was transferred elsewhere. Others were got rid of more quickly. William Johnston and Peter McDermott, both penalised twice for drunkenness during the six months beginning in October 1882, were both discharged with ignominy soon afterwards, one in December 1882 and the other in February. Others did not wait to be discharged. J.Taylor, fined on 18 January 1884, deserted the very next day. Desertions were not numerous, but there was a steady trickle of losses by this means. Only one deserter was recorded between April and September 1883, but eight between October 1883 and March 1884; the higher rate in winter may have something to say about the lack of comfort in the castle.

As the lash fell out of favour, the prison cell became the means of corporal punishment most frequently used in the British Army. Carlisle castle acquired a lock-up room and two cells in 1832, and then in 1840 a two-cell prison (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1833, 10 Jan 1841). The addition was without much doubt the result of reforms advocated in the mid-1830s. The earlier 'black hole' would have been intended only for 48 hour sentences for minor offences, and for more serious acts in breach of regimental discipline the offender could only be confined to barracks or flogged. The new prison of 1840 (much earlier than most such) could hold a prisoner for up to 28 days, while its inmate alternated between hard labour and solitary confinement (Strachan 1984, 83–4). But it was better, of course, to keep the men out of prison altogether, and it was widely agreed that one way of doing this was by providing them with alternative amusements which might keep them out of the canteen and the public house. It was with this end in mind that a fives court was built in the castle in 1841 (PRO *WO55/1578(11)* 10 Jan 1842), following recommendations made five years earlier (Strachan 1984, 85), and the cricket matches occasionally recorded, in which a castle team played a side from the city (*Carl Journ* 4 Jul 1835, 20 May 1859

DRP), may represent a regimental initiative to the same effect. The development of regimental schools and libraries was likewise inspired both by concern for the soldier's welfare, moral and intellectual as well as physical, and by a desire to find better ways in which he could occupy his leisure hours (Smith 1968, 35).

Little can be said about the school at this period. The absence of a school room was noted in 1834, and had been remedied by 1841, when one was recorded in the outer gatehouse. Until 1861 army rules required that every recruit should spend at least four hours a week in school (Skelley 1977, 91), and since regimental depots existed to receive and train recruits, the school room should have been much in use. The 3rd West York Militia, stationed in the castle in 1859, had brought their regimental schoolmaster with them (*Carl Journ* 15 Apr 1859 *DRP*), and must have taken this regulation seriously, but it is impossible to say if others followed suit. Rather more can be said about the library. Libraries developed rapidly from the late 1830s (Strachan 1984, 92–3), and at Carlisle the barracks built in 1836/37 seem to have contained a room for a library from the first. In 1851 it was still described only as a room for a library, and so may not yet have had any books in it, and by the following year it had been moved to one of the buildings along the outer ward's south curtain wall (PRO *WO55/718* 23 Dec 1852), where by 1865 the librarian's room had come to be placed next to it.[2] In general terms, the development of barrack libraries was one of many innovations where the army seems to have felt that the benevolence of an initiative was all that was needed to sustain it. But in fact the library at Carlisle seems to have enjoyed a fair measure of success. It soon acquired a reasonable number of books – 677 by 1862 (*CMEAS* 1862, 117) – which presumably stayed there, and did not move around with the regiments stationed in the castle. In the same year, when the number of men in the castle had been greatly reduced from earlier figures, to just one officer and 23 men, over half of these (14) subscribed to the library, and on average five men used it every day. But space was limited, for there was just one room, and that was too small, and being lit by candles must often have been depressingly dark. And all the men could do in it was read, for there was no tea or coffee sold in it, as there was in some other barracks, and there was no provision for any sort of indoor games. A reading room for 'amusement' was therefore required, and so were a cricket ground, a gymnasium and a fencing room (*CILRD* 1862, 36–7).

The sports represented by these last amenities were, of course, male sports, and the character of barrack life was intensely masculine. This was largely deliberate policy on the army's part, it was intended that the regiment should act as a substitute for a family for its men, and the place allowed in it for women was therefore small (Trustram 1984, 23). Regulations issued in 1817 allowed four married women per troop or company of sixty men to live in barracks, where with their children they were accommodated in a curtained-off corner of a barrack room (ibid, 70). Gradually it came to be felt that the army should provide decent accommodation for its married men, and in the 1850s separate married quarters began to be provided, but very slowly. Carlisle was not one of those favoured, the absence of married soldiers' quarters being remarked on in 1859 (*CISCBH* 1863), and not until the mid-1870s were plans made to remedy this; in 1873 private soldiers and their wives were clearly still living in the castle barracks. The commission of 1859 also reported on the deficiencies of the women's wash-house, one of the buildings east of the hospital; this could represent a concession to privacy for women, but since the needs listed were 'fixed tubs, gratings and a drying and laundry store' (*CISCBH* 1861, 255), it seems just as likely that it existed so that the regimental wives could earn their keep, as they commonly did, by cleaning the soldiers' clothes (Trustram 1984, 109–10). The children of soldiers lived with their parents. In 1868 the 40th Regiment moved from Aldershot to Carlisle, going thence to Ireland in the following year. Figures for regimental school attendance record 66 children in 1868 and 59 in 1869, while up to 23 children attended the lectures given at Carlisle by the regimental schoolmaster during the winter of 1868/69 (*CMEAS* 1870, Appendix, 146, 151, 177). The children of a regiment were required to attend its school. Pressure on the single room in the outer gatehouse must have been great at this time, that on the already crowded barrack rooms even worse. In fact it seems hardly possible that so many children could have lived in barracks, some must surely have been billetted in the city. But wherever they were housed, such figures suggest a degree of congestion which probably helps to explain why, in conditions in which it was already difficult to convert old buildings into adequate barracks, to provide suitable quarters for married men it was ultimately found necessary to construct an entirely new building for that purpose.

Conditions in existing buildings were often unsatisfactory, but not everything about life in the castle was bad, partly thanks to the improvements already referred to, limited though these were. In any case it is misleading to discuss life there purely in terms of the details supplied by reports intended to draw attention to its shortcomings. For one thing such an approach overlooks the compensations for material hardships which soldiers have always found in comradeship and shared experience, for another, it ignores the possibility that what seemed intolerable to the commissioners may sometimes have seemed less so to the soldiers themselves. The recruits enlisted in February 1831 were described as 'principally from the agricultural class' (*Carl Journ* 26 Feb 1831 *DRP*). To the son of a farm labourer from Renwick or Kirklinton a life which revolved round a regular diet of bread and meat, and guaranteed a barrack-room bed might well have been better than anything he could hope to enjoy at home. A different sort of compensation for restricted living conditions probably came in the form of easier relations with the city. In 1851 and 1853 the officers gave balls in the castle, the former being attended by 'the elite of the city and neighbourhood' (ibid, 24 Jan 1851, 4 Mar 1853 *DRP*). In January 1862 it was the turn of the serjeant-major and serjeants of the 47th, who having already given a series of quadrille parties now held a ball in their mess room (ibid, 26 Jan 1872 *DRP*). In 1868, on the other hand, both office and NCOs of the 70th

attended a 'Volunteer Ball' in an Assembly Room in the city (ibid, 28 Feb 1868 *DRP*). Regimental bands sometimes played for the enjoyment of the townsfolk, a reminder of an artistic extension of military life likely to have given pleasure to soldiers as well. Relations with the city must also have benefited from the castle's willingness to use its fire engines to help extinguish fires in and round Carlisle. In February 1861, for instance, the castle engine, manned by the Artillery Coast Brigade, helped to put out a fire at Donald's Mill in Willow Holme, not very far from the castle's north curtain, and the skill with which it was handled was 'the theme of general remark' (ibid, 22 Feb 1861 *DRP*). The castle still stood for authority, as it had always done, but its presence was no longer resented as it had so often been in earlier decades. The salutes with which the military continued to celebrate Queen Victoria's birthday (ibid, 6 June 1851 20 May 1859 *DRP*) are much more likely to have been approved than otherwise. Popularity had its disadvantages. By the early 1850s, even more than before, the castle was becoming a tourist attraction. In September 1853, when the beginnings of a cholera epidemic became apparent in North East England, the barracks at Carlisle were closed to visitors, as a precaution against their being infected by people crossing the Pennines from Newcastle in cheap excursion trains (ibid, 30 Sept 1853 *DRP*). And even without the danger of catching cholera, the presence of tourists must sometimes have a nuisance. But, like tours of inspection by government commissions and cricket matches against the city, such visits showed that the castle and the men in it were part of a wider world, and helped to counteract the isolation of barrack life.

Closure and reoccupation 1860–1890

In the years immediately after the Crimean War and the Indian Mutiny, army reform was a popular cause in England, and the government was unusually willing to spend money on it (Spiers 1980, 160). But interest soon faded, and not even the French invasion scare of 1859, though it led to the formation of Volunteer forces all over the country, including one at Carlisle (*Carl Journ* 13 Jan, 21 Feb 1860 *DRP*), could revive it. Expenditure on barracks fell. As Gladstone remarked, 'a cry for economy has become audible' (Spiers 1980, 162). Carlisle Castle was well away from any likely firing line, its chances of receiving priority in any distribution of such funds as were available correspondingly remote. Should trouble arise there, the continuing development of the railways would in any case make it easy for troops to be quickly moved to Carlisle (*VCH Cumb* II, 346–7). Yet the castle clearly needed extensive improvements and alterations if it was to continue to serve adequately as a regimental depot. The War Office's solution of this problem was perhaps predictable in the circumstances. First it drastically reduced the garrison, then it removed it altogether. In 1862 there were only one officer and 23 men in the castle (*CILRD* 1862, 36–7), while by May 1864 barracks described in the previous year as constructed for 282 infantry (*CISCBH* 1863, 354) were occupied by just one soldier. The end of military occupation looked as if it might be permanent, as the War Office searched for alternative uses for the castle and its buildings. One suggestion was that it might serve as 'store-houses for grain' (*Carl Journ* 27 May 1864 *DRP*), another that it might be leased 'for manufacturing, mechanical, or other uses' (ibid, 16 Sept 1864 *DRP*). In November 1865 the idea surfaced that a new gaol might be built on the gardens at the front (ibid, 28 Nov 1865 *DRP*), while three years later the castle seemed a possible site for the projected new parish church of St.Mary's (Bulman 1939, 49 *DRP*). A more plausible idea, put forward in 1864, was that the castle should become the head quarters of the Cumberland Militia, then sited at Whitehaven. This proposal had the merit of economy, as not only did the Whitehaven barracks cost the county a yearly rent of £150, paid to Lord Lonsdale, but they were not in fact big enough for the men they were intended to house, so that the government had to pay an additional £75 *per annum* for extra accommodation (*Carl Journ* 27 May 1864 *DRP*). Correspondence on this possibility continued into 1865. Nothing came of it, but nothing came of the other suggestions either, and though the Volunteers made use of its parade ground (ibid, 10 May 1867 *DRP*) the castle remained empty.

That the castle was not converted to civilian uses was probably mainly due to the opposition of the city, fiercely hostile to what one councillor called the 'desecration of that ancient fortress' (ibid, 16 Sept 1864 *DRP*). In March 1867 the corporation made representations to the War Office 'concerning the present neglected state of the Castle' (ibid, 22 Mar 1867 *DRP*), and the extent of that neglect is shown by an account of a tour of the castle made by one Mary Smith at around this time. She found some of the rooms in the keep still taken up by 'a very goodly quantity of hospital clothing and requisites', but others filled only with 'a large quantity of exceedingly dusty lumber', while the armoury contained nothing more than 'about twenty very indifferent old swords hanging up and down on the bare walls' (Smith 1868, 20–2). Pressure from the city may have been able to stop the castle being turned into a factory or a warehouse, but it could not bring it back into military use. What did that, by October 1867, would appear to have been events in Ireland, or more probably their repercussions in England, the Fenian conspiracies which led in 1867 to a plot to attack Chester Castle and to murders in Manchester and London (Woodward 1962, 360). Early in 1868 men of the 70th Regiment were stationed at Whitehaven, 'as an additional precaution against Fenian disturbances...' (*Carl Journ* 28 Jan 1868 *DRP*), having doubtless been detached for that purpose from the main body of the regiment which had been at Carlisle by the previous October (ibid, 22 Oct 1867 *DRP*). The castle may briefly have become a staging post for regiments on their way to Ireland, the 70th being succeeded there before the end of 1868 by the 40th Regiment, three companies of which, though not always the same three, for there appear to have been exchanges with other companies of the same regiment placed at Tynemouth and Bradford (ibid, 20 Apr 1869 *DRP*), were quartered in the castle at least until June 1869, and then went on to Mullingar (*CISCBH* 1861, 225). In September 1869 the garrison was moved out of the castle and

into tents, while the barracks were painted and whitewashed. This operation, described as 'periodical' by the *Carlisle Journal*, was probably badly needed after several years during which the castle had been effectively lying empty. Conditions were also improved the insertion of new pipes to carry the water supply (*Carl Journ* 10 Sept 1869 *DRP*). It is not clear who the men were who first benefited from these works, but they may have been those of the 12th Regiment, whose head quarters, made up of three companies, were in occupation of the castle by February 1870 (ibid, 22 Feb 1870 *DRP*).

Late in March 1870 the head quarters and one of these companies left to rejoin the rest of the regiment at Preston, in spite of an appeal by the city to Horse Guards that they should remain where they were (ibid, 11 Mar 1870 *DRP*). As in the past there were doubtless economic advantages for the citizens in a substantial military presence in Carlisle, especially when good relations prevailed between soldiers and townsfolk, and the city may also have been afraid that if the troops were withdrawn the castle might again be left empty. The petition was turned down, and though two companies, consisting of five officers and about one hundred men, were after all left in charge of the barracks (ibid, 29 Mar 1870 *DRP*), this hardly amounted to a full regimental depot as envisaged in 1825. It is possible that as the Fenian movement faded away, so the castle's renewed military function would have faded also. That it did not do so was due to the army reforms associated with Edward Cardwell, Secretary for War throughout Gladstone's government of 1868-1874.[3] A skilled and experienced administrator, Cardwell aspired both to cut costs and to increase efficiency. Among the problems he had to solve was that of a low level of recruitment, compounded by the poor quality of the men who all too often enlisted. By means of the Localisation Bill which he introduced in February 1872, Cardwell planned to deal with this difficulty by forging much closer links between the army and the mass of the population from which recruits were necessarily drawn, in the hope that 'the ties of kindred and of locality may bring into the army a better class of men and a greater number than now present themselves' (Skelly 1977, 253). To this end he proposed the division of England into 66 territorial divisions. To each of these would be assigned two line battalions and two militia infantry battalions. Each district would form an administrative brigade, and each would have a brigade depot as its base. Many of the recruits he wanted to attract into the army Cardwell hoped would come from the militia, traditionally the regular army's principal reserve of manpower, and his bill was intended to bring the two forces much closer together, not least because the new permanent depots would provide centres at which reservists, as well as fresh recruits, could be trained up to be regulars (Spiers 1980, 195).

North West England comprised the second administrative brigade. The two line regiments assigned to it were the 34th Cumberland and the 55th Westmorland, with the Royal Cumberland and Royal Westmorland Militias forming the third and fourth battalions. A new name was proposed, the Royal Cumberland and Westmorland Regiment, with a new, blue, colour for the facings of its uniforms. Inevitably, no doubt, the depot was to be at Carlisle (*CMPBDS* 1877, 493, 498). By deciding on Carlisle as the centre for the new regimental district, the government was committing itself to considerable expense on the castle, partly because it could hardly hope to increase recruiting by accommodating soldiers in buildings condemned as unsatisfactory over ten years previously, partly because as a permanent depot the castle would inevitably have a permanent staff (*Carl Journ* 4 Mar 1873 *DRP*), who would need adequate offices as well as housing. The Brigade Depot was formed in April 1873. In the same month the 47th Regiment, which had been quartered in the castle for some months, departed, and was replaced by the 34th and 55th Regiments (ibid, 18 Apr 1873 *DRP*). In May 1874 there were also recruits of the Westmorland Militia in the castle, assembled there for two months of 'preliminary drill' (ibid, 22 May 1874 *DRP*). The congestion must have been considerable, and perhaps it was in part to remedy it that a meeting of the Garrison Board on 9 June 1874 worked out plans for the castle's future which, although not always carried out as proposed, would still make greater changes to its appearance than at any time since the mid-1830s. Many of these, moreover, would implement recommendations for improvements made in the late 1850s (details from PRO *WORK31/818*).

The Officers' Mess, still in the old palace in the inner ward (Fig 130), was to be transferred to the south-west corner of the outer ward, where the master gunner's house was to be raised by one storey in order to provide sufficient space for its new occupants. The old mess was to be turned into offices and quarter master's stores. More barrack space for the men was to be provided by the transformation of the canteen. This was to be lengthened by fifty feet at its north end and raised by one storey, the extra space so created being intended not just to hold a total of 40 men but also to contain the recreation room and reading room whose absence had been regretted in 1862. A veranda on its west side would also add to the amenities of the building. The extension pencilled in at the west end of the old Armoury may represent a suggestion that was dropped, but it still underwent an important change, for it was now recorded as containing only 142 men, 23 fewer than in 1851. Clearly, earlier comments on overcrowding in the barracks had been taken seriously. Indeed, the castle of the mid-1870s would in the end contain notably fewer men than it had done twenty years earlier, for it was now proposed to move the men out of the Captain's Tower and the Keep and turn both buildings into armouries. The details are hard to read, but it looks as if the castle was now intended to house eleven officers, six NCOs and 215 rank and file, 232 men altogether. A plan for an additional block on the far side of the fives court, to provide accommodation for four staff serjeants and a bread and meat store, seems never to have been adopted, but a recommendation that the wings of the hospital be raised did lead to alterations.

One alteration, important in terms both of appearance and living conditions, is not recorded on the map of 1874, though it met a need mentioned in 1859. Married soldiers' quarters were to be built at the south

Fig 130 The 1865 Ordnance Survey map of Carlisle Castle

end of the castle gardens, facing onto Annetwell Street. The negotiations between the city and the War Office over the land required for this new structure are of great importance not just for the improvement in the domestic circumstances of the soldiers which could be expected to follow, but also for the evidence they provide for the growing appreciation of the castle as an ancient monument, an appreciation which would have a steadily increasing effect on the way in which the castle and its surroundings were regarded and treated in future years. The corporation was anxious to buy up and clear away the properties along the south front of the gardens, in order to open up the view of the castle, and ultimately to create 'a magnificent boulevard which will sweep in a grand curve round our ancient Castle' (*Carl Journ* 7 Apr 1874 *DRP*). The War Office, it would appear, had originally planned to build the married soldiers' quarters on the gardens themselves, which would have left much of the castle completely obscured by modern masonry. A compromise was therefore reached, that when the corporation had acquired the ground on Annetwell Street, it should sell to the War Office as much as that department required, so that the new buildings should be put up there rather than on the gardens, which should remain clear (ibid, 13 Mar 1874 *DRP*). The negotiations

were not free from strain, and were once broken off, but in October 1874 the War Office announced its willingness to buy the land it needed for a sum not to exceed £4500 (ibid, 30 Oct 1874 *DRP*), and since that was the sum eventually paid (PRO *WORK31/983*), it would appear that this settled the matter. It did not lead to the immediate construction of the buildings, however. In February 1876 it could only be reported that the married quarters would be built as soon as the Annetwell Street properties were free of tenants (*Carl Journ* 4 Feb 1876 *DRP*), the ground was handed over in March 1877 (ibid, 16 Mar 1877 *DRP*), and not until February 1878 was a contractor found to do the work (ibid, 1 Feb 1878 *DRP*). In the meantime the married soldiers were quartered in rented buildings in Wigton Road (ibid, 5 May 1874 *DRP*). The plan, too, was decided on in February 1876. It had originally been proposed to construct a four-storey building, but aesthetic considerations would again appear to have intervened, for the corporation objected (ibid, 22 Feb 1878 *DRP*), and in the end a three-storey structure was erected, even though this meant less accommodation than at first intended, for whereas the new quarters were initially planned to hold between 60 and 70 married soldiers, as completed they housed only about 24 (ibid, 4 Feb 1876, 22 Feb 1878 *DRP*)which may explain why in November 1880 the War Office was interested in acquiring more land nearby (ibid, 12 Nov 1880 *DRP*). The work was nearing completion by April 1879 (ibid, 4 Apr 1879 *DRP*), and was probably finished soon afterwards, though the War Office did not pay for its site until 1882. A ten-foot wall was built between the new married quarters and Annetwell Street to protect the occupants' privacy (ibid, 22 Feb 1878 *DRP*).

Work on the other alterations to the castle proceeded faster, and was coming to an end by the beginning of February 1876, though not always on the lines proposed in 1874. It is very likely that the master gunner's house, even with an extra storey, was too small for an oficers' mess, and it seems clear that it was demolished completely and an entirely new structure, taking up all the space previously occupied by the master gunner's house, the barrack office and the gunshed, put up in its place, with a garden at its back, laid over wine and beer cellars, and an interior 'fitted up with every convenience.' The canteen, on the other hand, was adapted very largely as intended, the structure of 1829 surviving as the core of a larger building which, as planned, now contained recreation rooms, a reading room and barracks (ultimately for 36 men). The hospital was partly changed in accordance with the recommendations of 1874. The mortuary which formed part of its west wing was demolished, and a two storey building put up in its place, containing a kitchen and cook's room on the ground floor (thereby filling another want mentioned in 1859), and two rooms for the hospital staff above. The straw store against the east wing was demolished, moreover, another being built in its place. The *Carlisle Journal* believed that further extensions were likely, and it was right in this, photographic evidence revealing that by 1890 an extension had been added to the hospital's east wing to match that on its west (*DRP*).

In the outer gatehouse, the old armoury on the first floor was converted into a serjeants' mess (Ferguson 1876, 65 note) – another deficiency noted in 1859 – and kitchen, while in the inner ward the old officers' mess was divided up into stores and offices, with room also being found for shops for a shoemaker and a tailor. A new staircase gave access to its upper floor. There were important changes in the keep, where for the second time in the century an armoury was fitted up, with stands now for some 1800 arms. A new stone stair was put in, and the existing windows were widened. And in 1881 a longstanding gap was filled when the space where the hall had once stood was occupied by a new militia store. It was placed in front of the wall to which the plaque commemorating Lord Scrope's building of the old Governor's House had been fixed; after several years of near-invisibility, this was moved to another site (Ferguson 1893–5, 470; Bulmer 1884, 75, is disparaging of the new building).

The militia store obviously represented a very visible addition to the inner ward, but most of the alterations to the castle's older buildings, to the keep, the outer gatehouse, the old palace, were internal, and so should not have offended those who valued the castle for its historic interest or its romantic associations. It is not in fact clear how much of the castle was open to inspection by tourists. Mary Smith, shown round by a 'conductor' in about 1868, saw over the keep in some detail, but as she approached the outer gatehouse was told that 'there was nothing to be seen there, and so we did not go in...' (Smith 1868, 28). More eminent visitors, like the Prince of Wales, whose visit as a boy Smith records (ibid, 47), and the Emperor and Empress of Brazil, who would have come during their tour of Europe in 1871–72, would doubtless have been shown round in some detail, at any rate if that was what they wanted – Pedro and his wife were said to have been so disgusted when they found that Queen Mary's Tower was no longer standing that they went away again (*Carl Journ* 20 Mar 1874 *DRP*). What most visitors probably hoped or expected to do was walk on the ramparts and ascend the keep. In 1874 it was the 'keys of the dungeons and top of Castle' which were said to be in the keeping of the barrack serjeant who was responsible for showing visitors round (ibid, 4 Sept 1874 *DRP*). And when the castle was opened to visitors on a regular basis in September 1883, tourists were allowed to walk on the ramparts of the inner ward between 9 a.m. and sunset, while they had access to the keep, including the 'dungeons' below, but excluding the upper floors where arms and clothing were stored, from 10 a.m. till 12 noon (ibid, 7 Sept 1883 *DRP*). The opening of 1883 followed an interlude during which visitors were kept away. The cause was probably events in Ireland, the result of the great fear and unrest associated with the operations of the Land League. In January 1881 it was reported that 'the authorities in the Castle are following the example generally set throughout the country, and are taking the unusual precaution to provide against mishap from without', by not allowing strangers into 'the precinct of the barracks' and placing sentries on the ramparts at night (ibid, 25 Jan 1881 *DRP*). In September a corre-

spondent to the *Carlisle Journal* reported indignantly that he had been refused access to the castle ramparts when trying to show some friends the sights of Carlisle (ibid, 27 Sept 1881 *DRP*). Two years later, however, in spite of a threat to blow up Lowther Castle in June 1883[4] (ibid, 12 Jun 1883 *DRP*), it was judged that the castle could be safely opened to the public once more, the prescribed visiting hours for the keep perhaps representing a residual attempt at control.

This episode serves as a reminder that in spite of the development of interest in it as a historic monument, Carlisle Castle was still primarily a military installation. In that respect its principal function was as a recruiting and training centre. In 1881 Hugh Childers, now Secretary for War, had enacted an extension of Cardwell's work of localisation. The linked line battalions of 1872, which had retained their separate identities, were now formally fused with one another and with their two militia battalions to form single territorial regiments. Their old numbers disappeared, territorial titles being given in their place. The name chosen at first for the men stationed at Carlisle was The Cumberland and Westmorland Regiment (*CFTR* 1881, 14–15), but this was quickly superseded by that which they have carried ever since, The Border Regiment (*Carl Journ* 19 Jul 1881 *DRP*). Like Cardwell's reforms before them, these innovations were intended to promote recruitment by strengthening local links between the army and civilian society. The effectiveness with which they did so is hard to calculate. At the beginning of 1873 the depot of the 55th Regiment stationed at Carlisle consisted of seven staff serjeants and serjeants, seven corporals, two musicians and 75 privates. A year later the number had fallen sharply, less of NCOs, of whom there were still eleven, than of privates, of whom there were only 33 (*DMEAS* 1874, 120, 134). By the end of 1874, however, the Second Brigade Depot (which would now have included the 34th Regiment as well) numbered 24 NCOs, five musicians and 126 privates (*DMEAS* 1877, Appendix, 196). The figures remained at around this level during the early months of 1875, with an average of 167 NCOs and privates during January, 165 during February and 173 during March. But in April the average increased to 208, and in May there was a sharp rise to 256, maintained during June, when it stood at 248 (*CMPBDS* 1877, 396–7). And numbers must have continued to increase in the rest of the year, since on 31 December 1875 the depot was made up of 34 NCOs, seven musicians and no less than 298 privates – the pressure on barrack space must have been immense. But twelve months later, probably due to the departure of the first battalion to India, numbers had fallen to 27 NCOs, four musicians and 219 privates (*DMEAS* 1877, Appendix, 211, 226) an altogether more manageable total for barracks reorganised to hold 215 rank and file.

Although some of these men must have been recruits, the fluctuations in numbers may equally have been caused by changes in relative manning levels between the depot and the regiment it existed to serve. The high numbers of the mid-1870s should perhaps be attributed to the establishment of the depot at Carlisle. Recruitment in the United Kingdom generally was lower in 1875 than in 1874, but much higher again in 1876 (Skelley 1980 292), whereas at Carlisle numbers rose in 1875 and fell the next year. Early in March 1878 the troops of the depot are recorded as 'beating up' for recruits by marching through the streets of Carlisle 'with ribbons flying and playing lively airs' (*Carl Journ* 5 Mar 1878 *DRP*), in what was part of England's response to the crisis in eastern Europe of that year, a crisis which was only resolved by the Congress of Berlin in July and which in the meantime gave the word 'jingoism' to the language. The army and militia reserves were called up (ibid, 5 Apr 1878 *DRP*), and the War Office let it be known that recruits were wanted 'at once' to fill the vacancies created by the summoning of the reserve (ibid, 16 Apr 1878 *DRP*). These measures appear to have had some success. There were between two and three hundred men in the castle in April 1878 (ibid, 19 Apr 1878 *DRP*), and later in that month 73 men from the militia reserve and 40 recruits set out for Portsmouth, though the extent of these men's enthusiasm must remain doubtful, for once they had assembled in the castle they were kept there all day until their departure, specifically to make sure that they did not desert (ibid, 23 Apr 1878 *DRP*). Perhaps it was the recruits' willingness to serve overseas that seemed uncertain, for no such precautions were recorded five days later when another 139 men of the militia reserve followed them to Portsmouth (ibid, 30 Apr 1878 *DRP*), or when a week later 68 men of the army reserve left for Perth (ibid, 3 May 1878 *DRP*). Altogether the depot had assembled 220 men and dispatched them to the armed forces; it may have been to fill the gap that these men left that on 9 May between seventy and eighty army pensioners paraded in the castle (ibid, 10 May 1878 *DRP*).

The depot continued to raise recruits for the army, if not always in very great numbers. It was at a disadvantage in that the trend in the late nineteenth century was for recruitment to take place more and more in large towns and cities rather than in the countryside (Skelley 1977, 289–95), and apart from Carlisle itself there were only a few urban communities of any size in Cumbria. It raised only 52 recruits to the Regular army in 1888, but numbers rose in the next four years, as they did in the United Kingdom as a whole (figures from *IR* 1893, 24). There were 108 recruits in 1890 and 1891 and 128 in 1892. 1893 saw numbers fall back to 108 again, but 1894, against the national trend, produced a marked increase, to 157, which may demonstrate the value of recruiting drives like that described by the *Carlisle Journal* in February of that year, when the regimental band paraded the streets, accompanied by recruiting serjeants 'decked with ribbons, ready to be pinned upon the caps of any young men from the country who were found disposed to take the 'Queen's shilling...' (*Carl Journ* 6 Feb 1894 *DRP*), In the following year, however, there was a decline, to 109 (*IR* 1896, 18). The men recruited did not all go into the Border Regiment. In 1892, for instance, only 85 out of 128 did so, but then not all the men in that Regiment came from Cumberland and Westmorland, though the numbers of those who did so may have increased; in 1892 294 of its men were said to have been born in their regimental district (*IR* 1893, 22), but 361 in 1896 (*IR* 1896, 16). And many more went into the third and fourth battalions,

the old militias, where they were essentially auxiliaries, than went into the regulars. In 1884 there were 235 recruits for these two battalions, with a big increase to 463 in 1885, and over 200 in each of the next three years. But only a few of these went into the regular army. The militia battalions in 1888 had 201 recruits, but supplied their line battalions with only 24 men, and the army as a whole with only 33 (*IR* 1889, 26, 28).

But since the militia was regarded as a necessary part of the British armed forces, the staff of the Carlisle depot are hardly to be blamed for keeping up its numbers, and the depot was clearly at least moderately successful in winning recruits in the years after Cardwell's reforms. By being so it justified the castle's continuing military occupation. All the recruits, whatever their ultimate destination, are likely to have been trained in the castle, where by 1912 there was a recruiting office in the Captain's Tower (PRO *WORK31/983*), and which might still have to accommodate quite large numbers of men. On 21 May 1890 Queen Victoria's birthday was celebrated by a special parade by the depot and the militia recruits, 141 officers and men altogether (*Carl Journ* 23 May 1980 *DRP*), while in August of that year the commanding officer in the North West district, conducting his annual inspection of the depot, saw a parade, in the presence of the depot's twelve officers, by 104 regulars and 72 men of the militia battalions (ibid, 8 Aug 1890 *DRP*). In all the castle must then have contained at least 188 officers and men. It is impossible to tell if the conditions of life in the castle were now such as to encourage or deter recruitment. Improvements continued to be made, but they came slowly. In 1875 the health of its inmates was still regarded as threatened by 'the fever-stricken buildings that now crowd in its vicinity' (Ferguson 1876, 94), and would probably have been improved by the demolition of houses along the north fronts of Annetwell and Finkle Streets, protracted though this was. From the fact that a garden for the officers' mess was placed at the south-west angle of the outer ward, and that it was proposed that a veranda should be built against the west wall of the old canteen, immediately under the west curtain, it may be assumed that the smoke from the nearby chimneys was less noxious, or at any rate less copious, than it had been in the 1850s, while the married quarters certainly represented a major advance, both in terms of greater comfort and privacy for the soldiers intended to benefit from them, and in the reduction of overcrowding for the rest.

The regimental reorganisation after 1872 appears to have led to more books being added to the depot library. 1406 volumes were issued to the troops during 1876, compared with 598 in the previous year, and on the last day of 1876 there were 250 volumes actually in the library, compared with 190 twelve months earlier (*DMEAS* 1877, 310) – although, as already seen, there were more men in the castle in 1875 than in 1876. These figures should probably be associated with the efforts to improve soldiers' education which followed the reintroduction of compulsory education for recruits in 1871 (Skelley 1977, 95). In 1876 there were 86 adults entered on the regimental school books, as against only twenty in 1874. But the struggle to train the minds of the troops was an uphill one, and average attendance in school was only eighteen in December 1876, compared with eleven two years earlier. The number of men who obtained the various educational certificates issued by the army was also disappointingly small. In 1876, out of the 250 NCOs and privates recorded as stationed in the castle, ten obtained second class, ten third class, and four (all musicians) fourth class certificates (figures from *DMEAS* 1877, 196, 211, 226, 240, 253, 267). Consideration of these figures underlines the importance of the recreation rooms in the barracks built in 1876 as additions to the amenities of the castle, since they provided opportunities for amusements other than reading. But there was still a lack of sporting facilities. Although a gymnasium was built on the site of the hospital drying yard in the late 1860s, this was the work of the city's fire brigade and not of the army (Matthews n.d., 18), and even if the troops were allowed the use of it this must sometimes have been subject to restrictions. No fencing room, another amenity whose absence had been regretted in 1862, was ever built. The growing concern with the castle as a monument was probably in part to blame for this, the obvious place for sports and their attendant buildings would have been on the gardens at the front, but all suggestions that they be built on would certainly have been strongly opposed in the city. In fact it was later reported that they were occasionally used for *ad hoc* games of football and cricket, but officially the gardens appear to have been given over to grazing by cattle and sheep, for which a local farmer was paying the War Office £5 10s *per annum* in the early years of the twentieth century (PRO *WORK14/2679* Jun 1925). Such usage may have been picturesque, but it is not likely to have led to the gardens being particularly well looked after, or, indeed, to have made their use as a sports ground very agreeable.

There is little evidence for the relations between officers and men in the castle, and this is unfortunate, as the extent to which the officers cared about the well-being of the rank and file would do much to determine the conditions under which the latter lived. Some officers may not have cared very much. In 1877 Colonel Newdigate, the officer then commanding the depot, on being asked if the number of officers there was excessive, replied that it was not, rather that during the season of leave it was 'inconveniently small' (*CMPBDS* 1877 84–5), suggesting that officers found barrack life tedious and escaped from it whenever they decently could. It may have been a significant innovation, therefore, when in January 1890 Colonel Bellamy, appointed to the command of the depot in the previous March (*IR* 1893, 22), with his officers gave a 'substantial tea' for the wives and children of the NCOs and men, an act of generosity repeated in subsequent years (*Carl Journ* 24 Jan 1890, 23 Jan 1891, 26 Jan 1894 *DRP*). A sign of concern of a different sort, which may also have originated at this time, was the presence of an 'army scripture reader', of whom it was said that he 'takes the part of chaplain of the regiment...' (ibid, 20 Jun 1890 *DRP*). In the late Victorian army concern for the moral and physical well-being of the troops went hand in hand. It seems reasonable to suggest that at Carlisle they slowly led to better conditions for the men.

The beginnings of dual control 1890–1918

At about seven in the morning of 18 January 1890 fire broke out in the offices and storerooms now housed in the old palace, formerly the officers' mess (details from ibid, 21 Jan 1890 *DRP*). The cause may have been burning soot in one of the chimneys. Officers and men were soon on the scene, as was the depot fire engine, which was kept in a shed nearby. It was not, however, well prepared for use. The castle fire engine had once been used quite regularly at fires in the city, but in 1881 difficulties over insurance, after the uniforms of several NCOs and men were damaged while they tried to extinguish a fire in Fisher Street, led to the decision that in future the troops should give their services in this way only if they had first received a written application for help from a magistrate (ibid, 18 Jan 1881 *DRP*). The result was that the engine seems to have remained idle in its shed, and when it was wheeled out now the hose proved to be rotten and was continually bursting, so that a replacement had to be found. In the meantime, in a reversal of earlier roles, the city fire engine was called out to assist the one in the castle. The interior partitions were only made of lath and plaster (Ferguson 1889–91, 83–4), and had been used to divide the interior space into rooms which were mostly full of papers and clothing. A more inflammable environment could hardly be imagined, and the fire quickly took hold of the building. With great courage some of the bystanders tried to save some of the contents. Four large chests containing officers' plate were rescued, and so were the colours of the 4th Battalion (the Westmorland Militia). But then the roof fell in, and all further attempts at salvage became futile. The glare from the flames was said to have been visible six miles away. It was more important now to prevent the fire spreading to other buildings, and especially to the powder magazine at the other end of the same wall. There was a heart-stopping moment when the roof collapsed and shower of sparks and burning tinder flew up, but fortunately they failed to set fire to anything else, and bit by bit the flames were brought under control. The regimental safes had showed themselves to be fireproof, some clothes which had been packed tight into a store room refused to ignite and survived unscathed, and a musketry store room at the back was entirely untouched. Most of the other rooms, however, were completely destroyed, leaving the building a roofless shell.

The danger to the powder store was a consequence of the restricted nature of the site, and had often been remarked upon before. A report of 1846, for instance, describing how during a recent fire in the city 'flakes of fire were blown over the ramparts into the area of the Castle', observed that as 'the destruction of the Castle would ensue from an explosion of the Magazine, every precaution against such a calamity should be adopted' (PRO *WO55/718* 22 Jun 1846). But precisely because space was limited within the inner ward, and also because aesthetic and antiquarian considerations were now restricting the possibilities of finding an alternative site anywhere else, nothing could be done except maintain alertness and vigilance. The palace was quickly restored, to serve once more as offices and stores, the work being completed by February 1892 (Ferguson 1891–93, 43), and in the meantime life went on as usual. Just five days after the fire, the depot NCOs gave a quadrille party, in a ballroom fitted up in the old armoury, now rechristened Clinton Block, after one of the heroes of the Peninsular War (it now bears the equally peninsular name of Arroyo). A 'retiring room' was made for the ladies in a curtained-off corner of the refreshment room, the quartermaster's store room, which was to have served this purpose, having been one of the rooms lately reduced to ashes (*Carl Journ* 24 Jan 1890 *DRP*). The issue of the *Carlisle Journal* which reported these junketings expressed the hope that the military authorities would not demolish what was left of the palace, and that the president of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society would keep an eye on what they did. That president was R S Ferguson, then well into his long reign as the directing spirit of the society, and his opinion was both invited and listened to. The army consulted him about the restoration of the palace and followed his advice about the resiting of Lord Scrope's plaque (ibid, 7 Mar 1890 *DRP*). His voice was also heard in 1891 when the War Office proposed to construct a new block of quarters for married soldiers, this time on the castle gardens, a block which would be about 170 feet long and thirty feet high. Such a scheme ran directly contrary to the city's programme of opening up the view of the castle from the south – this was still in process of realisation, and would not be completed for many years yet, but in the previous year the corporation had been discussing the advisability of treating Finkle Street in the same way as Annetwell Street (ibid, 24 Jan 1890 *DRP*) – and it was strongly opposed by the corporation (ibid, 16, 20 Oct 1891 *DRP*). The city's protests had their effect, and in December 1891 the War Office wrote to Ferguson reporting that there had been a change of plan and that the married quarters would not after all be built. The victory was not total, for quarters for a warrant officer were constructed on the south-west corner of the gardens, but as these were close behind the married quarters that already stood on Annetwell Street, the expanse of green in front of the castle's south curtain remained substantially intact (ibid, 29 Dec 1891 *DRP*).

Nor was this Ferguson's only success in his dealings with the War Office over the castle's appearance. Among the less attractive relics of the eighteenth century was a brick chimney built against the east side of the keep and rising some way above it. In about 1891 this was pulled down, 'never', hoped Ferguson, 'to rise again'. But he spoke too soon, for it was quickly replaced by a new stack 'in red bricks of the most glaring hue and two new raw chimney-pots…' (Ferguson 1889–91, 43). Once more Ferguson went into action. He wrote to the *Carlisle Journal* denouncing the new chimney as 'the biggest atrocity yet built in Carlisle' (*Carl Journ* 22 Dec 1891 *DRP*), and he also wrote to the War Office, presumably in more measured terms. And again his efforts bore fruit. The War Office explained that the chimney stack could not be removed as it was needed for the tailor's and armourer's shops

which stood at the base of the keep, but an order was given that the stack be 'toned down in colour as much as possible and made to correspond to some extent with the tints of the adjacent buildings...'. As the *Journal* observed, 'This is a great deal for a high and mighty department like the War Office to do...' (ibid, 2 Feb 1892 *DRP*). How the officers who actually had to live in the castle viewed this outside interference we are not told – the city's opposition to the proposed new married quarters, for instance, may well have been resented. But on the whole Ferguson and his followers were largely concerned with externals, with the appearance of the castle as seen from the outside, and with the keep, as what was clearly a principal tourist attraction. Commenting on the future toning-down of the offending chimney stack, the *Carlisle Journal* had indulged in some heavyhanded irony at the expense of American visitors 'lamenting that they have nothing in their country like our fine Border fortress...'. What happened inside the castle, by contrast, was usually of concern only to the War Office and often went unrecorded in the local press. It is only on photographic and cartographic evidence that it is possible to say that the extension of Clinton Block built in the 1840s was demolished between 1899 and 1905, and that a new extension to the west had been added to what remained by 1912 (*DRP*).

All the same, even without outside prompting the military authorities clearly gave some thought to appearances, since the extension to Clinton was obviously designed to match the rest of the building. Perhaps in this should be seen the influence of the Office of Works, which the War Office was consulting about repairs to the walls in October 1905. The authorities in the castle did not think it necessary to prepare drawings for what was simply a matter of replacing decayed stonework, but they delayed making repairs until a representative of the Office of Works had examined the site with them, after which they agreed that the repairs 'should be done in such a way as will preserve the character of the old work...'. Future repairs to the walls would be carried out along the same lines (PRO *WORK14/126* 2, 17 Oct 1905, 8 Mar 1906). It was probably felt that this was not something that should be left to chance, and in 1911 the Office of Works and the War Office made a formal agreement, in which the responsibilities of each for the maintenance of the castle and its buildings were narrowly defined. Historic Buildings not required for War Department use, a phrase covering all the walls, including their extensions to the south from the east and west angles of the south curtain, together with the Tile Tower, were put into the charge of the Ministry of Works. Historic buildings which were required for War Department use – the outer gatehouse, the keep, the Captain's Tower, the old casemates to the north of it, and the palace, now containing reservists' stores and an orderly room – were to be maintained and repaired by the Ministry of Works. And all other barracks and service buildings remained the responsibility of the War Department alone (details from PRO *WORK31/983*).

In spite of an increasing stress on its historic importance, the castle had maintained its military functions, and the arrangements of 1911 were probably intended to benefit the army as well as the antiquarian and the archaeologist; in the light of the outcries against proposed additions or alterations like those of 1891, it was important that the army should have established where it did and did not have to take civilian susceptibilities into account, even though it was usually willing to accommodate these where possible. As it was, the agreement of 1911 seems to have worked well. The Office of Works did not always have its own way, but disputes were rare, and the castle was preserved as an ancient monument even while it was being used and developed as a regimental depot. It trained volunteers for the South African War, a body of whom departed in March 1902 (*Carl Journ* 18 Mar 1902 *DRP*), and it seems to have kept up its manpower afterwards. In 1912 it contained accommodation for eight officers, one warrant officer, 28 men in married quarters, 13 single NCOs and 200 rank and file, 250 men in all (PRO *WORK31/983*). It cannot be proved that so many men were actually living in the castle at the time, but the new accommodation in Clinton seems unlikely to have been provided except on the expectation that there would be men present to inhabit it. The Office of Works, for its part, took advantage of its new control of the outer walls to make repairs to them and conduct excavations at their foot. The postern gate half-way along the west curtain was brought to light again. The sally port tower was cleared out, while the Tile Tower was reroofed and its walls pointed, and there were plans to reopen some of its blocked-up windows (Martindale 1914, 292–4; *Carl Journ* 4 Oct 1912 *DRP*). In fact it is likely that the Office's programme of repairs was a continuous one, for two years later there were also works at the outer ward's north-west angle, which disinterred a quantity of masonry from the old priory buildings, used by the Scots to repair the castle walls in the 1640s (PRO *WORK14/629* 6, 11 Nov 1914).

By the time the works of 1914 had been completed England was at war with Germany. The mark made on the castle by World War I proved impermanent, but it was important while it lasted. The men of the Border Regiment were mobilised as soon as war was declared, on 4 August 1914 (*Carl Journ* 7 Aug 1914 *DRP*), and on 8 August they departed for Shoeburyness, in Essex, which was to be their station for the rest of the war. The castle was left empty except for such staff as were needed to form a War Base Depot for the training of recruits. There was no shortage of these, it being estimated that by the end of 1917 some 23,000 had passed through the depot (BRM *17/H2/002/32A* 6 Jun 1917). So many came in that there was a shortage of agricultural workers in North West England, and men had to be sent out again to help with the spring ploughing' (*Carl Journ* 16, 23 Mar 3 Apr 1971 *DRP*). The result of this influx was a rash of 'dilapidated sheds and enclosures throughout the Castle' (BRM *17/H2/013/32A* 6 Jun 1917), and in particular on the gardens at the front. On the east side of the Castle Lane much of the grass survived unscathed, though the view was hardly improved by the construction of three huts, at least two of them latrines. But on the west side, except on the land immediately beside the Lane, the grass was entirely cleared away and replaced by gravel. The area thus created was divided by a path running east to

west. The ground to the north of it was used for drill, perhaps for bayonet training. To the south of the path stood five long corrugated-iron huts, together with three more sheds containing latrines. A firing range was laid out under the west wall of the garden, the moat having apparently been filled in to provide a uniform surface (details from EH *84/3* (plan of 12 Nov 1919)). The huts were needed if the castle was to cope with all the recruits continually passing through it. They served as a reception room for those recruits, dining halls, a cook-house and possibly a school (*BROCNS* no 7, May 1931). In those capacities they took some of the pressure off the existing buildings, and made sure that these would not be extended or built onto. But if they helped to keep the older structures intact, they were far from beautiful themselves, and did nothing for the outward appearance of the castle.

With one man, at least, this rankled. On 7 December 1916 Colonel H S Mayhew took over the command of the depot, and in spite of the prior claims of the war on his country's attention and finances, he determined to have the castle made 'worthy of the County and the City to which it belongs...'.[5] In 1917 he wrote to the Office of Works in Edinburgh (since 1911 the castle had been in the first instance the responsibility of the Office's branch in Edinburgh, not of London), in 1918 to Lord Lonsdale, the Lord Lieutenant of Cumberland, and to the Mayor of Carlisle, outlining his proposals for improvements, and varying his message to some extent according his correspondent. To the Office of Works, which could be assumed to need no reminding of the castle's architectural and historic importance, he simply sent a list of suggestions; to the Lord Lieutenant and the Mayor he felt it necessary to stress that the castle was 'not an ordinary Military Barrack... It has a Royal and Ancient Military History attached to it...', it was an 'ancient and honourable monument of England's might...'. It was also making a bad impression on England's visitors – 'even now in War time no day passes without some 25 to 50 visitors coming to view it.' Among recent tourists had been the wife of William Hughes, the Australian Prime Minister, who 'expressed to me her surprise and regret at its neglected condition...'. Representatives of the American and colonial press had been no less disappointed.

Mayhew developed his ideas as time passed. But basic to all his proposals was one for a sort of outdoor museum of weaponry – German, not English. He wanted 24 war trophies, consisting of various forms of mortar and gun, 'to ornament the road leading up to the Castle Entrance and to be arranged round the wall and Barrack Square...'. In this way, he told Lord Lonsdale, any northerner unable or unwilling to travel to London to visit the National War Museum there might still 'see close at hand the death-dealing weapons their northern kinsmen had to face...'. This suggestion was Mayhew's own. Some of his other proposals had been heard before. In particular, he was at one with the city authorities in wanting to have the houses backing onto the castle gardens cleared away, if not entirely at one with the army which employed him, since among those houses he included the married men's quarters built in the 1870s. In words very similar to those many times used by representatives of the corporation, he asked Lord Lonsdale for his help in 'opening out the front and approach to the Castle, which is at present an eyesore and disgrace to such an historic edifice...'. And he also wanted such improvements as lamps of 'antique design' at the entrance to the castle, trees along the edges of the moat and outer ward, trees or flower-beds along the Castle Lane, and the opening to the public of the 'dungeons' in the keep by the removal of the stores in them. However desirable they may have been in themselves, there was a certain lack of realism in such suggestions, made as they were at a time when the country was fighting for its life. The Office of Works agreed as to 'the advisability of carrying out these works', but regretted that it would be impossible to obtain financial approval for them in wartime. Lord Lonsdale could not regard November 1917 as an opportune moment for raising money 'for what after all is more in the nature of an aesthetic rather than a utilitarian project...'. The Mayor, too, writing in September 1918, when the war was almost won, could only hope 'that it may be possible in the near future to do something in the direction which you indicate...', and then went on to express regrets that Mayhew was leaving Carlisle, suggesting that the Colonel's superiors may have become tired of his importunities to such patently non-essential ends.

Yet although his priorities may have been somewhat unbalanced for the officer commanding a recruiting base in wartime, Mayhew's concern to preserve and protect the buildings in his charge may have had one result of lasting importance. In June 1917 the Office of Works thanked him 'for the interest you have taken in the work at the Castle and in supplying my Foreman with labour' (BRM *17/H2/013/32A* 6 Jun 1917). It is very likely that the work referred to consisted of the excavations, first reported in May 1918 and apparently continuing into 1919, which brought to light the inner ditch and the lower levels of the Half Moon battery, buried for nearly a century (reported 7 May 1918, in *Trans Cumberland Westmorland Antiq Archaeol Soc* ser 2 **18** (1918) 235–7 and on 1 May 1919, in ibid, **19** (1919) 165–7). The excavators provided by Colonel Mayhew may have been recruits, or, since wounded soldiers were sent back from the front to Carlisle (*Carl Journ* 20 Apr 1917 *DRP*), they may have been convalescents strong enough to undertake some physical labour. But even if they were essentially amateurs, it is still significant that these excavations should have been undertaken in wartime, and underlines once more the development of the castle's position as an important ancient monument. The nature of the excavations also serves as a pointer to the castle's current employment as a military installation. In 1918 it had been reported of the Half Moon battery that 'The centre part cannot be examined owing to the necessary traffic to the inner ward...'. But since in the following year a detailed report was made on the battery, it must be assumed that straightforward access from the outer into the inner ward was now a thing of the past, and that it was once more necessary to follow the passage from the outer gatehouse to the Captain's Tower under the west curtain of the inner ward.[6] When the castle came back into active use in the early nineteenth century, it was

with the inner ward as its centre, its focus for defence in the event of mob attack. That ward had then also contained almost all its barracks. But as the nineteenth century progressed, the barracks were steadily transferred to the outer ward, while the castle's use as a defensive establishment became less and less likely. In terms of its military importance, the disinterring of the inner ditch was a sign of the inner ward's final downgrading, and its buildings from now on served as little more than stores. On the other hand, precisely because they were now less important to the army, those same buildings, which included nearly all the oldest structures in the castle, could henceforth be rehabilitated as historic monuments.

'Preserving the amenities' 1918–1962

On 12 November 1918 the troops stationed in Carlisle celebrated the previous day's armistice, large crowds gathering in the castle's outer ward for the lighting of a bonfire with an effigy of the Kaiser on the top (*Carl Journ* 12 Nov 1918 *DRP*). The castle's only relic of the war, perhaps a lone testimonial to Colonel Mayhew's proposals, was a tank which in February 1920 was placed on the open ground at the junction of Castle Lane and Finkle Street. It does not seem to have been received with much enthusiasm (ibid, 20, 24 Feb 1920 *DRP*), and in 1926 the city's Parks Committee recommended that it be removed and the site laid under shrubs or flowers (ibid, 4 Jun 1926 *DRP*). But it was only taken away in January 1938, eighteen months before the outbreak of World War II, by when it had probably become comprehensively rusted up, since it had to be cut up with oxy-acetylene apparatus first (ibid, 21 Jan 1938 *DRP*). During the inter-war years the castle still served as the depot for the Border Regiment, and the army continued to make such additions and improvements as it thought necessary for the well-being of its men, while at the same time trying to accommodate the wishes of the Office of Works, which wanted to preserve and where possible rehabilitate the castle as a tourist attraction and an ancient monument. Given the problems which inevitably arose from the army's attempts to pursue this double end, it succeeded to a remarkable extent.

The problems were least in the inner ward. In 1917 Colonel Mayhew had regretted that the 'Dungeons' in the keep were still full of stores, as this prevented their being opened to 'visitors and sightseers', and expressed the hope that the local archaeological society would take them over. The Office of Works agreed about the stores, if not about the role suggested for the archaeological society – 'If you could also arrange to have the Stores removed from the Keep, so that this Department would have sole control of the Tower, we could arrange to open these interesting premises to the public...'. It took some time to bring this about, however. In 1925 there was a charge of 6d a head for admission to the castle, but the keep was not yet open, even though it no longer held an armoury and was only used 'for the storage of certain package cases' (PRO *WORK/14/267* 8 Oct 1925). Perhaps the army was afraid of losing control. All the same, it yielded to pressure, and at the end of that year the depot's commanding officer informed the Office of Works that 'I have no objection to visitors being shown over the Keep by the guide, provided it is clearly understood that the Keep remains entirely in my charge...' (ibid, 24 Dec 1925). Once the first step had been taken, others followed. At the beginning of 1927 plans for improvements included the removal of 'Utensil Stores' from the keep and of the Barrack Warder's office from the Captain's Tower (PRO *WORK14/267* 21 Jan 1927), and at the end of 1928 there were also plans to pull down 'a modern disused chimney' on the latter (ibid, 15 Nov 1928), while by October 1929 it was proposed to establish a Regimental Museum in the keep (*BROCNS* no 4, Oct 1929). It took some time for the plans to go forward, it being said in February 1933 that the stores had been in the keep 'until a year or so ago.' Their eventual clearance allowed the projected museum to be set up, this becoming a cooperative venture, involving both the Regiment and the Office of Works.

Once the stores had been taken out, the Office of Works made some alterations to the fabric, notably to the floors, which were 'removed and replaced at their proper level', and to the stairs, while it may have been at this time (it was certainly before 1937) that excavations were conducted out of doors, on the eastern side fo the keep, to bring to light the remains of its twelfth-century forebuilding. Back inside, the Office of Works supplied 'some spare armour to cover the bare walls', after which the commanding officer, partly for the benefit of recruits ignorant of the past of their regiment and its depot, began to build up what was described as a 'large collection of interesting relics' (PRO *WORK14/630* 16 Feb 1933). They were not, in fact, all particularly interesting, including as they did a disproportionate number of 'framed photographs of late Colonels, polo teams, etc...' (ibid, 11 Dec 1936), but they were sufficient to lay a foundation for the future collection and to attract visitors, thereby helping to justify the castle's admission fee, which was still 6d. On 6 December 1932 the museum, apparently on the first floor of the keep, was opened by the Mayor of Carlisle (*BROCNS* no 10, Mar 1933). It probably did not contain many exhibits as yet. The lighting was bad, so that the objects on view could not always be seen properly, and the heating was so inadequate that other articles could not be shown at all for fear of their becoming mildewed. The Office of Works therefore proposed to justify its receipt of the admission charges by paying for a small heating system and improvements to the lights, at a total cost of £130 (*WORK14/630* 9 Jan 1933). In the same year (1933) the two rooms on the floor above had new windows put in, after which the Office intended to supply some additional showcases, so that exhibits could be seen on both the first and second floors (*BROCNS* no 11, July 1933).

Ideas were also put forward for filling the rooms on the keep's top floor. In November 1937 the suggestion was made that a chapel should be made in the room on that floor's east side, which would not only display such regimental colours as were not already hung in Carlisle cathedral and Kendal parish church, but would also provide 'a spiritual focal point which has for long been lost to the Castle...' (PRO *WORK14/630* 3 Nov 1937) The chapel in the old palace had been taken

over for secular purposes centuries ago, and although its name survived (*Carl Journ* 20, 27 Mar 1874 *DRP*), no substitute was ever provided. A year later an idea surfaced for the use of the other room on the top floor, that it should contain an Armorial displaying miniature shields (eighteen inches by twenty-two) which would show the arms of the leading families to have 'played a part in the defence of the English Border until the Union of the Crowns in 1603...'. It was estimated that there would be 181 such shields, which would be arranged round the walls in five rows (PRO *WORK14/630* 3 Dec 1938).

The idea originated with the Border Regimental Museum Committee, but when it was put to the Office of Works the latter was full of interest, and until August 1939 went on discussing how many shields could be shown and how they might be seen to best advantage, even raising the possibility of consulting the College of Heralds about the details (eg ibid, 24 May, 28 Aug 1939). But soon there were more important things to think about, and neither chapel nor Armorial ever materialised. The plan for the chapel became redundant in 1949, when the surviving bay of the cathedral nave was furnished as a memorial chapel for the Border Regiment, while though the idea of an Armorial was raised again in 1947, it aroused no enthusiasm and the project soon died, this time for good. But although these plans came to nothing, they are still of interest in that they show the Regiment and the Office of Works cooperating in decisions over the future of the keep. Probably it was quite easy for them to do so. The Regiment no longer needed the storage space the keep had once afforded, but was anxious now to advertise its traditions and show its depot to best effect, and the Office's work of restoration and maintenance provided an important means to that end.

Relations were similarly straightforward in the outer ward. Here there was little for the Office of Works to concern itself with. Apart from the outer gatehouse, the walls and the newly excavated inner ditch – all the Office's responsibility anyway, and looked after by its direct labour staff (PRO *WORK14/267* 17 Jan 1930) – practically all the buildings were nineteenth-century, and the Office had no pressing motive for preventing additions and alterations as long as they were discreetly made. The qualification was important. In 1921 the army decided that electric lights should be installed in the castle, using 'overhead wires on standard poles'. The Office at once objected to the wires, insisting on underground cables, and the War Office gave way (ibid, 30 Jun, 29 Sept 1921). A necessary point had been made, and after this initial variance cooperation once more followed. In 1926 plans were formulated for the last major addition to the castle fabric. A Regimental Institute, containing a new canteen and recreation block, was to be built against the north curtain wall east of the hospital (ibid, 13 July 1926, 29 Sept 1921). There were also plans for a new hospital, but nothing came of them (ibid, 20 May 1926; a few minor alterations were later made, *Carl Journ* 1 Apr 1932 *DRP*). This was an innovation in keeping with army policy in the years after 1918, when little was spent on weaponry, and most of the army's income went on improving living conditions for the soldiers (Taylor 1970, 296). At Carlisle the new building carried the additional recommendation that it would replace the World War I huts in front of the castle and allow them to be cleared away. It also involved the removal of the fives court and other buildings standing against the north curtain to the east of the hospital, together with the excavation of the north end of the inner ditch, this last being a necessary part of the preparation of the ground for the new building's foundations.

On its ground floor the new institute was to have a dining room for 204 men, together with a reading room and a corporals dining room, while there would be a cook-house and store rooms at the back. On the upper floor there would be a games room, a restaurant and a corporals' room at the front, and an office, bar, kitchen, larder and scullery behind them. At the back, over the ground floor's service rooms, would be the manageress's sitting room, bathroom and bedroom (EH *84/6–8*). Not all the details entered on the plans were to be found in the finished building; the plans made no mention of the basement, for instance, which was used to house two class-rooms (*Carl Journ* 1 Apr 1932 *DRP*). But the differences were otherwise unimportant, and both as projected and as constructed the institute was a large and imposing building. But the danger that it would clash with its surroundings was avoided at the outset by an agreement made between the Office of Works and the War Office that 'it will be set out in a symmetrical manner so as to correspond with the position and general planning of the Clinton Block' (PRO *WORK14/267* 21 Jan 1927). Work on it does not seem to have begun until early in 1931, when the likely cost was estimated at £17,000 (ibid, 3 Jan 1931), but then went on quickly; in January 1932 it was 'nearing completion, and early in May of that year the institute was taken into use (*BROCNS* no 8 Jan 1932; no 9 Aug 1932). By 1930 the old barrack blocks had been renamed to commemorate old glories, Clinton becoming Arroyo, Conway Gallipoli and the otherwise anonymous 'B' Block Ypres. In accordance with this policy the new institute was at once christened Alma. Its appearance led to other changes. The old fives court and bedding store next to it were demolished, and the former canteen and recreation rooms in Gallipoli were converted into two barrack rooms and a reception room for recruits, while in 1933 the huts in front of the south curtain were at last taken down. At the same time, the bath house behind Gallipoli was modernised, as were the married soldiers' quarters ('now on a par with self-contained flats'), the hospital was repointed, the parade ground was relaid with asphalt and the sergeants' mess in the outer gatehouse was repainted throughout (details from *BROCNS* no 9, Aug 1932, no 10, Mar 1933, no 11, Jul 1933; PRO *WORK14/267* 31 May 1932).

All this was only the first part of a 'general scheme for improvement of the Castle' (PRO *WORK14/631* 15 Jan 1938). By 1936 the War Office was considering further alterations, and in particular the construction of a new gymnasium. The siting of this had been the subject of some controversy (discussed below) but by now it was decided that the best place for it, and the drill shed and latrines to go with it, was in the north-west corner of the outer ward, behind Clinton. To

make room for them, a number of dilapidated buildings, including the old gymnasium, would have to be demolished. Again, care was taken that the new structures should fit in with the old. The gymnasium was 'designed to follow closely the character of the adjacent buildings', and it and its companions were to be made of 'brickwork with stone dressing and slated roofs to match with adjoining buildings' (ibid, 20 November 1936). The War Office was doubtless all the more inclined to cooperate because the Office of Works was now in a position to contribute towards the cost, and in particular to meet the additional expense made necessary by works undertaken for purely aesthetic and historical reasons. In September 1937 it was reckoned that it would cost £1125 to pay for 'the substitution of Westmoreland slates to match those on the adjoining buildings... and a good facing brick with stone dressings in place of common brick and roughcast to match the other work in the Castle' (ibid, 30 July, 30 Sept 1937). This money the Office of Works was willing to provide, and in the end it met a quarter of the entire cost of the new buildings, estimated in January 1938 at £3255 out of £13,020, in order to ensure a 'special treatment of the subject to provide buildings which will harmonise with the older portions of the Castle...' (ibid, 15 Jan 1938). In fact the Office of Works was steadily extending the range of its operations in Carlisle Castle, perhaps because it saw this as the best way of preserving the existing fabric. In 1938 further plans were presented for the modernisation of the castle, involving alterations and improvements to nearly all the buildings in the outer ward (ibid, undated outline proposals for Modernisation of Carlisle Castle (1938)). These included the outer gatehouse, still used as a serjeants' mess, and as such described in the same year as 'very bad, if they were not a sober lot they would break their necks on the stairs!' (ibid, 22 Feb 1938). It was now proposed that a new serjeants' mess be provided, the old one being converted into a reception establishment for recruits and another museum (the latter being presumably intended to serve the comparatively limited purpose of impressing upon potential recruits the splendour of the regiment they might be about to join). All this work the Office of Works wished to carry out. The initial estimated cost was £62,027, which clearly seemed excessive, for by August 1938 the estimate had been reduced to £50,000 (ibid, 20 Aug 1938) and by October of that year to approximately £40,000. The new serjeants' mess was to be built by the War Office, which was otherwise content that the Office of Works should take charge of operations, and gave its authorisation in October 1938 (ibid, 23 Aug, 25 Oct 1938). Several plans were drawn up (EH *84/106, 115, 120, 121, 122*), but the nation's resources were soon to be diverted elsewhere, and it would appear that only the gymnasium and the drill shed (the latter with the serjeants' mess above it), which were urgently needed for training recruits, were actually built.

Real problems only arose at the front of the castle, over what had been its gardens beneath its south curtain. As in the past, difficulties outside the castle were the result of lack of space inside it. The Office of Works wanted to keep the ground in front clear of buildings, and so did the city. In April 1925 the town clerk's office drew the Office's attention to a local rumour that the land between the castle and Finkle Street was to be used as 'playing grounds for the military' (in fact as a tennis court), and after reminding the Office of the corporation's long-term policy of opening out the view of the castle from the south by buying up property in Annetwell and Finkle Streets with the aim of demolishing it, at a cost, to date, of £11,137, he expressed the hope that the government 'will not permit the utilisation of the land lying between the Castle and Finkle Street, in any manner which will impair the object which the Corporation had in view...' (PRO *WORK14/267* 8 Apr 1925). W G Collingwood, the president of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society, likewise wrote to the Office, expressing concern not only about the view of the castle but also about the threat which new buildings might pose to archaeological remains (ibid, 11 May 1925). The military, for its part, both in the War Office and in the castle itself, was anxious to maintain local good will. The soldiers, the Office of Works was told, were 'all very keen to cooperate with you in maintaining the special character of the building...', and therefore did not 'press their request for tennis' (ibid, 8 Feb 1926). Barely six months later, however, in June 1926, plans for 'remodelling the Depot at Carlisle Castle' were drawn up, and although they included the demolition of the World War I huts, they also included their replacement by a 'permanent construction' in the form of a new gymnasium and miniature range (ibid, 2 Jun, 13 Jul 1926). A tennis court, however desirable, was hardly an essential adjunct to barrack life. The means of maintaining the physical fitness of the soldiers and of improving their markmanship was a very different matter, and though the Office of Works at once objected to what it termed a 'retrograde step' (ibid, 2 Sept 1926), the best terms it could obtain were that the new buildings should be sited as far to the south of the gardens as possible, so leaving a large open space between them and the moat. In London C R Peers noted sadly that his department's representative had 'done his best in difficult circumstances. The permanent buildings on the west side of the approach are to be regretted, but the ideal treatment of Carlisle Castle is likely to remain unrealised' (ibid, 21 Jan 1927).

Perhaps he took too gloomy a view of the situation. The miniature range was built, but on a plan of 1930 the gymnasium was still only marked as 'proposed' (EH *84/204*). The army probably needed all its resources for the new regimental institute, and in the meantime it could, at a pinch, still make do with the old gymnasium, run down though that was. The Office of Works scored what was at least a debating point when after the corrugated-iron huts behind Annetwell Street were removed in 1933 it was able to turf over the ground on which they had stood (*BROCNS* no 11, Jul 1933), but that the new gymnasium was finally built inside rather than outside the castle was probably mainly due to the continued opposition to the plan of 1926 shown by the city, which had persevered with its plans to provide a clear view of the castle from the south. In April 1936 the Mayor of Carlisle, attending a

dinner in the serjeants' mess, told his hosts that 'many people did not realise, particularly the trading community, what a distinct loss it would be to Carlisle if the Border Regiment was not stationed here. The name of Carlisle was synonymous with the Regiment' (*Carl Journ* 7 Apr 1936 *DRP*). The castle in which the Regiment was based was hardly less important to the city which it overlooked, especially in an age when paid holidays, combined with the development of the bus and the increasing availability of motor cars (Taylor 1970, 379–81, 383), were making both city and castle ever more accessible to outside visitors. In 1929 and 1930 the corporation was once more demolishing houses in front of the castle. It planned to lay out the ground so disencumbered as a flower garden, and by November 1932 it had done so. And by then it was negotiating to buy more houses in Finkle Street, so that it could pull them down, and was also forming a plan for a widening of Annetwell Street. This last scheme would have involved the demolition of the married soldiers' quarters, but the corporation was prepared to give an alternative site, and it was also ready to provide a site for the proposed gynasium, in the park at the north end of the castle. All this 'so as to improve the view of the Castle…'. Since the army was at this very time modernising the married quarters, the idea of demolishing them is not likely to have been received with enthusiasm, but the Office of Works was strongly in favour of a position for the gymnasium behind the castle, 'which is an excellent one and will have the effect of giving an uninterrupted view of the Castle from all points…' (PRO *WORK14/267* 28 Apr 1930, 24 Sept, 12 Nov 1932).

The double pressure exerted by the Office of Works and the city had its effect. The fact that it had become possible for the Office of Works to contribute towards the cost of new buildings in proportion to the amount of 'special treatment' they needed may have made it easier for the War Office to give way, but in the end the military appear to have come to see the issue from the Office's point of view, and 'declined to consider a site for the Gymnasium other than that behind the Clinton Block' (PRO *WORK14/631* 10 Mar 1935). The demolition of the old buildings in the north-west corner of the outer ward began, therefore, in May 1938 (ibid, 20 May 1938), and after many letters urging haste the new gymnasium was completed in September 1939; the drill shed next to it was expected to be finished by the end of October (ibid, 13 Oct 1939). The married quarters were not demolished until 1972, but the fine prospect of the castle now enjoyed by the visitor who approaches it from the south was already in preparation in the 1920s and 1930s, and indeed earlier. This was only possible because the two authorities who were ultimately responsible for the maintenance of the castle were prepared to work together as far as possible. The Office of Works accepted that changes might have to be made for good military reasons, the War Office that those changes should not be made without reference to the castle's historic importance. When the foundations were dug for the new gymnasium and its attendant buildings in 1938 and 1939, records made of archaeological finds were communicated to the Office of Works (PRO *WORK14/629* 10 May 1939). That had not happened in September 1938, however, for when the Munich crisis suddenly exploded in the second half of that month, ARP (air raid precaution) trenches were hastily dug behind the married quarters, and, as the castle's commanding officer later explained to the Office of Works, 'there was no time to obtain a representative of HMOW Board to be present…' (ibid, 29 Nov 1938). But the loss may not have been great. The trenches appear to have been filled in again in the following April, and a few fragments of pottery were found among the spoil (ibid, 2 May 1939).

By then war was plainly imminent. Earlier in the decade there may have been a shortage of recruits taking up service in the castle. In February 1930 it was rumoured that the Border Regiment was to be amalgamated with the King's Own Scottish Borderers, on the grounds that 'certain regiments are unable to raise a sufficient number of recruits from their own Territorial area…' (*Carl Journ* 28 Feb 1930 *DRP*). There was no truth in the story, but the Regiment still found it necessary to conduct a series of recruiting campaigns. Early in 1931, for instance, the castle held an open day in order to show how 'no effort is spared to make the life of the modern soldier more comfortable, interesting and useful…' (ibid, 9 Jan 1931 *DRP*), and another open day, together with a military tattoo, was staged in 1936, though the tattoo, in particular, ran into strong opposition from local pacifists (ibid, 2 May, 5, 23 Jun 1936 *DRP*). When on 22 May 1938 two hundred men of the Border Regiment marched through the streets of Carlisle with their colours on their way to Sunday service in the cathedral, the object of their parade was reported to be 'to stimulate recruiting' (ibid, 24 May 1938 *DRP*). But in February 1939 an expansion of the army became government policy (Taylor 1970, 530), and when on 26 April another regimental parade was made through the streets of Carlisle it proved so successful that recruits were still signing on after midnight (*Carl Journ* 28 Apr 1939 *DRP*). The pages of the *Carlisle Journal* were increasingly filled by photographs of rookies drilling, training, eating and playing games. These pictures were usually taken in the castle, but in fact living conditions there were by August 1939 becoming cramped, and increasing use was made of temporary huts (described as 'remarkably comfortable') erected in Bitts Park, on the north side of the castle (ibid, 4 Aug 1939 *DRP*).

Throughout the war the castle served as the base for the Border Regiment's Infantry Training Corps, but, no doubt thanks to the existence of this camp outside its walls, the fabric of the castle underwent very little change. A number of Nissen huts were put up in the inner ward, in front of Alma, probably in 1940, and another was added in 1943, the Office of Works indicating that it had no objection, 'providing that the War Department will remove it after the War' (PRO *WORK14/1524* 12 Aug 1940, 27 Oct, 1 Nov 1943). In June 1940 the castle was closed to visitors in the interests of security (ibid, 18 Jun 1940), and in the following year it received one last addition in the name of military efficacy. In the early months of 1941 German air-raids extended to the Mersey and the Clyde (Cooper 1981, 170–1). There was no reason why Carlisle, an important railway junction, should have remained immune,

and the commanding officer in the castle therefore decided to place an anti-aircraft gun on top of the keep. The Office of Works gave its consent, on condition that the base for the gun platform was not such as to damage the keep's lead roof, and so a building designed over eight centuries earlier to resist the effects of trebuchets and battering rams made its final appearance on the field of battle equipped to confront the Messerschmitt, with a machine-gun set up on a platform of old railway sleepers (PRO *WORK14/1524* 20 Mar, 28 Jul 1941). But there is no evidence that it was ever used, and throughout the war the castle served only as a training depot, continuing to do so, indeed, until April 1946 (ibid, 13 Apr 1946). By then the castle was once more open to the public, albeit in a limited way, from 1 September 1945 visitors being admitted on Saturday and Sunday afternoons, when training was not in progress (ibid, 21 Aug 1945). Then in June of the following year, when the Training Corps had left, and military occupation had been reduced to some forty men of the Royal Engineers, 'standard hours of admission' came into effect (ibid, 12 Jun 1946; *Bor Mag* I/1, 1947, 39).

1947 saw a brief revival of the scheme for an Armorial in the keep. In itself it came to nothing, but it had one important effect. The coats of arms to be shown in the Armorial were to be English, and this led to a feeling in the Office of Works that 'we should *now* number this amongst English monuments, precisely because of this heraldic etc. project. I suspect our Scottish colleagues would like to take a different attitude...' (PRO *WORK 14/1524* 7 Nov 1947). Perhaps they did, but the change was made all the same. On 10 February 1948 James Richards of the Scottish Inspectorate met John Charlton, Assistant Inspector of Ancient Monuments for England, in the castle, and 'consequent on this meeting the Scottish Inspectorate is no longer concerned with this English monument...' (ibid, 11 Feb 1948). This did not mean that the Office of Works now had undisputed control of the castle. At the beginning of 1949 the Border Regiment took up residence in it again (*Bor Mag* I/4, Mar 1949, 153), and once more made improvements where these seemed necessary. But they were mostly small in scale, bedside lights in Gallipoli, a modern gas cooker in the officers' mess, though the latter did entail bringing a new gas main into the castle (ibid, IV/20, Mar 1957, 56). As long as National Service remained compulsory, Carlisle castle would remain a military installation by virtue of its position as a training depot. But with the Defence White Paper of 4 April 1957, in which the government committed the nation to an increasing dependence on nuclear weapons for its future defence, and announced that, as part of a reduction of Britain's conventional forces, conscription would be phased out during the next five years (Royle 1986, 210–11), that position was inevitably called in question.

In the meantime, it was a sign of the more prosperous times of the 1950s that in 1956 the town clerk, wavering in his allegiance to a programme begun in the 1870s, should have inquired if the land behind the married quarters could be set aside as a car park. And it is also significant that it was the Inspectorate which objected to the idea and the Ministry of Works (as it had now become) which turned it down (PRO *WORK 14/1524* 12 Dec 1956, 17 Jan 1957). The army does not appear to have been involved. The castle was becoming more and more a historic monument (some, at least, of the motors which the town clerk hoped to accommodate in his abortive car park are likely to have brought tourists to Carlisle), the Ministry of Works to an increasing extent the leading partner in its condominium with the army. Following the 1957 White Paper, it was planned to reduce Britain's infantry forces from 77 to 60 battalions (*Cumb News* 7 Nov 1958 *DRP*) Several regiments amalgamated rather than disappear altogether. One of these was the Border Regiment. By November 1958 it was preparing to leave the castle (*Lion & Dragon* I/4, Sept 1961, 184 *DRP*), and in the following year the depot was closed as the Regiment merged with the King's Own Royal Regiment (Lancaster) to form The King's Own Royal Border Regiment. But the castle remained under War Office control, with an 'Increment HQ' still in residence to represent the Regiment (*Cumb News* 24 Feb 1961 *DRP*), until it finally came wholly under the authority of the Ministry of Works in February 1962 (*Lion & Dragon* 2/4, Sept 1963, 191). This did not, however, mean the end of the castle's connections with the army. In 1963 the 4th Battalion of the Border Regiment (the Territorials) moved back in, to establish its depot in Ypres block, while in 1975 the Victorian officers' mess became the new headquarters of the King's Own Royal Border Regiment, so maintaining an armed presence in buildings which have now served a continuous military purpose for only a few years short of nine centuries.

Notes

1 There are still puzzles about the magazine, which as it stands now seems too small for the building projected in 1827. It is possible, therefore, either that the original plan was not followed for the final structure, or that after the works of 1851 further problems arose, which led to the magazine of 1827 being replaced by the smaller one visible today. The latter was certainly *in situ* by 1865 (*DRP*)

2 As can be seen on that year's Ordnance Survey map

3 For what follows I have relied principally on Spiers, 1980, chapter 7

4 The Lowthers had Irish connections, the then earl had been born in 1857 in Donamon Castle in county Roscommon, the home of his paternal grandmother, *Complete Peerage* VIII, 137

5 Colonel Mayhew's letters, and the answers to them, have been collected in BRM *17/H2/013/32A*

6 A later aerial photograph, Cumbria CC Library D124 (*DRP*), shows what appears to be a temporary bridge laid over the ditch onto the projecting semicircle of the Half Moon battery, but this may have been put up later, when the keep was briefly brought back into military use during World War II

7 Information gratefully received from Colonel Ralph May

Appendix 1: selected documentary sources

The aim of this appendix is to give a representative sample of the available documentary sources (necessarily often abbreviated) and to illustrate both their variety and their range, with material from the eleventh to the twentieth centuries. Most of those cited are concerned with building works (this is true also of the extract from the *Carlisle Journal* – no 17 - chosen both for its intrinsic interest and to demonstrate the importance of this kind of source for the later history of the castle), and as such are nearly all the products of the central government which financed them, underlining the importance of Carlisle's position as a royal castle. Very often they show the castle in a state of neglect, or at any rate when receiving necessary repairs, thereby shedding light on the costs of its maintenance. But the use of records need not be confined to their original purpose, and they also illustrate the castle's various functions, and so help to show why the Crown was prepared to go on spending money on repairs and new buildings. They demonstrate the castle's defensive role, continuing into the eighteenth (no 14) and even into the twentieth century (no 18), as well as its position as a royal palace (nos 4, 6), as a centre of government (nos 11, 12) and as a regimental depot (nos 15, 17). In so doing they shed light on how the castle was used, the living conditions within it, the nature and purpose of its buildings and rooms, and how all these changed over several centuries.

For the extract from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (no 1) I have used the text in Douglas and Greenaway 1953, 169. The text of the *Scotichronicon* in no 2 I owe to Neilson, 1985, 321–3. The court martial of Colonel Durand (no 14) has also been printed in Mounsey 1846.

1 *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle 'E'* – 1092

In this year King William with a great army went north to Carlisle, and restored the city and erected the castle, and drove out Dolfin who had ruled the country, and garrisoned the castle with his men, and then came here to the south, and sent many peasant people there with their wives and cattle to live there to cultivate the land.

2 *The Chronicle of the Canons of St. Mary of Huntingdon* and Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* – 1138/39

...but at the entreaty of Queen Matilda of England, who was King David's niece, the daughter of his sister Mary, peace was renewed between King Stephen and King David. Northumberland and Cumberland were given to Earl Henry, David's son. And King David, having left Newcastle, came to Carlisle, in whose castle he had a very strong keep built, and he greatly raised the walls of the city...

3 Jordan Fantosme's *Chronicle* (Johnston, 1981, 47–9) –1173

...'Sire, king of Scotland', say his counsellors, 'of all the lands you lay claim to, Carlisle is the chief; and since the Young King is willing to give you everything, go and conquer this most important town: that is our advice. If Lord Robert de Vaux will not hand over this town, you will have him cast down from the great ancient keep! Have it besieged, and then swear that the great army you have called out will not depart before you have seen the city in flames, the principal wall hacked to pieces by your steel picks, and [Robert] himself fastened to a high gallows tree: then you will see Robert de Vaux toeing your line...'

4 *Pipe Rolls 32–34 Henry II*

PR 32 Henry II – 1186: 'On work on the chamber at Carlisle, £26 by royal writ. And on work on the bridge of Carlisle castle, 67s 7d by the same writ.
PR 33 Henry II – 1187: 'And on work on the king's chamber in Carlisle castle and on a little tower in the same castle, £41 14s 7d by royal writ and under the supervision (*per visum*) of Wibert son of Hacun and Richard son of Walter. And for cutting down material for repairing the timberwork of the keep, 10s by the same writ.
PR 34 Henry II – 1188: 'And on work on the king's chamber in Carlisle castle, and for planking the tower in the same castle, £13 6s 8d by royal writ and under the supervision of Richard son of Walter and Wibert son of Hacun. And for finishing the aforesaid chamber, 77s 6d by the same writ and under the supervision of Oninus.

5 Report on Carlisle Castle – *c* 1256

...we found that castle in a bad state. To wit, all the lead gutters on the keep are defective, and the doors and shutters likewise. The joists and planks are almost broken and rotten, and the walls of the keep are in bad condition, for lack of repair and covering. And the chamber of the most illustrious lady the queen, which is roofed with lead, greatly needs repairing and covering. And the fireplace in that chamber should be taken down and remade from new, or in a short (time it will fall) on that chamber, which is in great danger. Maunsell's tower, and William de Ireby's tower, and the tower over the inner gate, which were knocked down or damaged in the great war in the reign of your illustrious father King John, were never afterwards rebuilt or repaired. The chapel, great hall, kitchens, granges, stables, bakeries, breweries, the houses over the gate, and the bridges, inside and outside the castle, are very greatly in need of repairing and roofing. There is a great crack in William de Ireby's tower, from top to bottom, which should be remade from new, as was shown to Sir Henry of Bath, together with the other aforementioned deficiencies. A brattice which was in Maunsell's tower and was lately brought down by the wind, has now been burnt, and the doors and shutters of the keep, stables and kitchens likewise, and the locks of the porter's lodge have been carried off, together with the ironwork of those buildings. Most of the palisades, both inside and outside the castle, have similarly been burnt and destroyed...(translated from Shirley, 1866, 124–5)

6 PRO*372/153 m2* – 1308

...on breaking free stone from Wetheral quarry, on the wages of masons and others assisting them in making two stairs, one for two turrets on the high tower where springalds are positioned, and also on a new stone tower for the king's chamber with two portcullises and double vaulting, in the corner of the castle towards the east inside its inner bailey, £208 5s 7d by royal writ...which, tower was 28 feet above the ground when Alexander (de Bastenthwayt) was removed from office. And beside that same tower were built two little stone chambers, a fireplace and two gardrobes, so he says...(supplemented by *E352/101* m26d)

7 PRO *C145/82* no 9(ii – 1318

...Item, they say there is a great hall for the king's household in the outer bailey of the castle, with a great chamber and gardrobe at one end and a pantry and buttery at the other, whose defects, together with carriage and the wages of carpenters, cannot be repaired for less than £12, as they say that the great timber below and the boards of the partitions were broken by the wind and are largely rotten, and that most of the hall, chamber, gardrobe, pantry and buttery, which are roofed with shingles, have been unroofed by the storm, and most of the shingles remaining on the roof are rotten, and that the timber below, boards and shingles are broken and rotten and cannot be usefully repaired. And in the same bailey there are two chambers for knights and clerks, whose defects, in heavy timber, partitions and roofing, cannot be repaired for less than £4...

8 PRO *E101/483/31* – 1378

This indenture made between our lord the king on one side and John Lewyn, mason, on the other, bears witness that the said John has undertaken to make well and sufficiently the stonework of a gate and of a tower above it in Carlisle castle, on the side towards Carlisle town. The tower will be fifty-five feet long, thirty-two feet broad and thirty-four feet high below the foot of the battlement. The gate will be eleven feet wide, and in front of it there will be a barbican, which will be ten feet long on the right of the gate and will turn across by way of an arch in the entrance at the gate to a smaller tower which will be a kitchen. And the barbican will have double battlements in front of the arch of the gate. In the smaller tower, on the south side of the gate of entrance, there will be a cellar, twenty-eight feet long and eighteen feet wide, vaulted, with a fireplace and a privy, and on the other, northern, side of the gate there will be a prison which will be fourteen feet square. And over this prison there will be a chamber fourteen feet square, with a fireplace and a privy. And the gate will be vaulted and will have two buttresses on its flanks, thirty-four feet high under the battlement, and the buttresses will be five feet square at ground level, and will be crenellated. And the tower which will be the kitchen, that is to say facing the moat, will be thirty-two feet high and twenty feet broad on its outer sides. In that tower there will be two rooms, vaulted under the joists*, with fireplaces and privies. And above the gate there will be a hall thirty feet long and twenty feet broad, with a wooden partition-wall. And the kitchen will have two suitable stone fireplaces, and in the room behind the dais there will be a fireplace and a privy, with window-lights, shutters and entrances suitable for all the rooms. And all the walls of those towers will on their outer sides be six feet thick from the ground to the arches, and five feet thick above. And the partition walls of stone will be suitable (in thickness). And our lord the king will supply stone and timber for scaffolds and centrings, and will pay John five hundred marks for his work…and John will have the stone broken up and will supply lime and sand, and will have everything relating to the stonework of the tower, gate and rooms made and transported, and he will make (the stonework) well and suitably at all points, being paid as aforesaid. In witness of which John (has set his seal) to the copy of this indenture which will remain in the keeping of our lord the king. Given at Westminster, the thirteenth day of April in the first year of the reign of our said lord the king.

E364/21 m7d (John Lewyn's accounts), 1385:…and on making a gate, a barbican and a tower over the gate, with various vaults and other works on Carlisle castle, 500 marks.

*I have translated the word 'basseure', otherwise apparently unknown, and not in any glossary of medieval Latin terms, as 'joist' (HTS)

9 PRO *E101/39/11 m3* – 1380/81

Item, for the making by Richard Potter of two guns for the defence of the castle from a bronze wedge, £4.

10 PRO *E101/40/6 m1* – 1385

…Paid £4 to Reginald Meke for a granary bought from him in Caldewe to make a stable in the castle. Paid 4s to four carpenters working on taking that granary down for two days at 6d each a day, Paid 4s 8d to eight men helping those carpenters on those two days, at 4d each a day. Paid 15s for the carriage of thirty wagon-loads of timber from the granary at Caldewe to the castle. Paid 10s to three carpenters making anew a stable in the castle from the timber of the granary for a whole week, at 3s 4d a week each…Paid 10s to three carpenters making and repairing a new watch-tower in the castle garden on the east side of the castle for a week, at 3s 4d a week each…

m10 – 1384/85: …paid 23s 10d to William (Kernour) for doing woodwork for two great guns placed over the great tower and one smaller tower placed in the corner of the outer bailey with boards and planks…paid 26s 8d to Richard Potter for casting three bronze guns. Paid 32s to Robert Dalmane for iron and the binding of two guns, and paid 10s to Robert for binding the smaller gun with his own iron. For twelve pounds of powder of saltpetre for the same guns bought at York, at 16d per pound, 16s, for eight pounds of live sulphur bought for the guns at 8d per pound, 5s 4d, and for the carriage of the same powder and sulphur from York to Carlisle, 3s 4d. Paid 16s 8d to a mason trimming 120 stones for those guns for the defence of the castle, for five weeks at 3s 4d per week…Paid 26s 8d to Thomas de Bolton for seven oaks bought for the guns and for repairing the watch-tower by the postern of the outer bailey towards the Caldew. Paid £14 to Robert Waterrygg and John Grene, masons, for making a new stone postern by the castle mill, that is, from the foundation to the top of the work, being thirty feet high, and for making a part of the castle wall which had completely fallen down in the outer bailey, by Langoushill, with the crenellations of that wall. And paid 65s 4d to John Grene for making a part of the outer wall in the castle garden, and a part of the wall by the inner gate of the castle, and a part of the wall between the royal hall and the new tower of the inner bailey. Paid 20s to the same John for the repair of part of the wall in the prison and for blocking an old postern in the castle garden. Paid 2s to John for working for four days to repair defects in the wall by the conduit of the fishpond, at 6d per day…For the repair of the bridges of the inner and outer baileys of the castle, for ropes for raising those bridges and for the cleaning of the ropes, 4s 9d…For four fothers of lead, bought in Wensleydale for roofing houses there, at £4 6s 8d per fother, £17 6s 8d…

11 PRO *C47/2/51 no 2* – 1529

The said commissioners fyndes that the gates of the utter wairde of the said castell of Carlisle, being of wood, are clean consumed and waisted, and the thak of the said gaithous is theked with lede, and the lade with the gutters of the said gaithous is a grete parte cut and gone, wherby it doith rayne thorow the same and haith rotten the bulwarks, walplaits, dormonts and floor under the same, and down thoroughe the wols into the prison, being the kyng's gaiol of the schire of Cumbreland, and is like to put the said gaiol with the chambers in grete jeoperdie of falling downe…The hall is theked with lede with the gutters of the same is in sore decaye and raynes thorowe the same by reason whereof the roof, bawlkes, dormonts, walplaits and the floor of the same is rotten and like to fall down. The Pauntree being theked with stone is almost gone down and raynes throughe the floor of the same into the butterye and rots the floor and timber of the same and ready to fall…The warden's toure being theked with lede bireason that the lede therof is full of holes and consumed hath rotten the grete dormonts and bawlkes under the roof and is redye to fall. The litill wardroom above the side of the same towre theked with lede and litill closes under the same a good parte of the same lede is wantyng and the tymbre therof rotten and at the point of falling… Item, the grete toure called the dongeon being theked with lede a grete parte of the same lede is broken and consumed, wherby it doth rayne thorough and rotts the bawlks and dormonts of three houses under, and also bireason it rains through the gutters of the same tower it is like to consume a quarter of the same dongeon…

12 PRO *LR9/83* – 1597

A perfect declaration and account of such moneys as hath been disbursed by the appointment of the lord Scrope for the repairing of Carlisle castle…In primis, for the new making of the great drawbridge without the castle, and also for new making of the great bridge within the castle court, and for the repairing and amending of the postern gate which William of Kynmowth did break under when he stole away, the sum of £40…

E101/545/16 m4, 1602: …Item, for seven stone of iron to mend the postern gate and for the workmanship thereof, with the hanging up thereof by one Alexander Knagg, smith, 30s. Item, for mending the lock thereof, having been broke by Kinmothe and his company, 13s 4d…

13 PRO *W055/1696 f5v* – 1661

…The outward drawbridge at the castle is very much defective so that it is very requisite that a new one should be made which consists with its 2 spaces of 36 feet in length and 10 feet in breadth. And will cost by estimation with sway beams, rails of each side and supporters for the bridge £55…To new cast the leads of one roof over the gatehouse 30 feet long, 21 feet broad, and for repairs of one other roof over the said gatehouse, with solder, firing and workmanship, and for one fother of lead to make good the waste, by estimation £25…

f6:…To new slate the roof of several buildings, viz. barns, stables, slaughter-houses, with 3 pinion gables or dormer windows under the wall of the south curtain in the castle yard, being 220 feet long and 22 feet deep, as also 124 feet more of slating for building under the west curtain, 16 feet deep, by estimation £20…

f6v:...The innermost courts of the castle, having no convenience of a fit place to shelter the soldiers from the weather in their watch, it is desired by the governor for their future better accommodation, and for the better strengthening the garrison, that a new court of guard might be erected of brick in the said court to be 6 yards and a foot long, 5 yards within, 3 yards high, $1^1/_2$ bricks thick, which with chimney, doorcase and door, 2 windows, roof and slating and 2 new sentinel houses in the said court to be made of freestone will cost by estimation £39...

f7v:...To new lay the top of the battlement of a square tower at the east end of the long battery with flags laid in plaster of paris, for preventing and keeping out the wet which soaks through the wall into the rooms under, to their very great damage and inconvenience of the dwellers in the castle...

_...For topping of 10 chimneys in the castle £20 per estimation, and to repair several timbers for the roofs and floors by estimation £35, and to repair the ceilings of plaster and the hearth places by estimation £15, and for 540 feet of glass for the several lodgings etc. by estimation at 7d per foot £13 2s 6d, and for iron bars for the windows where the old ones are defective by estimation £3, in all by estimation £86 2s 6d...

14 PRO *W071/19;* the Court Martial of Lieut Colonel James Durand, September, 1746

f 286 (Durand's narrative): The Duke of Newcastle having signified to me His Majesty's Pleasure that I should repair to Carlisle to command there in the absence of the governor and lieutenant governor, I accordingly set out post from London and arrived there the 11th of October last in the Morning and immediately went and viewed both town and castle which I found in a very weak and defenceless condition having no ditch nor outworks of any kind, no cover'd way, the walls very thin in most places and without proper flanks, but agreed with Captain Gilpin, who was the only person with me at that time, not to mention our opinion of the weakness of the place, for fear of discouraging the militia and inhabitants, but on the contrary to speak of it as a strong place and very tenable...

ff 308-9 (Deposition of Captain John Gilpin): ...He further says that the castle of Carlisle is an old irregular building, near 700 yards in circuit, and has 20 pieces of iron cannon of 6 pounders and as it has no ditch (except on the town side the small remains of one which time has near fill'd up, and is passable in almost all places) has no outworks of any kind, nor flanks, the rebels might have approached to the foot of the walls, wherever they pleased, without any possibility of hindering them or disobliging them when they were there, as we had no fire that could bear upon them, nor any men to make a sally and then by mine or sap might have thrown down any part of the wall they thought proper...

ff 312–13: Lieutenant General Follsot governor of Carlisle was desired to inform the court what he knew of the state of the town and castle. He says that it is seven years since he has view'd them at which time it was in a very weak condition, there being neither ditch, cover'd way nor Flankers, and does not know that any alteration or amendment has been made since that time. That he remembers as he went up on a part of the rampart between the town and castle, he was asked not to go too near the wall, for fear it should break down.

15 PRO *W055/715* – 11 Oct 1819

Sir, I (Lt Col Birch) have the honour of reporting to you that the meeting of the radicals has hitherto (8 pm) passed without anything particular – that there has only been about 1000 persons assembled, diminished, it is generally presumed, by the appearance of preparations that were made for them – their persons were of a low description, without any supporters of respectability – but I learnt from 3 respectable persons who came into the castle immediately after hearing the speeches, that the *most highly* inflammatory language was used – they had many flags – liberty or death – &c – in going and returning the most considerable part of them passed within about 70 yards of the barracks on the ramparts at the entrance of the Castle, the parapets of which were surmounted by the infantry, they all amazedly cast their eyes to the barracks, said 'there are the soldiers' and appeared alarmed and stupefied by them. I can answer for it that on their passing the castle they said not another audible word than those expressed above...

16 PRO *W044/553* – 22 Oct 1834

Major A Emmett, RE, to the Inspector General of Fortifications: Sir, on inspecting Carlisle Castle a short time ago, the very decayed state of the joists of the Queen's Tower required the immediate removal of the men occupying no.II Room...The Queen's Tower forms one of the outer angles of the keep of the castle – it is apparently a strong massive building on the exterior – & rises 11 feet above the parapets of the Keep. It comprises a basement, divided into compartments, which are arched, two floors, used as barrack rooms, & a lead roof, sheltered by parapet walls. On its external angle is a massive turret for the flagstaff. The walls vary in thickness, but in some parts they are 10 feet...In some parts the masonry is good & solid - but in others it is loose & bad & for years past the cracks in it have not been attended to...Some are upwards of 3 inches wide & are very extensive, though few of them have yet been traced through the entire thickness of the walls. The arch of one of the rooms in the basement has settled irregularly near the crown. There can be but little doubt the various openings made in the masonry at different times have caused the partial settlements which now endanger the whole fabric, and especially so, when it must have been shook by the vibrations of the flagstaff on the heavy turret already alluded to...It may appear singular that this building should have been found in so dangerous a state, without any special report having been made upon it by my predecessors – but on this it is just to observe, the massive appearance of the tower, the thickness of its walls & the heavy coatings of plastering laid upon them at different periods, might have deceived the most experienced eye, by concealing defects which have been now exposed by accident; or rather by tracing the cause of a partial settlement of one of the floors. Some of the cracks in the walls have been watched with attention for years – & as far as can be ascertained, they appear to have become enlarged within the last 12 to 18 months...

17 *Carlisle Journal* 4 Feb 1876

Extensive improvements have recently been made in Carlisle Castle and additional accommodation on a large scale is now being provided and fast approaching completion...The barrack sergeant's quarter and a gun shed on the west side of the yard have been demolished, and in their place now stands a new officers' mess built of red stone. A great proportion of this stone was found ready hewn in making the excavations and all that it required was a fresh dressing. The outside work is nearly completed; and the interior is being fitted up with every convenience...At the north-east corner of the yard a large brick building is being erected and is nearly completed. It consists of a canteen for the men of the regiment, recreation rooms, with reading room above and two barrack rooms to accommodate 36 men...

18 PRO *WORK14/1524* – March 1941

Ministry of Works and Buildings to Officer commanding Infantry Training Corps, Border Regiment, Carlisle castle: Sir, I am directed by the Minister of Works and Buildings to acknowledge the receipt of your recent letter asking for permission to build a machine gun platform on top of the Keep at Carlisle Castle. The ministry have no objection to offer to the proposal providing that a suitable base is used on which to erect the gun platform as without the base there is a danger that the lead rolls on the flat roof would suffer damage...

Lt Colonel Manly to Ministry of Works and Buildings, 20 March 1941: ...In order to give a full field of fire for the A A Post on the top of the Keep, The Castle, Carlisle, it is intended to build a 'light machine gun' platform of wood. The material available is old railway sleepers, and the approximate weight of platform with gun and 2 men of crew will be 25 cwts...

Appendix 2: Pictorial sources for Carlisle castle

D R Perriam

Carlisle castle has been a popular subject for artists and photographers over a long period of time. A great deal of illustrative material survives, but it is very widely scattered and it has never been comprehensively assessed. For these reasons the following list is not an exhaustive catalogue. It is simply a list of readily accessible sources.

The list is arranged in order of the date at which each illustration is thought to have been produced. Immediately following the date is an indication of what the illustration depicts. The name of the artist is given where it is known, but in many cases, especially more recent photographs and postcards, this information is not available. The letter *S* (*Source*) gives the present whereabouts of the illustration consulted, and this is followed by the appropriate reference. Details of publication are included where they are known and major contributions are included in the Bibliography. Unauthored exhibition catalogues, articles in newspapers, postcards and other ephemera are not included in the Bibliography but the fullest details known are set out below.

1315 Initial letter on charter of 1316 showing de Harcla defending castle, pen and ink, *S* CRO (Ferguson 1894, 13) (see Fig 122)

c 1400 Town bell inscribed *Radulphus Comes de Westmorland: efecit me fieri*, bronze, *S* Guildhall Museum, Carlisle (Bulman 1958, 120–2)

1425 Ralph Neville, 1st Earl of Westmorland, tempera, *S* Raby Castle chapel (*Raby Castle Guidebook*, 1972, 28)

1530s Henry Clifford, 1st Earl of Cumberland, engraving, *S* Cumbria CL, Parsable Dawson Collection

1542 Completed or proposed works at the castle, by Stefan von Haschenperg, pen and ink with watercolour, *S* BL *Cotton Ms, Aug I,ii,1C* (O'Neil 1945, 148, plate xii, *see also* Fig 9)

1542 Map of City of Carlisle showing proposed defensive works, by Stefan von Haschenperg, pen and ink, *S* BL *Cotton Ms, Aug I*, supplement 8-9 (O'Neil, 1945, 148, plate xiii, *see also* Fig 10)

1545 First measured plan of the castle, by William Garforth; pen and ink, *S* Hatfield House *CPM II/28* (Fig 125)

c 1550 Plan of the castle showing the outworks. This is the only plan which shows the two circular bulwarks and the connecting wall; pen and ink, *S* BL *Cotton Ms, Aug I,i,11*, (Lysons, 1816, cciii, *see also* Fig 126)

c 1560 Bird's-eye view map of the City of Carlisle; pen and ink, *S* BL *Cotton Ms Aug I, i, 13*, (Watson and Bradley 1937; Lysons, 1816, 56–7, *see also* Fig 127)

1568 Effigies of Thomas, Lord Wharton and his two wives; alabaster or marble, *S* Kirkby Stephen church, Cumbria, (RCHM, 1936, plate 123, *see also* Fig 124)

1580s Portrait of George, Earl of Cumberland, by Isaac Oliver; watercolour, *S* Cumbria CL, vertical files; portraits

1588 Portrait of George Clifford, 3rd Earl of Cumberland; oil, *S* National Portrait Gallery, (Cust, 1901, 60–1)

1610 Map of Carlisle showing the socage manor of the castle; pen and ink, *S* University of Durham, Dept of Palaeography and Diplomatic; *Howard of Naworth papers C49/1* (Spence, 1984, 67)

1611 Map of Carlisle showing the castle; engraving, *S* Cumbria CL, *Jackson Coll – large views of Carlisle* (Speed, 1611)

1645 Siege coins minted in the castle in 1645; silver, (Ferguson, 1884, 54–6, *see also* Fig 128)

1647 Portraits of Francis Willoughby; engravings, *S* British Museum (O'Donoghue, 1914, 505)

1658 Bell made for Carlisle Cathedral at the expense of the garrison of Carlisle castle; by Robert Billings, engraving, *S* Cumbria CL *RS 726.6*, (Billings, 1840, plate xxx)

1658 One of three bells made in 1657–9 for Carlisle Cathedral at the charge of Lord Howard and officers of the garrison of the castle, by Robert Carlyle; pen and ink, *S* Cumbria CL, *Jackson Coll*, from R S Ferguson's albums of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, with additional material, volume 5, 499. 2B.9

1664 Wall plaque to Marie Musgrave, wife of Christopher Musgrave, who died in childbirth at Carlisle castle, 8th July 1664; marble *S* St Cuthbert's church, Edenhall, Cumbria, south wall of chancel

1670s Portrait of Charles Howard, 1st Earl of Carlisle, by Sir Godfrey Kneller; oil *S* Castle Howard (*Castle Howard*, 1988, 59)

1672 Plan and prospect of Carlisle with additional inset of sections through the defences of the city and castle. This is the earliest 'landscape' view of the city, and is the original from which copies were made in 1674 and 1685, by (Sir) Captain Martin Beckmann; pen and ink *S* BL *Add Ms 16371e*

1674 As map of 1672 above *S* as map of 1672 above BL *Add Ms 16370* 94v,95

1685 as map of 1674 above, by James Richards; pen and ink with watercolour *S* Stafford Record Office Lord Dartmouth's papers, D (W) 1778/0/5 (Ferguson, 1894, frontispiece; *see also* Fig 129)

1700 Charles Howard, 3rd Earl of Carlisle; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical portraits file (J Scott, 20 May 1806)

1700 Subject as above, by William Aikman; oil *S* Castle Howard (*Castle Howard*, 1988, 59) Copy portrait in Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery

c 1700 Portrait of Gabriel Griffith, Master Gunner 1698-1706; uncertain – probably a painting *S* Robert Griffith Page, MD Chicago (Shaver, 1963, 200)

Early 18th century 6-pounder cannons mounted on early 19th century carriage, formerly located at the castle before and during the 1745 siege. Now located outside The Courts, Carlisle; iron *S* In the care of the Chief Executive, Cumbria County Council

1716 Plan of Carlisle, by Captain Phillips; pen and ink with wash *S* PRO *MR 557 (1)* (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1739 North-west view of the castle showing the outer curtain wall, by Samuel and Nathaniel Buck; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 76C (Buck, 1739, plate 12) Other Cumbria CL B-Car/728.81; vertical files (Fig 108)

1739 Subject as above; a number of later copies of Buck's work; engravings *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll R S Ferguson's albums of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, with additional material, volume 5, 467,469,471. 2B.9

1745 The South-West Prospect of the City of Carlisle showing Carlisle castle, by Buck (as above); engraving *S* as Buck above (in a reprint by Hudson Scott in 1834)

1745 North-west view of the castle showing damage caused by the Duke of Cumberland's batteries; based on engravings by Buck and Smith, by W H Nutter; engraving *S* Cumbria CL 64A (Mounsey, 1846, 151)

1745 A view of Carlisle from the north-west; a late eighteenth century copy of Buck's view of 1745; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical files, small views

1745 The outer gatehouse. It bears an inscription which says that this was how it appeared in 1745, but it is based on Hearne's engraving of 1778, by W H Nutter; engraving *S* Cumbria CL 64A (Mounsey, 1846, 80)

1746 Map of Carlisle and its environs showing the position of the guns and batteries in the siege of December 1745, by George Smith; engraving *S* Cumbria CL Large boxed views of Carlisle (Smith, G, 1746)

1746 Fergus McIvor and Evan Dhu being dragged on hurdles across the outer bridge on their way to execution. This engraving was made almost a century after the event, by T M Richardson; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical files Carlisle castle (unknown, but published by William Mackenzie, London, Edinburgh and Glasgow, and is based upon an almost identical engraving published by Fisher and Son, 1836)

1746 Map of the Carlisle area showing the route taken by the rebels; there is an inset showing damage to the walls viewed from the north-west, by George Smith; Engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Large views, Carlisle (Smith, G, 1746), also bound into albums A 912 (Cumberland volume) in the Jackson Coll

1746 Plan of Carlisle showing military works of 1745 and the proposed re-fortification of the city; pen and ink with wash *S* PRO *MPI 300 (1)* (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1746 Sections and plans of the castle and city walls to accompany the 1746 plan above; as the 1746 plan above *S* as the 1746 plan above MPI 300 (3) and (4) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1746 Plan of the castle showing damage to the walls; pen and ink with wash *S* PRO *MPI 300 (2)* (PC 1/5/109) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

c 1749 Map of Carlisle copied from Campbell's report of 1st December 1749; pen and ink with wash *S* PRO *MPH 338 (2)* ; (*WO 78/1406*)

1752 Detail of the map of the socage lands in Carlisle belonging to the Duke of Portland, by George Smith; pen and ink with watercolour *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 66A (Ferguson, 1894, 1)

c 1760s Portait of Henry, 2nd Earl of Darlington; oil *S* Raby castle (Raby Castle Guidebook, 1972, 30)

1762 Plan of Carlisle copied from the 1716 plan, by Thomas and John Chamberlain; pen and ink with wash *S* PRO *MR 557 (2)* (*WO 78/326*) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1770–1 Plan of Carlisle; this is the first accurate published plan of the city. It is inset on a map of Cumberland surveyed in 1770–1771, by Thomas Donald; engraving (by Joseph Hodkinson, 1774) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Z6 (Hodkinson and Donald, 1783 Second edition published in 1802)

1774 Plan of Carlisle castle; engraving *S* Cumbria CL 3 B9 6869 (Grose, 1785, I, 60)

1777 The outer gatehouse showing the drawbridge and trees on the Lady's Walk; published December 1778, by Thomas Hearne; engraving (by W Byrne and S Middiman) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical files, Carlisle castle (Byrne, 1784, xi

1777 The outer gatehouse: a copy of an engraving by Thomas Hearne published in 1778; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 2 BC 9; W P Murray, Carlisle and Whitehaven newspaper cuttings (*The Saturday Magazine*, 6th August 1836, 56; *see also* Fig 11)

1777 Cannon firing from the north-west battery; possibly painted on Hearne's visit to Carlisle in 1777, by Thomas Hearne; watercolour *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 83–1950

1780s Monumental inscription to Cromwell Ward, Lt Governor of the castle; possibly marble (Henderson, 1810, 51) The location of this inscription is not known

1785 The castle viewed from the south-east, showing Queen Mary's Tower. There are two engravings, the first published in 1773 and the second in 1783, by S Hooper; engraving (by Sparrow) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical files, small views (Grose, 1785)

c 1791 Queen Mary's Tower viewed from the north walls of the city. One of a series of watercolours drawn to illustrate Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, by Robert Carlyle; watercolour *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 80-1935.5 (published as an engraving by J Lowes, in Hutchinson, 1794, II 597) (see Front Cover)

1791 The outer gatehouse showing the stone outer bridge and trees on the Lady's Walk, by Robert Carlyle; engraving (by J Lowes) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 95A (Hutchinson, 1794, II, 597)

c 1791 View of the inner gatehouse from the Inner Bailey, by Robert Carlyle; watercolour *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 80–1935.4

c 1791 The Long Hall (Great Hall) and the Chapel in the Inner Ward, by Robert Carlyle; watercolour *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 108-1978.77 (7)

c 1791 The Long Hall (Great Hall) and Chapel in the Inner Ward copied by M E Nutter, by Robert Carlyle; watercolour *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 80–1970.4 (framed)

1791 The outer gatehouse showing the stone bridge, by Robert Carlyle; engraving (by R Scott) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson collection A912 Volume I Cumberland

c 1794 Carlisle castle showing Queen Mary's Tower, probably copied from S Hooper's view of 1775, by J Lowes; Engraving (by J Lowes) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 95A (Hutchinson, W, 1794, II, 593)

1797 Queen Mary's Tower viewed from the Lady's Walk. An inscription by Dr Munro on the reverse says that it was drawn by Turner on a visit to the city, by J M W Turner; wash drawing *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 11–1921 (see Fig 103)

Late eighteenth century Plan of the Castle Green prepared for the Earl of Lonsdale; pen and ink *S* CRO, Carlisle D/Lons/L Ca

c 1800 Plan of Carlisle copied from the survey of 1746, by John Potter; pen and ink *S* PRO *MPH 500 (1)* (*WO 78/1687*) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1800 Copy of 1746 survey as above, by Charles Budgen and A H Chamberlaine; pen and ink *S* PRO *MPH 500 (2)* (*WO 78/1687*) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1805 Map of the city showing the castle. This is the first map to show the armoury (Arroyo block) in the Outer Ward. It includes elements taken from earlier plans by G Cole; engraving (by J Roper) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Carlisle, General Views box (Britton and Brayley, 1810, iii)

1806 Plan of Carlisle copied from the 1749 Survey, by Edward Bird; pen, ink and wash *S* PRO *MPH 500 (3), (4)* (*WO 78/1687*) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1806 Copy of 1749 Plan of Carlisle, by A H Chamberlaine; pen, ink and wash *S* PRO *MPD 12 (T62/9)* (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1812 View of the outer ditch, the outer bridge (stone), and the outer gatehouse, by Luke Clennell; engraving (by J Greig) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A105 (Scott, 1814, I, 34, plate 1; *see also* Fig 12)

1812, probably drawn in 1811 or 1812 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner ward, by Luke Clennell; watercolour *S* Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery1–1907 (Scott, 1814, I, 34, plate 3)

1813 Copy of the 1749 Survey, by H Black; pen and ink *S* PRO *MPH 338 (1)* (*WO 78/1406*) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

1813 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner ward; engraving taken from Clennell's watercolour of 1812, by Luke Clennell; engraving (by J Greig) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A105 (Scott, 1814, I, 34, plate 3)

1813 Inner ditch, inner gatehouse, and half-moon battery, by Luke Clennel; engraving (by J Greig) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A105 (Scott, 1814, I, 33, plate 2; *see also* Fig 58)

1813 Inner ditch, inner gatehouse, and half-moon battery, by Luke Clennell (drawn after by J Greig); engraving *S* Collections of John Robinson and D R Perriam: later copies vary in detail from the original

1815 Map of Carlisle showing the castle based on Donald's map of 1770–1; engraving (by Mutlow) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 97A (Lysons, 1816, IV, 56)

1821 Map of Carlisle showing the castle, by John Wood; engraving *S* CRO Maps (Wood, 1821)

1821 Plans & sections of the castle walls showing proposed repairs by Lt Col Birch, artist unknown; pen & ink with wash *S* PRO *MPHH 247* (*WO 78/1775*) (HMSO, 1967, 468)

c 1821 Carlisle castle viewed from the south east, showing Queen Mary's Tower, properties on Finkle Street and part of West Tower Street, after the demoliton of the north walls., by John Glover; watercolour *S* Victoria & Albert Museum D2–1902 (Lambourne and Hamilton, 1980, 153)

1822 Plan showing the ownership of land around Carlisle castle and city boundary, by John Studholme; pen & ink with wash *S* CRO, Carlisle Ca/c 17/4

1823 Carlisle castle viewed from the south east showing Queen Mary's Tower, by J & H S Storer; engraving (by the artists) *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical files, small views, Carlisle castle (Unknown, published by Sherwood Jones & Co I Feburary 1823)

1826 View from the inner bailey of Carlisle castle looking towards Queen Mary's Tower. The only view which shows Queen Mary's Tower from the inner bailey after the demolition of the 1577 range, showing some internal features, artist unknown; engraving (*The Mirror, of Literature, Amusement and Instruction*, 4 February 1826, No CLXXXI, vol vii, 65)

1829 Five pound banknote for Carlisle Old Bank with engraved view of Carlisle castle from the south west; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll N13/9.1

1829 Carlisle castle from the south west showing the outer gatehouse, keep and Queen Mary's Tower, by Richard Westall; engraving (by Edward Francis) *S* Cumbria County Libary, Jackson Coll Vertical files B-CAR/728.81 (unknown; published by Charles Tilt, 86 Fleet Street, London)

1830s View of the outer gatehouse, attributed to W J Blacklock; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical files, small views (from a magazine article in an unknown publication)

1830s Carlisle castle from the south west viewed from the moat. Very similar to an engraving by and attributed to W J Blacklock; engraving *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Vertical Files, small views (From a magazine article in an unknown publication)

1830 Map of Carlisle castle with key to show the use of various buildings entitled 'Statement of barracks at Carlisle'; pen & ink *S* PRO WO55/2531 (map to accompany)

1830 View through the gate passage in the outer gatehouse showing the 1804 armoury beyond, by Rev W Ford; pen & ink drawing *S* Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll As yet (1988) unclassified (recent addition) album of drawings by the Rev W Ford

1830s Outer gatehouse viewed from the moat with a woman about to fill buckets from the water in the moat; engraving S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll, Ferguson's Hutchinson volumes, 5, 478 2B 9

1830s Carlisle castle from the south west viewed from the moat. Mounted in a album of engravings with some original drawings formerly belonging to the artist, by W J Blacklock; engraving S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll D75

1832 Detail of view of Carlisle from Stanwix showing Carlisle castle, by A Cornillion; lithograph (by Paul Gauci) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Large views, Carlisle, u 401. (View of Carlisle published by H Scott, Carlisle and F G Hording, Cornhill, London, 1 Aug 1832)

1834 Queen Mary's Tower, commissioned by George Head of Rickerby House as a record of the building before demolition. The frame is made of wood taken from Queen Mary's room in the Tower, by Edward Goodwin; watercolour S Cumbria Record Office DX/253 (a copy by W H Nutter was published in Jefferson, 1838)

1834 (copied 1838) Queen Mary's Tower (from the south east) copied from a drawing by Edward Goodwin. The tower as it appeared in 1834 immediately before demolition, by W H Nutter; engraving (by W H Lizars) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 134 A (Jefferson, 1838, 108)

1834 (reconstruction) Carlisle castle viewed from the north city walls showing Queen Mary's Tower. Copied from an 1838 version by the same artist, this watercolour is dated 1868, by W H Nutter; watercolour S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 171–1980 (n/a 1980, 15)

1834 Close-up view of Carlisle castle outer gateway with three soldiers (two on horseback) approaching from the south, by T M Richardson Snr; engraving (by the artist) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll B-CAR/728.81 vertical files (print only) (Richardson, 1834)

1835 The Long (Great) Hall and Chapel, copied from an original watercolour by Robert Carlyle, by M E Nutter; lithograph (by W Ganei S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 136A (Nutter, 1835, 36)

1835 Internal view of the Tile Tower showing the first floor, by W H Nutter; pencil S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 108–1978.75/19

1835 The passage of the outer gatehouse, with sentry, two children and a dog, by W H Nutter; watercolour S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum (reproduced as a colour postcard for the Museum by the Pilgrim Press Ltd, Pilgrim Press No 12705Y)

1835 The passage of the outer gatehouse as above, by W H Nutter; watercolour S Collection of Giles Mounsey-Heysham (Carlisle Museum 1971, 24)

1835 The passage of the outer gatehouse as above, by W H Nutter; pencil drawing used as a study for the watercolours S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 108-1978.75/16 (Slee, 1915)

1835 Close-up view of the outer gatehouse passage showing the Master Gunner's house in the background, by W H Nutter; pencil drawing S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 108-1978.75 (Slee, 1915)

1835 The inner moat and the half-moon battery copied from a view by Clennell, by M E Nutter; lithograph (by Giles) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 136A (Nutter, 1835, 36)

1835 Queen Mary's Tower copied from a watercolour by Robert Carlyle, by M E Nutter; lithograph (by Giles) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 136A (Nutter, 1835, 36)

1835 The outer gatehouse showing the moat, the stone bridge, a wooden pump attached to the bridge, and steps leading to the waters edge, by W H Nutter; pencil S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 108-1978.75 (Slee, 1915)

1835 View of the inner gatehouse from the inner bailey copied from a watercolour by Robert Carlyle, by M E Nutter; lithograph (by Giles) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll 136A (Nutter, 1835, 36)

1835 View from the south-west showing the outer gatehouse, the moat and stone bridge, soldiers riding over the bridge. In the background are the keep, Queen Mary's Tower, and outer curtain wall, by Thomas Allom; engraving S CRO; also Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll (Rose, 1835, II, 155)

1837 Carving and tracery on the stair turret of Queen Mary's Tower, by John Ruskin; pencil drawing S Ruskin Galleries, Bembridge, Isle of Wight (n/a, 1969)

1838 The passage of the outer gatehouse viewed from the bridge. this was commissioned by Jefferson, by W H Nutter; sepia drawing S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 80–1970.22 (Jefferson, 1838, 105)

1838 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner bailey commissioned by Jefferson, by W H Nutter; sepia drawing S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 80–1970.21 (Jefferson 1938, 114)

1838 The passage through the outer gatehouse showing the Master Gunner's house, by W H Nutter; engraving (by J Roy) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A134 (Jefferson, 1838, 105)

1838 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner bailey, by W H Nutter; engraving (by J Roy) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A134 (Jefferson, 1838, 114)

1838 The keep, by The Rev W Ford; pen and ink S Cumbria CL, Parsable Dawson Collection, Carlisle volume

1841 Map of the castle locating buildings and their uses; pen and ink S PRO WO55/2733

1850s View from the north, by M E Nutter; engraving (by W Banks) S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A63 (Arthur, 1869, 56)

*c*1850 North east walls showing the buttresses, by F W Fairholt; pencil S Collection of J Robinson

1853 Carved tracery on the stair turret of Queen Mary's Tower; engraving (by O Jewitt) (Parker, 1853, 212)

1853 Map of Carlisle – the first large scale map of the city at ten feet to the mile, by Richard Asquith; lithograph (by Day and Son) S CRO, Carlisle maps (Asquith, 1853)

1865 Large scale map of Carlisle. This is the first edition OS ten feet to the mile, map; survey carried out in 1865 and published in 1866; lithograph S CRO, Carlisle maps (Fig 130)

Pre-1874 Soldiers lined up on the parade ground behind the outer gatehouse; photograph: whole-plate negative S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery P I Wilson Collection

Pre-1874 Soldiers posed around a nineteenth-century cannon on the north east curtain wall; photograph: whole-plate negative S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery, P I Wilson Collection

1874 The keep viewed from the curtain wall above the site of Queen Mary's Tower; photograph S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll R S Ferguson's albums of Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland* with additional material, vol 5, 466

1874 Detailed photograph of the tracery on the stair turret of Queen Mary's Tower; photograph S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Ferguson's albums as above, volume 5, 466

1874 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner bailey; photograph S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Ferguson's albums as above, vol 5, 468

1874 The outer gatehouse viewed from the bridge; photograph S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Ferguson's albums as above, vol 5, 468

1874 Map of the castle copied from the 1865 OS map and annotated by R S Ferguson to accompany his article on the castle, by R S Ferguson; engraving (Ferguson, 1874, 56)

1874 Map of the castle based on the 1865 OS map and drawn to accompany Clark's article, by G T Clark; engraving S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll (Clark, 1874, 169)

1874 Plans, sections and elevations drawn to illustrate Ferguson, 1874, by C J Ferguson; pen and ink with wash S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll Z223–Z226 (Ferguson, 1874, 72)

1880s View across the parade ground towards the inner gatehouse showing tents on the site of the filled in ditch; photograph S J P Templeton Collection, Border Regiment album

1890s Coach on the parade ground with Arroyo and the hospital (Arnhem) blocks in the background, possibly by Col J S Pelly; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Col Pelly album

1890 The hospital (Arnhem block), possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 Clinton (Arroyo) block barrack, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 Captain Newbury, 3rd Border Regiment with Captain Pelly 4th Border Regiment (the two Militia Adjutants) on the parade ground. The ball alley and the hospital are in the background, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 A game of cards in the Officers' Mess, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 Court Martial on the parade ground with ball alley and the hospital in the background, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 View across the parade ground showing part of Arroyo block, ball alley and the hospital, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 The Barrack Serjeant's quarters against the inner face of the south curtain wall, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 Captain Meares, Royal Engineers, on the parade ground with Arroyo and the hospital blocks in the background, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 Corporal Tuffin with the garrison cells in the background, possibly by Bellamy; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum, Bellamy album

1890 The results of the fire which detroyed the 'Old Messhouse', now the Regimental Museum; badly faded lantern slide photograph. Negatives for this do not survive S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery 8-1932.26

c 1890 View across the parade ground towards the inner gatehouse. The well is in the foreground; photograph S J P Templeton Collection, Border Regiment Album before

1895 Properties on the north side of Annetwell Street built over the site of the city ditch. These houses were demolished in 1879 and 1893 to make way for married quarters and Salvation Army barracks, by R Davies; watercolour S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll

1895 Carlisle Academy of Fine Art built in 1823 on the site of the city ditch in Finkle Street, by Thomas Bushby; watercolour S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery (Perriam, 1975, 301)

1898-9, published in 1900 Large scale 10 feet to the inch OS map, 2nd edition; zincograph S CRO, Carlisle maps (as the 2nd edition OS map at 10 feet to the inch)

Late 19th century View along the line of the backfilled inner ditch; engraving S J P Templeton Collection Border Regiment Album

Before 1900 Outer gate of Carlisle castle viewed from the moat, by Hayton & Son; photograph S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery (Published in the Hayton Series)

Before 1900 Band contest on the parade ground of Carlisle castle with crowds gathered on the site of the inner ditch; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1900 Carlisle Academy of Fine Art built on Finkle Street in 1823 south of Carlisle castle on the site of the city ditch; photograph S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery Glass negative in collection (Perriam, 1973, 2)

c 1900 Inscription of John Hyde 1714 on the keep of Carlisle castle; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1900 Custodian inside the keep sitting at the table now in the Border Regiment Museum; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1900 Detail of blocked opening labelled as being in the keep of Carlisle castle. It is the west embrasure on the ground floor of the Tile tower. The light is blocked in this view; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1900 South wall of the keep showing steps from windows; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1900 View across the parade ground of Carlisle castle looking towards the keep and outer gatehouse showing privies on the site of the infilled inner ditch; photographed from printed postcard S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album (As postcard)

c 1900 View north along the castle walk showing the postern gate before its reopening; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1900 View from the Outer Bailey looking towards the inner gatehouse and keep with well in foreground. No trace of half-moon battery. Note stonework of barbican above gateway of Captain's Tower, by Valentine & Co (photograph); printed postcard S D R Perriam Collection (by Valentine & Co)

c 1903 View from the outer ditch, uncertain but possibly Thomas Bushby; coloured postcard S D R Perriam Collection (published by Charles Thurnham & Sons, Carlisle)

c 1904 (postmark date) Regimental church parade leaving the castle, by Nicholson & Cartner, Carlisle (photograph); coloured postcard S Dr W P Honeyman Collection (in the Nicholson and Cartner series)

c 1904 View of the stair turret and interior of Queen Mary's Tower showing lean-to building; photographic postcard S D R Perriam Collection G4362 (the Kingsway Real Photo Series)

Between 1904 and 1910 View from the keep looking towards Annetwell St and Finkle St; printed postcard S Ashley Kendall Collection (Raphael Tuck & Son)

c 1905 View along the south curtain wall of the inner ward looking towards the outer gatehouse, by John James Hodgson; watercolour S exhibition of artists work held at 'Bookcase', Castle St, Carlisle 1987, catalogue no 36 (*Cumberland News*, 23 Oct 1987)

1905 View along the battlements of Carlisle castle looking north towards Captain's Tower with keep on right. Signed J J Hodgson 05, by John James Hodgson 1871–1906; watercolour S exhibition of artists work held at Bookcase, Castle St, Carlisle 1987, cat no 43 (*Cumberland News*, 23 October 1987)

1905 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner bailey, by John James Hodgson 1871–1906; watercolour S artist's family (Perriam, 1970, 19)

c 1905 The inner gatehouse viewed from the inner bailey. Photograph shows lean-to structures against the walls of the upper floor.; printed postcard S Dr W P Honeyman (published by T W Roy)

c 1910 Silhouette of the parade ground of Carlisle castle by moonlight; printed postcard S Collection of Dr W P Honeyman

1910 Plan of Carlisle castle based on OS map and old plans, by J F Curwen; engraving S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll A673 (Curwen, 1913, 108)

c 1910 View from the remains of Queen Mary's Tower across the inner bailey towards the west wall; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

c 1910 View of north wall of the keep. The custodian is shown with other people outside the whitewashed entrance. The sign reads 'Dungeons'; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

1912 Plans & photographs of the postern gate uncovered on the west wall of the outer curtain in 1912, drawing by J H Martindale photos by C J F Martindale; printed (Martindale, 1914, 292-4)

1913 Workmen taking the postern gate off its hinges to be sent for repair Aug 1913, photographed by E A Beeson; photograph S D R Perriam (given by Major Robert Ferguson)

Before 1914 View along the infilled inner ditch showing the inner gatehouse and keep with tents in foreground; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album (probably produced as a postcard)

c 1914 Tents on the site of the inner ditch, by unknown photographer (J Menzies ?); postcard photograph S Collection of Ashley Kendall (published by Nicholson & Cartner)

c 1914 View along the north side of the inner bailey; postcard photograh S Collection of Ashley Kendall (published by H H H as a real photograph postcard)

1914 Detachment of the Border Regiment marching off to the First World War from Carlisle castle. Postmark date 22 June 1915, photograph by Valentine; coloured postcard S Collection of Dr W P Honeyman (Valentine neg no 03859)

1914–18 Troop inspection on the parade ground of Carlisle castle showing the canteen/Gallipoli Block; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album (photographic postcard)

1914–18 Soldiers being inspected on the parade ground of Carlisle castle; postcard photograph S Collection of Ashley Kendall

1914–18 View of the inside of outer gatehouse showing detail of stonework; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

1918 1st Border Regiment bringing home the colours 28 December 1918. Structure on top of wall at left and pile of rubble below suggests work in progress, probably in connection with digging out of half-moon battery; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album (photographic postcard)

1920 North buttressed wall; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

1920 West curtain wall viewed from Devonshire Walk; photograph S Collection of J P Templeton Border Regiment Album

1920s Properties on Finkle Street built on the site of the city ditch, photograph by J Woodruff S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery print from loaned negative (Perriam, 1975, 304)

1920s View of keep from Queen Mary's Tower showing whitewashed doorway into keep and before excavation of outworks, by Beeson, The Castle Carlisle; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum postcards

1920s Photograph showing additional field guns mounted on the north curtain wall during, or in the aftermath of the First World War. Postmark date 9 July 1933, by G P Abraham; printed postcard S Collection of D R Perriam (published in the Photogravure Series by G P Abraham Ltd, Keswick)

1925 Detail of 25" OS map showing Carlisle castle; lithograph S CRO, Carlisle Maps (25" OS map, 1925)

1927 or 1928 View from Castle Street showing scaffolding on west wall of keep. Postmark date 11 August 1929; postcard photograph S Collection of Ashley Kendall (real photograph postcard)

1928 View of parade in outer ward showing scaffolding around north-west angle of inner bailey wall and beside the Ball Alley. The inner ditch had not been fully re-excavated when the photograph was taken, by F W Tassell; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment postcard

1929 Properties on Finkle Street built over site of city ditch immediately before demolition. Was intended as a car park but laid out as gardens; printed photograph (*Carlisle Journal* 12 March 1929)

1930 Fragment of the north city walls at the bottom of Finkle Street, possibly by Ernest Blezard; photograph S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll (Williams-Ellis, 1930, 22)

1930 View looking north over the half-moon battery probably showing workmen digging out remainder of inner ditch to prepare foundations for Alma Block, by R Hogg or E Blezard; glass lantern slide S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery, not accessioned

1932 Photograph of the new recreation hall at Carlisle castle (Alma Block) for the use of men of the Border Regiment; it was newly erected and handed over to HM Office of Works on 1 April 1932 by the builders, Messrs J & R Bell. 'This is the first building of its kind in the North of England.....the building of the hall has occupied twelve months.' Carlisle Journal photographer; newsprint S CRO, Carlisle *Carlisle Newspapers* (*Carlisle Journal*, 1 April 1932)

1935 First modern plan to include the north-east outworks; also shows the city ditch, by H M Office Of Works Edinburgh; printed, S Cumbria CL, *Jackson Coll* (Watson and Bradley, 1937, 2)

1935 Plans and section of the keep shaded to show different periods of building, by H M Office of Works, Edinburgh; printed, (Watson and Bradley, 1937, 20)

1948 The Border Regiment Museum inside the keep; printed, (*Bor Mag* Sept, 1948, 106)

1948 Aerial photograph of Carlisle castle from the east; photograph S Aerofilms A14517/48

1948 Aerial photograph of Carlisle castle from the north-east; photograph S Aerofilms A14516/48

1950s Salvation Army barracks and married quarters with Castle Lane built on site of city ditch; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum D16

1952 Aerial view of Carlisle castle from the South. Taken 3 July 1952, by RAF; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum D127

1952 Aerial view of Carlisle castle viewed from the West. Shows bridge over half-moon battery. Taken 3 July 1952, by RAF; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum D124

1952 Aerial view of Carlisle castle viewed from the south showing married quarters and buildings in outer bailey. Taken 3 July 1952, by RAF; photograph S King's Own Royal Border Regiment Museum D125

1960 Excavations on the line of the city ditch beside Finkle Street carried out by Robert Hogg July 1960, by Robert Hogg; lantern slide photographs from original negatives S Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery, negatives in staff photographs

1960 A series of photographs taken by the County Architect's Department of various buildings in the outer bailey which were on offer to the County Council in 1960 (December); photographs S Negatives held by Property Services Department, Cumbria County Council cut film negatives 574–9

1961 Section through north city walls between Finkle Street and castle. Drawn as result of excavations in June 1961, by Robert Hogg; printed (Hogg, 1961, 327)

1971 Plans of castle and of the outer gatehouse. Drawn during restoration work on De Ireby's Tower to show its apperance before work began and what it would have looked like in the fourteenth century, by R Gilyard-Beer; printed (Gilyard-Beer, 1977, 191–210)

c 1972 View of 1879 soldiers' married quarters on Annetwell Street immediately south of the castle, by D R Perriam; photograph S D R Perriam

1973 Work in progress on building the inner ring road on the site of the city ditch south of the castle, by D R Perriam; photograph S D R Perriam

1973 Work around the remains of the north city wall during the construction of the inner ring road, by D R Perriam; photographs S D R Perriam

1973 Workmen clearing soil away from the rear of the north city walls during construction of the inner ring road (Castle Way), by D R Perriam; photograph S D R Perriam

1972 Finkle Street and fragment of north city walls before construction of the inner ring road, by D R Perriam; photographs S D R Perriam

1978 Workmen pointing the stonework on the building used as the Regimental Museum, by J P Templeton; photograph from colour slide S Copy photograph by Carlisle Museum and Art Gallery negative No. cc/154

1982 Isometric drawing of Carlisle castle from the north west, by Carlisle City Council, Planning Department; printed S Cumbria CL, Jackson Coll (*City of Carlisle Guide*, 1982)

1985 Plan of Carlisle castle with supposed dates of erection of buildings; printed (Charlton, 1985, 19)

Works referred to

Entries in Appendix 2 under the heading 'Publication' are not necessarily included in the Bibliography below. These tend to be newspaper references, postcards and other ephemera, but some other minor publications are also deliberately omitted. The fullest available details of the pictorial sources are set out in Appendix 2.

Abbreviations

BRM Border Regimental Museum
BL British Library
CRO Cumberland Record Office
EH English Heritage (material in Historic plans room)
PRO Public Record Office

Public Record Office Classes Cited

Chancery
C1 Early Chancery Proceedings
C47 Chancery Miscellanea
C49 Parliamentary and Council Proceedings
C60 Fine Rolls
C143 Inquisitions *ad quod dammum*
C145 Inquisitions miscellaneous
Exchequer, Treasury of Receipt
E28 Council and Privy Seal Records
E32 Forest Proceedings
E40 Ancient Deeds Series A
Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer
E101 Accounts Various
E117 Church Goods
E134 Depositions
E136 Escheators' Accounts
E143 Extents and Inquisitions
E159 Memoranda Rolls
E178 Special Commissions of Inquiry
E179 Subsidy Rolls
E199 Sheriffs' Accounts
E207 Bille
Exchequer, Augmentations
E315 Miscellaneous Books
E317 Parliamentary Surveys
E327 Ancient Deeds Series BX
Exchequer, Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer
E351 Declared Accounts
E352 Chancellor's Rolls
E364 Foreign Accounts
E368 Memoranda Rolls
E372 Pipe Rolls
Exchequer of Receipt
E401 Enrolments and Registers of Receipts
E403 Enrolments and Registers of Issues
E404 Writs and Warrants for Issues
E405 Rolls etc of Receipts and Issues
Home Office, Correspondence and Papers
H040 Disturbances, Correspondence etc.
H042 Domestic and General, George III, Correspondence
H045 Domestic and General, Registered Papers
Justices Itinerant
JUST1 Eyre Rolls, Assize Rolls etc
JUST3 Gaol Delivery Rolls
Court of Queen's Bench
KB27 Coram Rege Rolls
Exchequer, Land Revenue
LR2 Miscellaneous Books
LR6 Receivers' Accounts, Series I
LR9 Auditors' Memoranda
LR12 Receivers' Accounts, Series III
Maps and plans
MPHH, MPQ
Privy Council Office
PC1 Papers
PC2 Registers
Privy Seal Office
PSO1 Warrants for the Privy Seal, Series I
Special Collections
SC1 Ancient Correspondence
SC6 Ministers' and Receivers' Accounts
SC8 Ancient Petitions
State Papers
SP1 Henry VIII, General Series
SP10 Domestic, Edward VI
SP12 Domestic, Elizabeth I
SP14 Domestic, James I
SP15 Domestic Addenda, Edward VI to James I
SP16 Domestic, Charles I
SP23 Domestic, Interregnum, Committee for Compounding with Delinquents
SP25 Domestic, Interregnum, Council of State etc
SP29 Domestic, Charles II
SP36 Domestic, George II
SP44 Domestic, Entry Books
SP46 Domestic, Supplementary
SP53 Scotland (Series I), Mary, Queen of Scots
Court of Star Chamber
STAC5 Proceedings, Elizabeth I
STAC8 Proceedings, James I
Records of the Court of Wards
WARD9 Miscellaneous Books
War Office
WO1 Correspondence, In-letters
WO12 Muster Books and Pay Lists, General
WO16 Muster Books and Pay Lists, New Series
WO44 Ordnance Office, In-letters
WO55 Ordnance Office, Miscellanea
WO71 Courts Martial, Proceedings
WO78 Miscellanea, Maps and Plans
Ministry of Works
WORK14 Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings
WORK31 Maps and Plans, Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings

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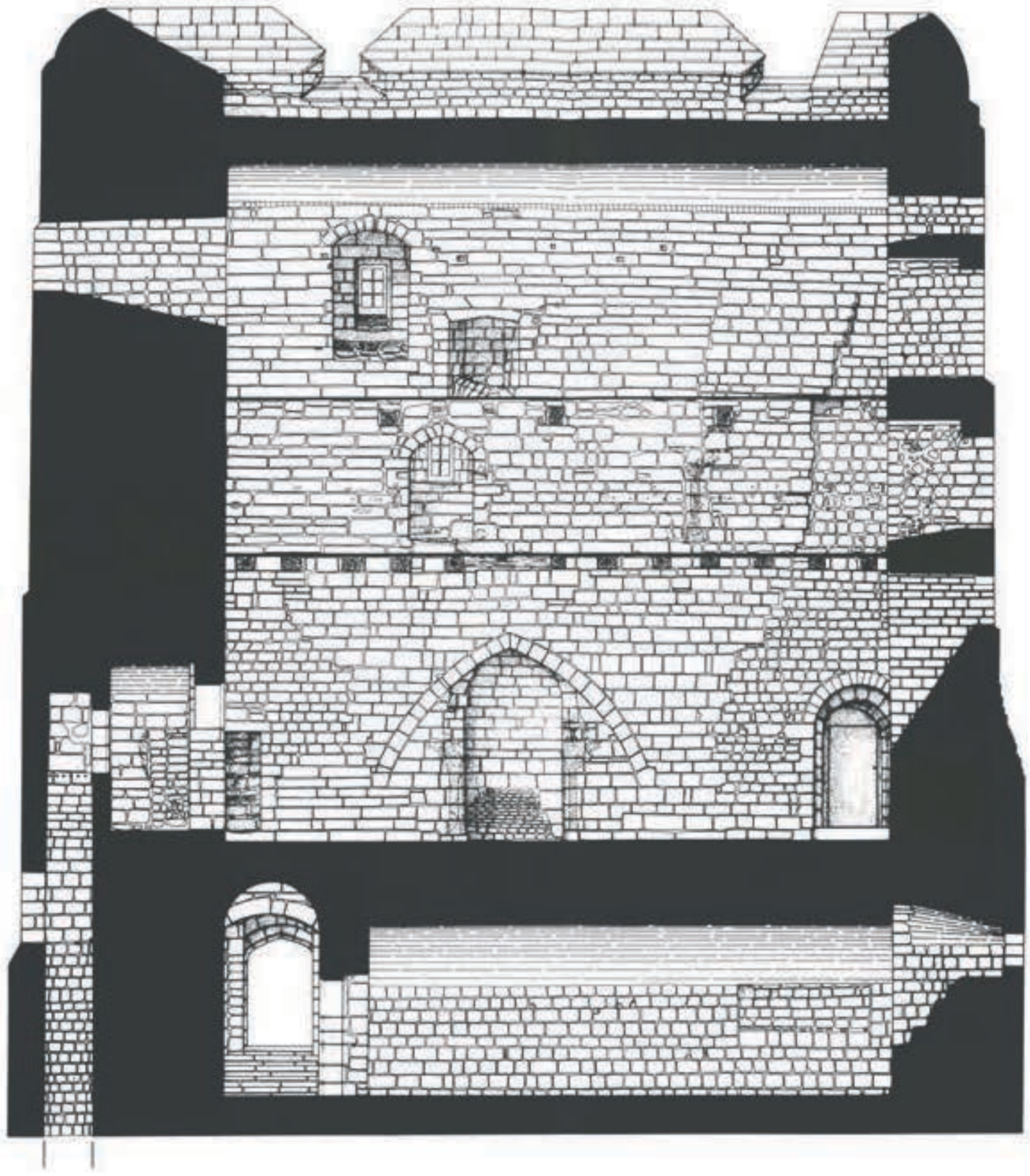

Fig 89 The keep; internal elevation of the east wall

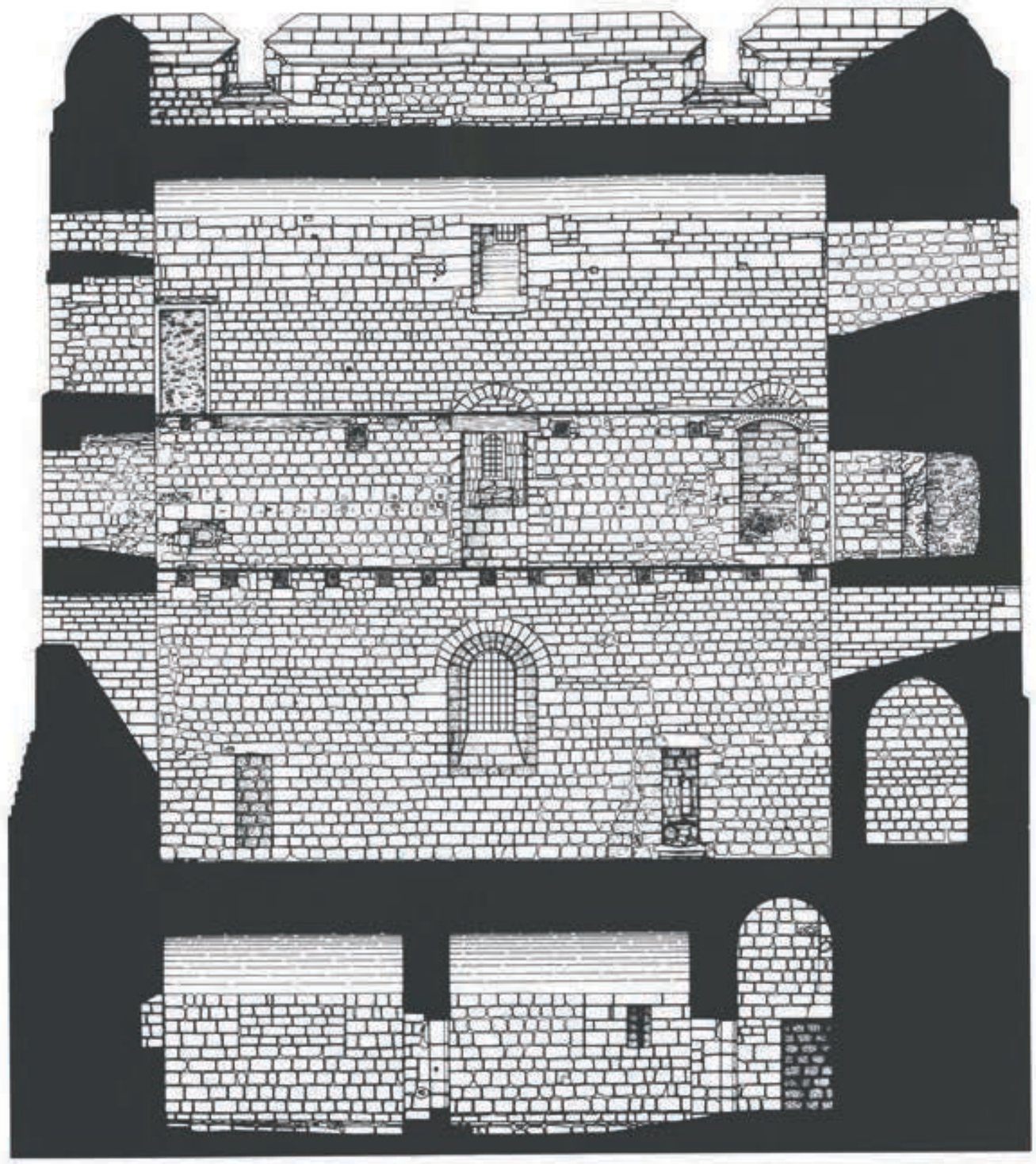

Fig 90 The keep: internal elevation of the west wall

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Front cover
Watercolour by Robert Carlyle, c 1791, showing the castle from the south east.