of the King of Scotland's claim to these manors. In 1354 Penrith was burnt, and Salkeld and Sowerby were laid waste; in 1380 also another fatal invasion occurred, as related by Walsingham. Richard II. granted the manors of Penrith, &c., to Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmorland, about the close of the fourteenth century; it has been supposed with much probability, by Messrs. Lysons, that about that time Penrith Castle was built by the Nevils, as a protection to the town, and that the church of Salkeld also was fortified at the same period.

I need not occupy time by speculations on what may have occurred in these fortress churches in olden times; on the savage attack and gallant defence, or the dreadful oaths of revenge at the sight of the wanton destruction of life and property. I am desirous, however, to recall attention to the very peculiar buildings of this class in the northern counties, as serving to remind us of a state of society now happily passed away.

ART. XI.—*Carlisle Castle.* By R. S. FERGUSON, M.A. and LL.M.

Read in Carlisle Castle, August 12th, 1874.

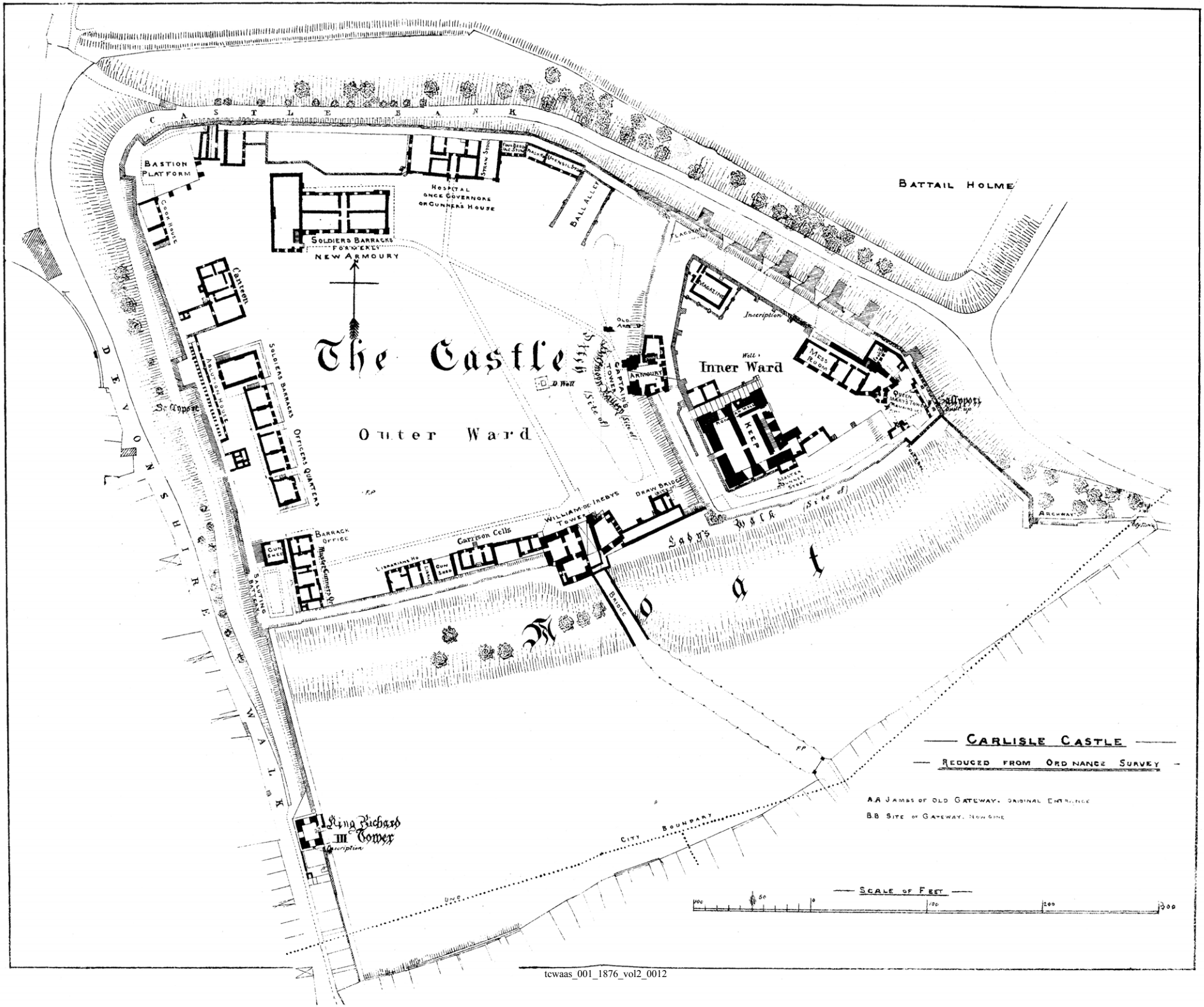
PART I.—DESCRIPTIVE *

THE headland or bluff, upon which the castle of Carlisle now stands, is the most northern, the highest, and the

* I wish to state that my Description of the buildings forming Carlisle Castle, is very largely based on an account of that Castle which appeared in the "Builder" newspaper, in February last, written by Mr. G. T. Clark, of Dowlais, F.S.A., the greatest authority we now possess on castles. Mr. Clark, in the kindest way possible, gave me leave to make what use I pleased of his paper, and I wish to acknowledge his kindness as publicly as possible. Many portions of my account should, in strictness, be marked with inverted commas as quotations from Mr. Clark: the valuable plans and section of the keep given with this paper were made at his suggestion.

For the Historical portion of my paper, I am much indebted to a memoir on Carlisle Castle, by the late Rev. C. H Hartshorne, read by him at Carlisle, when the Archæological Institute met at that place in 1859. Most of his references I have myself verified in the libraries of Lincoln's Inn, and of the Dean and Chapter of Carlisle. R. S. F.

strongest



strongest portion of the site which was included in the walls of the city and castle of Carlisle. This headland consists of a mass of new red sandstone, rising to a height of about 50 ft. or 60 ft. above the river Eden: to the east, north, and west, its slopes are very steep towards the meadows which fringe the left bank of the Eden and the right bank of the Caldew, and which are familiar to many of us as the Castle Sauceries, that is Salceries, or Saliceta, from the willow beds, which once grew there, and no doubt helped to augment the defensive capabilities of the site.

Towards the south, this bluff slopes gradually down to the city. Now the simplest way, in which to utilize this bluff or headland as a military station, is to cut a ditch or moat across the neck of the headland, and so convert it into a detached camp.

One such moat you now see; it stretches completely across the neck of the bluff from verge to verge of the slope, being stopped at either end by the walls connecting the city with the castle, which is thus, though an independent work, made to form part of the general *enceinte*. This ditch is about 240 yards long, 30 yards broad, and some 10 deep.

Between the castle and the city there is an open space of some 80 yards broad, which contains the ditch and a broad glacis; the most of this space lies without the city boundary, which runs from a point some 30 yards south of the Tile Tower to a point in the Castle Lane, just in advance of the gateposts, and making a salient angle there, runs to the old bastion on the east of the glacis. An old map, engraved in Lysons' Cumberland, Speed's map of 1610, and Smith's of 1746, all shew the glacis to have been laid out in gardens, and its name is given by Speed and Smith as "the Castle Orchards;" we must bear in mind that it is not, and never was the Castle Green.* The Castle orchards were separated from the city by a row of palisades, which, probably, followed exactly the city boundary.

*Sandford, in his MS. account of Cumberland, circa. 1675, states the Castle gardens or orchards to be very fair, and famous for early fruit.

Outside these palisades, I fancy, there was once a moat, with a drawbridge, somewhere in the Castle Lane, just in advance of the gateposts. In the 29th year of Edward I., 3*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* was allowed the Bishop of Carlisle, John de Halton, to make new the three bridges of the castle. This, the late Mr. Hartshorne* considered to prove that the castle had three distinct moats or fosses on the south. About the position of two of these moats and drawbridges, there is no doubt, and I think I have pointed out the position of the third. But I may, later on, make another conjecture about the third of the three bridges.

In plan, the area included in the castle walls is nearly a right-angled triangle, of which the right-angle is to the south-west, and the long side, somewhat convex, and 256 yards in length, is presented towards the north and east. Of the other sides, that towards the city on the south, is about 200 yards, and that to the west 143 yards, in length. The space within the walls is rather under three acres. [*Vide* Jefferson's Carlisle, p. 103.]

THE TILE TOWER.—THE CITY WALLS.

A portion of the wall connecting the castle with the city on the west side still remains, and is, judging from the outside, of Norman origin, but has some buttresses apparently Edwardian, in one of which is a garderobe shoot. In the inside this wall has been repaired with modern brick. Captain Gilpin, in his evidence on the court martial held on Colonel Durand for surrendering Carlisle in 1745, states† that the whole inside facing of the rubble wall on the right of the gate between the town and the castle, was taken down to be repaired, but never was repaired. The modern brick lining was put up about forty years ago.

Upon the wall I have just been speaking of, south of the moat, and some 30 yards north of the city boundary, is

*In a paper read to the Archæological Institute, at Carlisle, 1859.
†*Vide* "Carlisle in 1745," by G. G. Mounsey, p. 82.

King

King Richard III's or the Tile Tower, 26 ft. broad by 20 ft. deep, of no internal projection. On going round outside the wall, this tower is seen to rise from a stone plinth of very great antiquity, some 8 ft. high, and having in it small slits of windows, now built up. Above the plinth, the tower is of bricks, or tiles, from which circumstance it takes its name of the Tile Tower. On its western face, the external brick work or tile work is of the most modern cotton mill pattern, but on its north and south faces, the old brick work is still visible, distinguishable from the new, by (among other characteristics) the thinness of the old bricks or tiles, compared with the new. A glance at Smith's map and view of Carlisle in 1746, shews at once that this tower has been almost entirely re-cased in brick since that date; its narrow windows obliterated, and its embattled parapet turned into a plain wall: this was done some forty years, prior to which the tower was actually crumbling away, and its bricks, constantly falling, were a danger to passers by.*

High up on the southern face of the tower, in a place now almost inaccessible to view, is a spirited carving of a boar, the white boar, the badge of Richard III., who, as Duke of Gloucester, was governor of Carlisle Castle, and who, as Camden tells us, repaired, and put up his own arms in token thereof. The presence of this boar proves this tower to be well entitled to its name of King Richard III's Tower: but probably he only repaired it, for the stone plinth looks Norman in date.

The interior consists of two rooms, one over the other, both having vaulted brick roofs. The floor of the lower room is deep buried in dirt and rubbish. From it a subterranean passage is said to lead to the interior of the castle, but I myself have little belief in subterranean passages, and this one must have dived far into the bowels of the earth in order to burrow under the moat. In Jefferson's Carlisle, it is said that "in digging near the castle, some men discovered this passage, but as it was full of foul air, no search could

* Ex authoritate Mr. Cartmell, who was well acquainted with the castle in those days.

could be made into it, and it was closed up again." The passage was most probably some old sewer, or drain, possibly Roman.

The upper room presents some features worthy of our notice. The vaulted brick roof over it is a four-centred arch, which in itself proves the roof not to be earlier than the 15th century, the date of the introduction of such arches.

The fireplace in this room is very curious, the bricks round it are moulded in the Tudor style, finishing with a stop and chamfer:* there is also much chamfered work in other places. A deep recess is on one side of the fireplace, and a small chamber on the other: on the west side are three large arched recesses, and on the south a garderobe. The ornamental moulding of the brickwork seen here, is very rare in the north, and the place seems to have had about it an air of luxury for its time. As I have said before, it appears to be the erection of Richard III. on the plinth of a Norman Tower, the vaulting and moulded brick being all of his date. The roof is flagged and is easily accessible.

The legend is that Richard III., when Duke of Gloucester, and sheriff of Cumberland, resided here for his health. I can fancy the legend true in part. Penrith Castle was doubtless his usual place of residence, but he must frequently have visited Carlisle, of which castle, as well as of Penrith, he was governor, and which he repaired. The keep would be a nasty place to live in, and probably the palace was under repair, and thus this tower would be the best place he could go to.

The wall between the south-east angle of the castle and the city, about 90 yards long, is mixed Norman and Edwardian, and as it crosses the ditch it makes a zigzag or shoulder in which is a large round-headed gateway, either original or in the place of an original opening, intended, probably, to allow of cattle being driven on to the glacis

*This fireplace fell down while this paper was being read; steps are being taken to have it replaced.

or

or castle orchard, from the Battailholme (or fertile holme)* as the field now known as the Bitts was once called. This gate is walled up, and a bank of earth heaped up against it, but it is very plain to be beholden from the outside.

THE CASTLE.—ITS WALLS.

Thus far I have dealt with things extraneous to the castle. I will now turn to that edifice itself.

A walk, called the "Castle Walk," or "Castle Bank," has been laid out at the foot of the curtain outside, whence its details may be conveniently studied. The south-east angle is modern, but proceeding north and westward, the old Norman part comes into view, and on the north side of the inner ward the Norman pilasters are seen rising from a plinth, but partly concealed by six enormous stepped buttresses of great projection, and of decorated or perpendicular date, no doubt a great support to the wall, and very curious, but, in a military point of view, very much in the way.

The wall of the north front, and the north-west angle of the outer ward have (as can best be seen from the outside) been much restored in the decorated period. About the centre of the north front there appears to have once been a small pepper box watch tower, of which there were several on the walls of Carlisle. At the north-west angle is a projecting bastion, or battery, which in 1746 mounted four guns, and in consequence drew upon it the Duke of Cumberland's fire, who made a large breach near this battery.

Most of the west wall is original; and the Norman pilaster buttresses are well seen from the Castle Bank. Near its centre is a small tower, 28 ft. broad by 18 ft. deep, and about 9 ft. projection, and open at the gorge. It is wholly Norman, and has a stepped plinth about 10 feet high, with six sets-off of 2 in. each, and on the front face is the

*Battail Holme:—Battail, fertile; not Battle Holme, as modern maps give the name, with some idea that it was the place of tournaments.

central

central pilaster, dying into the wall at the base of the original parapet. In its north face, high up, is the shoot of a garderobe, flush with the face of the wall, and lower down a stone water-spout. About 10 yards south of this tower are traces of a small postern, or sally-port, now built up, and covered on the inside by the ablution house for the soldiers. Near here the Duke of Cumberland made a second breach. The south-west angle has all been renewed, and, I take it, from the length of renewal, to be the great gap, of 70 ft. which fell in Henry the VIII's time. On it was, in 1746, a four gun battery, after used as the saluting battery.

A plan engraved in Lysons' Cumberland, p. cciii., shews a curious outflanking work to have projected from the middle of the north-west wall; a tower with embrasures, connected with the castle by a single curtain wall. Messrs. Lysons think this plan to be of Elizabethan date. It appears to me that this plan is subsequent in date to the adaptation of the roof of the keep to carry artillery, for the plan shews the embrasures on the keep for six guns. Now it is believed that Oliver Cromwell effected this change; I can, too, find no trace of this outflanking work, which has embrasures for artillery, and fancy it was merely a projected improvement, never carried out.

The south wall of the castle is far the most original; west of the gatehouse, you see the Norman pilaster buttresses, rising from the plinth, projecting some 10 or 12 inches and dying away at the top. The grey stones in this wall correspond well in dimensions and shape with the description given by Dr. Bruce of those used in the Roman wall and other local Roman buildings, and have evidently come from some Roman works. The tooling is here generally weatherbeaten away, but on the outside of the castle, protected by the grass, I have found many instances of what Dr. Bruce calls "diamond broaching."* These

*"The Roman Wall," by Dr. Bruce, pp. 83-85. In one place was recently to be found a mixed mass of Roman tile and cement, built into the foundations of the wall.

grey

grey stones are very similar to some in the oldest part of the cathedral, and said, in Jefferson's Carlisle, to come from an old quarry on Mr. Head's estates at Rickerby, used by the Romans while their wall was building.

East of the gatehouse, the wall seems Edwardian as far as the keep, but beyond, where it belongs to the inner ward, it is Norman. The far corner [the south-east] is 19th century, and there stood, until 1835, Queen Mary's Tower. Between the Norman and the modern work can still be seen the door, now walled up, by which the Queen came on to the Lady's walk. Over the door are the arms of the Dacres, several of whom have been governors of Carlisle, and one of whom probably made this door, to give the lady inmates of the Edwardian palace access to the Castle orchard without going round by the outer ward. The Lady's walk ran from the east side of the drawbridge along the castle walk, and was continued on the rampart of the city wall. It was sheltered by two large ash trees, said to have been the two largest and finest in the county, and planted by Queen Mary. They were cut down in 1804, but no reason whatever existed for their destruction.

There is a curious recess where the Edwardian wall runs into the wall of the inner ward. Apparently as an afterthought the wall has been corbelled out to make a passage, (the first intention having been to have no passage), to the ramparts of the inner ward. Probably this was done when the top of the barbican was repaired by Richard III.

THE GATEHOUSE.

The main entrance to the castle is in the middle of the south front, 40 yards west of the keep, through the great gatehouse. The drawbridge across the moat was removed in the last century, and replaced by a bridge of stone, which crosses the ditch and leads up to the gatehouse, called William* de Ireby's Tower.

* Jefferson has it "John" by a msiprint, but confer Lyson's Cumberland, p. 68.

The

The plan of this gatehouse is very peculiar and worthy of notice. It is two stories high, viz., a basement and an upper floor, but the entrance, instead of passing, as usual, through the centre of the gatehouse, is at one end of it; the building just east of the gatehouse is a subsequent addition, set on at an oblique angle.

The original building itself is hollow or recessed at its south-east angle, forming a nook or recess of 18 feet each way: the square is made up on the outer [east and south] sides by walls, rising to about half the height of the main building, some six feet thick, and provided with two parapets on both sides, that on the inside having long narrow loopholes, (instead of the usual embrasures,) to enable the archers to shoot down on the heads of persons attacking the inner gate, in case the outer one should be forced. There is also a passage or "alur" on the side wall communicating with the east curtain, and so formerly to the inner ward of the Castle. *

The south side of the inclosure just described is the outer gate of eleven feet, opening with an arch placed in a sunk square-headed panel. Over the entrance is an obliterated coat of arms, possibly that of Richard III: the original windows of the gatehouse appear to have gone and others to have been substituted: in the front wall are two corbels which seem to have carried a small oriel window, from which a view could be had of everything occuring outside the entrance, and a parley held with visitors.

This entrance leads into the hollow enclosure just mentioned, some 12 feet square, which is in fact a barbican, niched in a hollow angle of the gatehouse, with outer walls the height of the curtain, and commanded, as before explained, by the archers on the parapets.

The barbican appears to be coeval with the gatehouse, as some of the stones run through both, but the parapets and upper six courses of the barbican have all been renewed, probably by Richard III, whose may been the arms over

* See Parker's Glossary of Architecture head "Barbican."

the

the entrance: when these alterations were effected, the alure, or gangway to the inner ward was probably made, and the corbelled passage that I have pointed out contrived.

This barbican, enclosure, or open chamber, leads to a second archway with a portcullis and a gate. Then follows a vaulted passage ending in another gate which opens into the ward: so that to get into the ward in old times you had to pass over a drawbridge, through three gateways, and under a portcullis. In the passage, on the left, is a lancet doorway, opening upon a rising well staircase, and beyond it a drop-arched door leading into the lodge. On the right hand is a shoulder-headed door which leads or did lead into a staircase. *

THE OUTER WARD.

The outer ward was once known as the Castle Green. Whenever we read in old or even modern books of the Castle Green, we must recollect that by that term is meant the gravel desert within the walls, while the green without is the Castle Orchard. The inside of the Castle, both outer and inner wards, both once beautiful with turf, and picturesque in their irregularities, was levelled and gravelled in that most fatal epoch to all of interest within the Castle, the years between 1827 and 1835.

The Castle consists of two wards, the outer and the inner, divided by a cross wall or curtain, and in the outer ward would doubtless be the mound of command and execution.

The inner ward was defended by a broad and deep moat which extended, in front of the cross curtain, from wall to wall of the outer ward: access to the inner ward was gained, at first, in all probability, by a drawbridge opposite

* Since this paper was read, most of the plaster ceilings, which disfigured the interior of the upper floor of the gate house have been cleared away, and a very fine open oak roof, of low pitch, exposed to view. It is to be wished that the rest of the ceilings will soon follow. The upper floor is to be used as a sergeants' mess room and kitchen.

the gatehouse to the inner ward, and possibly by a gate, all now gone. In later days, when artillery came into vogue, a small half-moon battery was built behind the moat, and about eight yards in front of the gatehouse to the inner ward. The circular sweep of the stones of this battery can still be traced in the gravel. This battery mounted three guns, and its parapets were pierced for musketry: from it the whole of the outer ward could be swept, if an enemy had gained a footing in it. In its decay I believe this battery was converted into a water tank; a subterranean passage is said to have led from it to the keep. A wall, or field work, extended from the battery to the further flank of the outer gateway, in a zig-zag form, with a very deep re-entering angle, so as to cover and protect a communication between the two gates, supposing the outer ward to have been breached and entered from the north-west side; there was a gate in the zig-zag,* opposite William de Ireby's tower. The drawbridge was then close to the south wall of the outer ward, and for it a stone bridge was afterwards substituted. All these works were removed some forty years ago, and the ground made level. The zig-zag or covered way had gone long before that period.

The buildings within the outer ward have recently been described by Mr. G. T. Clark, as "modern of various degrees of ugliness, and painfully substantial. Some are detached and harmless, others are built into the curtain, so as to conceal and more or less injure it."

The building now used as a hospital is marked in old plans as the "Gunner's House." Sometimes it is called the Lieutenant Governor's, and probably as that official became non-resident, the gunner got his lodgings. A large walled garden, now a drying ground, is attached to it. In 1745 this was, according to the maps of that time, the only building in the outer ward. There had been, in 1610, other buildings under the west curtain, and the barrack sergeant tells me their foundations have recently been

* Plan engraved in Lysons, p. ciii.

seen.

seen. The building near the gunner's house, now used as barracks, was built for and used as an armoury. The building now used as officers' quarters is some forty or fifty years old.

The cross wall of the inner ward is original, strong, and well built, and backed by a ramp of earth and masonry, containing casemates, one of which has a perpendicular doorway. These were no doubt added, perhaps by Henry VIII., to enable the wall to carry cannon. In the front of this wall, a little north of the gatehouse, is a large pointed arch, which Mr. Clark considers to be of late Norman aspect, and therefore, possibly, the original entrance; Mr. Cory of Carlisle, in going over the Castle with me, expressed an opinion that the voussoirs are of the date of Henry VIII. The gate house of the inner ward is placed upon the salient and central point of the cross curtain. It is called the Captain's Tower. It is rectangular, or nearly so, about 32 feet each way, with a projection from the curtain of 18 feet. There is one floor above the portal, which is central. The gate is flanked by a pair of buttresses. If the view given in "Carlisle in the Olden Time" is correct, the loopholed parapets over the entrance are only some forty years old. Behind them are four square holes which may have been embrasures for small guns. The passage is vaulted, has had holes in the roof for annoyance of invaders, and has doors at each end, and at the inner end also a portcullis. Over the outside of the inner gateway is a ring of tracery, unusual, but effective, and precisely like a similar ring over the gateway of Lumley Castle, in county Durham. Much of this gateway is decorated, but the buttresses appear Norman. On the inner side a sort of supplementary arch has been added, and two windows inserted, and some additions built. This was done, as the style of the windows shows, by Henry VIII, when the ramparts were fitted for cannon, by erecting a back wall and filling up between with earth. It was then necessary to continue the rampart

rampart past the Captain's Tower for the passage of guns and this was done by this supplementary arch, which with its buildings hides a great deal of one side of the original gateway, as seen from the inner ward. The casemates north of the gatehouse would be made at the same time, and over their arches are relieving arches of rough stones to take off the pressure. The Captain's Tower mounted eight guns, on its top, according to the writer of Jefferson's Carlisle.

THE INNER WARD.

The inner ward forms the eastern end or apex of the area included in the Castle walls, of which it occupies about a fifth, and it is divided from the outer ward by a cross wall, 90 yards long, upon the salient point of which is the inner gatehouse just described. The other sides of this ward are the east, 96 yards, and the south, 73 yards. The keep stands in the south-west angle, about 20 feet from the two adjacent curtains, of which the south is thrown out about 18 feet to gain space, forming a shoulder flanking the outer gate of the Castle.

Within the old Norman walls of this ward a very remarkable succession of buildings have been erected. First we have the Norman Keep, oft repaired and altered; side by side with it stood, as at Bamborough Castle in Yorkshire, an Edwardian Palace, much altered by Richard III, and part of which is now represented by the present mess house,* and part of which acquired some fame as Queen Mary's Tower. Connecting these two buildings, the Palace and the Keep, there was built, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, a lofty barrack, which is shown in a plate in "Carlisle in the Olden Time." From this picture the barrack appears to have towered high above the present mess house; in the lower portion were some Elizabethan windows, but in the upper portion the windows were modern, of Queen

* Now, 1874, destined to be converted into offices for the depot brigade staff.

Anne's

Anne's date, or even subsequent to 1745, when the barrack accommodation in the Castle was enlarged: it is possible the upper story was an addition to the Elizabethan building. This barrack was pulled down (according to Jefferson's Carlisle, p. 108), in 1812: the place where it joined the mess house can easily be seen: a portion of the front wall is still standing, running out from the Keep: in the back wall, now supporting the earth on the ramparts, fire places of vast size can be made out. The military authorities have recently made several openings into this back wall, when they discovered the old flues still in situ, and a large brick oven. There was in front of this barrack a tablet, which was removed to a position in the inside of the rampart behind the sentry box, near the end of the magazine.*

Leaving now the Elizabethan barrack, which encumbered the ground from 1577 to 1812, let me endeavour to give you some idea of the Edwardian Palace. Unluckily, when it was destroyed between 1824 and 1835, no plans were taken of what was pulled down, and we can only put the old palace together from mention of it here and there, from a confused account in Jefferson's Carlisle, p. 108, and from one or two pictures.

The long hall, as it was called, occupied the site of the present magazine, but extended the whole length of the

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* The Royal arms which had been placed, in Queen Elizabeth's reign, on the front of the old barracks between the Keep and Queen Mary's Tower, were removed, in 1824, to the inner side of this rampart, fronting the Captain's Tower. They consist of a shield with the royal arms of England and France, quarterly, surmounted with an imperial crown: on the dexter side is the letter E, and on the sinister R. The following inscription is beneath the arms:—

Dieu et mon Droit,
1577.
Sumptib' hoc fecit ppis op' Elizabetha
Regina occiduas d'ns Scroop du regit oras
Repaired 1824.

Which may be read thus:—Sumptibus hoc fecit propriis opus Elizabetha Regina, occiduas Dominus Scroop dum regit oras; or, Lord Scrope, while warden of the Western Marches erected this work at his own expense, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Jefferson's Carlisle, p. 112. But I think a more simple and more likely meaning is, Queen Elizabeth erected this work at her own expense, while Lord Scroop was warden of the Western Marches. R. S. F.

rampart,

rampart, and joined the present mess house. The door is still discernable, though now built up, by which access was had from the upper part of the present mess house to the upper part of the long hall. In this long hall sat the Parliaments which met at Carlisle in the reign of Edward I. In the 18th century it was used as an assembly room, and the county balls held in it, until an assembly room was built in the town: I believe the Blue Bell, in Scotch Street.

The main access to the Edwardian Palace was by a stone staircase with parapets and portico by which one entered the building, through where is now the window of the ante room to the mess room*: over this was a small window, which doubtless lighted the minstrel's gallery over the screen. By going up these stairs and turning to the left, access would be had to the building known as the long hall; turning to the right would be, entered through a screen, a large room, lit by two large circular-headed windows, and one square-headed one, which last would light the dais, and all of which can be traced in the wall of the present mess house. Beyond and behind, all now destroyed, would be the private apartments, and a small chapel with groined roof, access to which was had, Jefferson tells us, by the staircase, whose beautiful shell alone remains. The tracery is noticeable for the interpenetration, the shaft below being carried through the quarterfoil above: the heads seem Edwardian in date.—These apartments afterwards gained the name of Queen Mary's Tower, from having been the residence or prison of Mary, Queen of Scots.

Jefferson describes these apartments in a most confused manner, and no plan of them exists.

Of the lower part of the tower he writes thus:—"The lower part of this tower was evidently of Norman architecture, from a large circular arched gateway, with plain

* The window of the first floor of the mess house nearest the Captain's Tower and facing the Keep.

mouldings

mouldings which sprung from capitals, ornamented with a 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.* No doubt this lower part was the original building erected by William Rufus: the remainder of the tower was of a later date: probably the tower had gone to decay, and the upper part was rebuilt in the early English style." * * * "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 described, and immediately opposite was another, but of the pointed style: in this gateway was a place for a portcullis.*" Jefferson's Carlisle, p. 109.

Now I put it to you all that an apartment on the ground with a stone roof, and a large gate and portcullis at each end, is neither more nor less than a gateway, such as we have seen in the Captain and Ireby Towers. The inference seems to me irresistable that this tower was once the entrance, probably, the main entrance to the castle: that it was closed, and afterwards altered and incorporated into the Edwardian Palace. A piece of the inner archway of the gatehouse, with the groove for the portcullis grille in it, is still to be seen at the east end of the mess house. It is evident that the ground here has been considerably raised, as the spring of the arch is now only just above the soil.

The whole of the curtain wall here is new, 1835, but outside, just north of the new work, traces of a window can still be seen in the Norman curtain wall, which is here supported by six enormous buttresses, added probably in Edwardian days.

There is said to be a subterranean passage from the site of the Queen Mary's Tower to somewhere: once for all I

* This is most plainly to be seen in Grose's picture of the Castle: also in Mr. Godwin's picture at Rickerby.

may

may be allowed to say that I have little faith in the various subterranean passages said to abound about Carlisle. There is an absurd legend that a duck once went down the Roman well in the Keep and came up in the Cathedral. I fancy the duck was a French one, a *canard*. None of the subterranean passages, said to be about the castle and city, have ever been investigated: they are probably old cloacæ, possibly Roman, or garderobes, or, what I suspect this one to be, a well communicating with the moat, to enable the garrison to draw water from it without molestation by foes outside.

THE KEEP.

The Keep is rectangular, 66 ft. north and south, by 61 ft. east and west, and at present only 68 ft. high. It is very plain. There is the common high and stepped plinth, from which rise pilasters, 12 ft. broad and 1 ft. projection, two on each face, meeting at and covering each angle, which is solid. These pilasters are externally of much more modern masonry than the walls between them, and have been rebuilt or recased. This is very noticeable on the west side. This rebuilding or recasing of the pilasters has obliterated loopholes which would have given us a clue to the positions of the original staircases*

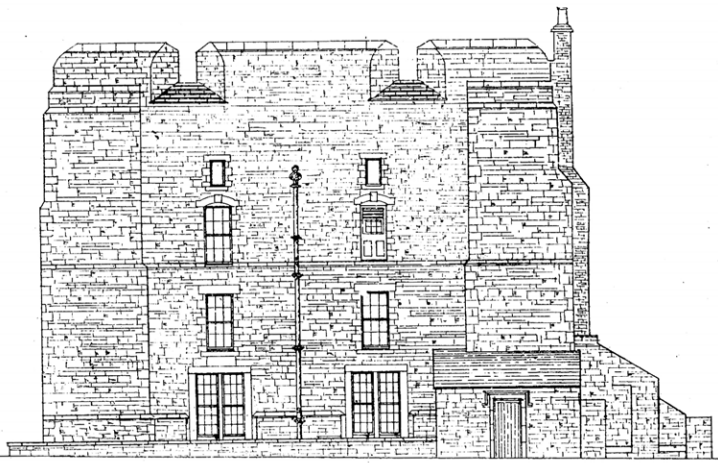
There are no pilasters intermediate to the angle ones. The walls do not batter, but are reduced slightly by one set-off, at a different level on each face. The window-cases, though in the original positions, are not original, except one or two in the uppermost floor. The parapet

*Since this paper was written, a staircase has been cut in the thickness of the west wall, from the second floor up to the floor above. The masons found, on arriving at the junction of the west and south walls, that the rebuilding of the south-west pilaster was not a mere casing, but a complete rebuilding, of the whole thickness of the wall and the angle, thus completely obliterating any circular staircase that might have existed in the south-west corner of the keep. The upper portion of the circular staircase, in the north-west angle, has been similarly obliterated, unless traces of it exist as chimney pipes. Owing to this, I do not think it possible that we can now obtain an accurate knowledge of the staircase, passages, and mural chambers that have existed in the keep, but the plans given with this paper shew accurately all existing in July, 1874.

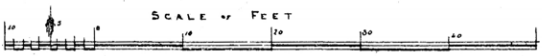
has

CARLISLE CASTLE.

THE KEEP TOWER. No. 1.

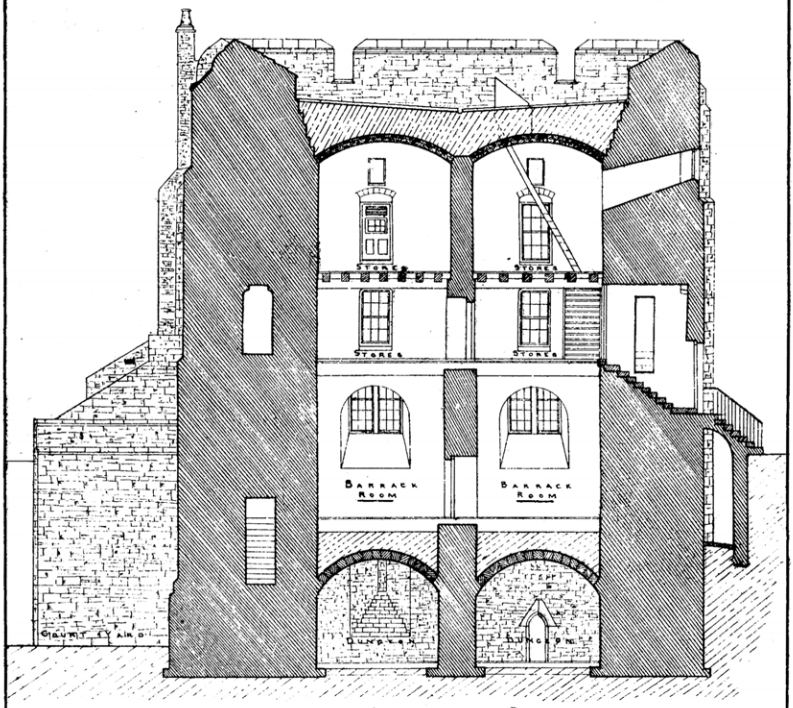


— SOUTH ELEVATION —

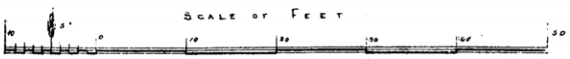


CARLISLE CASTLE.

THE KEEP TOWER. No. 2.

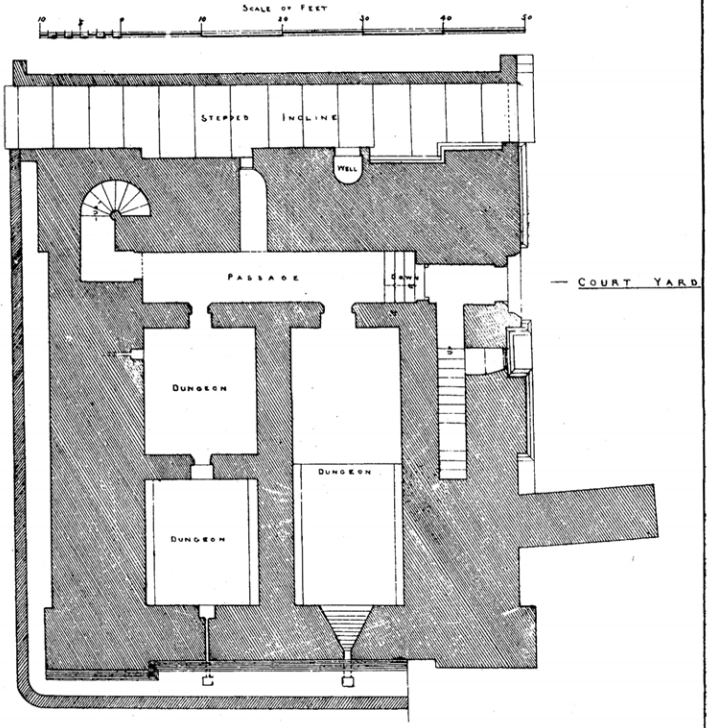


— SECTION LOOKING SOUTH —



CARLISLE CASTLE.

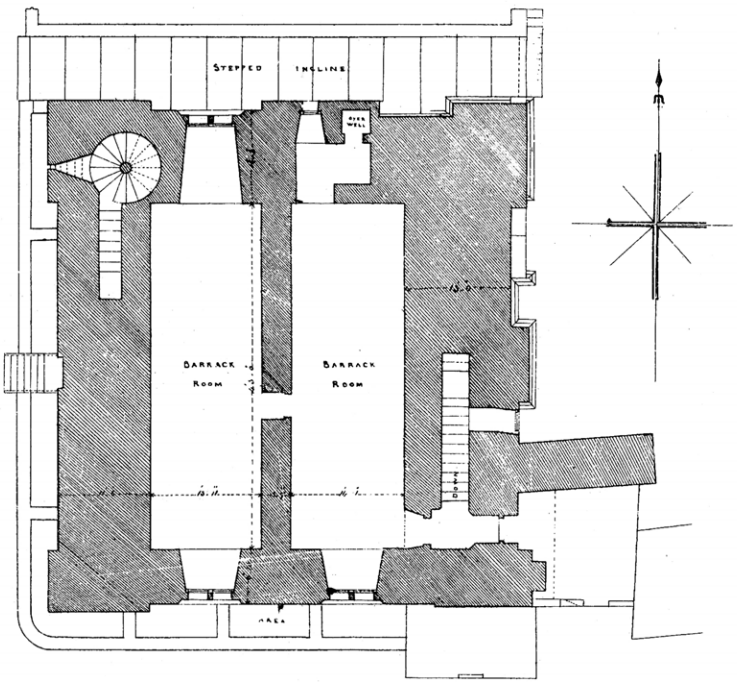
THE KEEP TOWER. No. 3.



— BASEMENT PLAN —

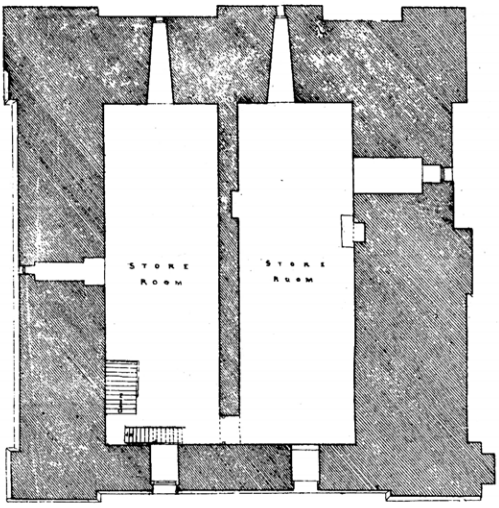
CARLISLE CASTLE.

THE KEEP TOWER. No. 4.

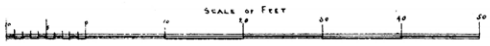


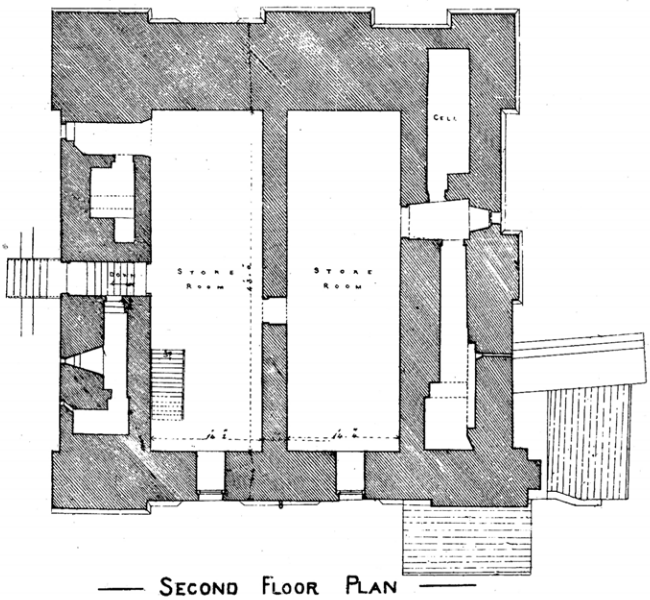
— FIRST FLOOR PLAN —

CARLISLE CASTLE. THE KEEP TOWER No. 5.



THIRD FLOOR PLAN





SECOND FLOOR PLAN

has been removed, and the summit thus considerably lowered, vaulted, and converted into a platform for guns. The south wall is 8 ft. thick, the west rather more, and the east and adjacent part of the north wall, 15 ft.; on the level of the first floor, the south wall is 6 ft. thick, the west and north 11 ft., and the east 13 ft. The interior contains a basement and three upper floors. It is divided by the usual cross wall, laid north and south. The presumption is greatly in favour of this wall being a part of the original design; it has, however, been so much altered that it is difficult to speak positively as to its age or original height. It extends the whole way up the keep, cutting every floor into two large rooms. In the two upper rooms there are doorways in it, which look of the style of Richard III. The gigantic fireplace in one of the two rooms on the first floor seems intended to warm a larger space than the room it is now in, and the other room on that floor has no fireplace at all. This is an argument that this cross wall was not part of the original design, and it might have been built by Richard III.

The original entrance was on the north face, near the centre, the cill being about 4 ft. above the floor, and 3 ft. above the present outer level. This was a plain flat-sided round-headed arch. It is walled up outside, but still open within as a recess. I have pointed out before, that the ground in this vicinity has been much raised: doubtless this door was originally some height above the ground, and reached by a ladder, which the garrison could pull in after them. The present entrance is at the ground level, at the north end of the east face. It has a portcullis, and is probably the work of Edward I.; but it evidently takes the place of a deep original internal recess, for from its jamb on the left, a straight stair ascends in the east wall to the south-east angle of the first floor, as at Chepstow and Ludlow castles.

There is an obliterated coat of arms high up over this door, which Jefferson asserts to be the arms of Montagu

and Monthermer impaling Neville. The basement has been subdivided, no doubt when the new door was opened, into four compartments, which are vaulted in stone. One is a passage against the north wall, entered by the new door, and terminating in a circular stair in the north-west angle. This stair, now disused, is original, and led probably the whole height of the building; it can now be ascended to the level of the second floor, where its continuation has been converted into chimneys. A staircase branches off from the circular one, in the thickness of the west wall. This can be ascended some way, where it is now built up. From the passage compartment of the basement, doors open on the left into two vaults, divided by the cross wall of the building. The east vault is one chamber; the west subdivided by a cross wall into two, the inner entered through the outer. The vaulting is a plain pointed barrel, very evidently an insertion. In the smaller vaults are stone seats. One of the doorways is of perpendicular date. These vaults were evidently prisons, intended no doubt for the custody of Border rievers.

The first floor is divided into two by the cross wall, and used as barrack rooms. In its east, was formerly a very large fireplace, once flanked by Norman columns, but now walled up. This floor is now entered solely from the south-east angle, but formerly had a door near the north-west corner from the circular staircase. There is now no direct way from the first to the second floor; formerly the way was by the circular staircase in the north-west angle. In the north wall first floor is a recess, which was formerly the pipe of the well in the keep. The second floor is reached at this time by an exterior door in the west wall, approached by an exterior stair on the north face. This door is not original, but has been broken through into one of the mural recesses or chambers which honeycomb the east and west walls of this floor.

The built up staircase before mentioned as leading upwards in the thickness of the west wall, and branching from

from the circular stair in the north-west angle, led into the mural recesses in the west wall of the second floor, and its three upper steps are still to be seen. These mural chambers have a garderobe, and were probably the residence of some swell of the period.*

In the east wall is a mural chamber with long ill lit cells right and left of it. The mural chamber has on its walls some very curious carvings by prisoners; photographs of these were taken some time ago, but now are not procurable. Among the carvings are the Percy badge, the crescent and fetterlock, the Dacre arms, and others. Here Major Macdonald, the original of Fergus Mac Iver, was confined. The second floor is floored in modern brick, laid upon a timber floor.† From this floor a ladder leads through a trap into the upper floor,—a modern arrangement.‡

The third or upper floor has some of the original windows remaining, and its ceiling is vaulted in modern brick to support the gun platform above. This platform is formed of large slabs of stone, laid down in 1812, which may also be the date of the vault. The walls above are 11 ft. thick all round.

In these two floors the curious old padlocks and one or two of the doors are worth notice; also an old dresser, said to have come from Queen Mary's apartments; its legs have evidently been made out of some old roof timbers.

The well of the keep is reputed to be Roman, though

*Since this paper was written, a staircase has been cut in the thickness of the west wall, from the second floor up to the floor above, through these mural recesses, completely obliterating them. The measurements taken during this work throw doubt on my statement of the built up staircase leading into these mural recesses. Apparently it led into a gallery below them, lit by loopholes, which can be seen on the outside. I do not think we yet know the extent of the mural chambers and passages in the walls of the keep; so far as accessible they are accurately laid down in the plans given with this paper.

†Now, October 1874, being renewed, and disclosing an old unlevel oak floor, fastened with oak treenails. One side of this floor is 4 in. higher than the other, and it will probably have to be removed. The bricks, as they are removed, look very modern, and probably the brick floor and the vaulting over the third floor may all be referred to 1812.

‡Altered since this paper was read, *vide* note ante.

this

this is quite as likely to be true of the larger one in the outer ward. When the keep was built, the well, whether new or old, was included within the north wall, between the doorway and the north-east angle, and its pipe was carried up in the wall, no doubt with a lighted chamber at each floor, as indicated by a line of loops still seen in the wall. To make the well available when the keep was shut up as a prison, a hole was cut in the outside of the north wall, near the ground level, into the pipe of the well, and through this the water is still drawn up. The well is 78 ft. deep, and its present cill is 92 ft. above the sea level.

A curious external stair, probably Edwardian, has been built against the north face of the keep, and leads up, by the well, to the ramparts of the curtain, and so to the door of the second floor of the keep. No doubt its original use was to lead to the ramparts only.

"The keep," says Mr. Clark, "though much disfigured to make it carry artillery, and much obscured by its conversion into prisons, a messroom, and storerooms, is for the most part original, and if cleared, as it should be, of the vaultings of the upper floors, would be a tolerably perfect specimen of a Norman keep, with a full share of mural chambers and appendages. The space between the keep and its adjacent curtains has been filled up with earth, kept off from the keep by a sort of area wall, and thus the ramparts here, as well as along the cross-wall, are made wide enough for cannon. The up filling is modern, and should be cleared out."

HISTORICAL.

I do not intend in this paper, to enter into any account of the British, Roman, Saxon, or Danish occupations of Carlisle, or to trouble you with any speculations as to the fortifications erected by them. I may, however, state that Mr.

Mr. Hodgson Hinde* considers it very doubtful whether Carlisle was a military post in the time of the Romans: the Roman remains found at Carlisle, prove it to have been in their time a town of considerable importance and magnitude, a place of comfort, possibly surrounded by a wall, but ungarrisoned and depending for safety on the strong Roman garrison, both of infantry and cavalry, kept at Stanwix.

It is unnecessary for me now to go into any such questions, for about the year 875, A.D. the city was burned and destroyed by the Danes; it was for 200 years, until after the Norman Conquest, deserted, save by a few Celts who squatted amid the ruins, which were overgrown with trees.

Some writers have stated that William I. visited Carlisle, and that to his eye for a strategic position was due the building of the castle. Mr. Hodgson Hinde however, in a paper before alluded to, has disposed of this story, which went on to say that William I. found Carlisle "so loyal a town," and Mr. Luard, in a letter in the "Times" in January, 1873, traced the story to its original in an interpolated marginal note to a MS. of Mathew of Paris.

We shall, I think, be not far out if we start with the proposition laid down by the late Mr. Hartshorne, that Carlisle Castle was "no doubt planned by William II., when he visited Carlisle in 1092, and it is more than probable that at this time he erected the curious castle of Appleby."†

Now I have already pointed out in describing the buildings, that there was once an entrance to the castle at the south-east angle: if you will look at this valuable drawing of the south-east angle of the castle as it appeared prior to 1835, and most kindly lent to us to day by Mr.

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*The Archæological Journal, September 1859, p. 218. See also Dr. Bruce, Transactions Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archæological Society, vol. i, p. 38.

†The Archæological Journal, Sept. 1859, p. 334.

Head,

Head, you will see the traces of this entrance;—the archway and other remains, all of old Norman work.*

I myself have very little doubt but this was designed as, and was once, though but for a short time, the main, if not the only entrance to the castle. I believe that the military engineers employed by William II. built only the keep and intended to build no more. "Turris fortissima," William de Hemyngford calls the erection planned or built by William II., and "turris fortissima," "a very strong tower," is language best applicable to the keep standing alone. So soon as the keep was built, they then conceived the idea of the present inner ward to be built around the keep: that the inner ward, as we now call it, was an afterthought, is evident from the fact that the south curtain wall is not straight, but bent like a bow to get round the keep. Had keep and inner ward been planned together, the south curtain wall would have been straight, and the keep set more distant from it.

I believe that the engineers who built the inner ward did not intend to include the city by any system of fortifications with the castle, which was designed, I believe, as a detached fortress; first, a keep alone, and then as a keep and one ward, towering over an unwalled city, as at Lancaster. At both places, at Lancaster and at Carlisle, [as originally planned] there must have been great similarity of design; a detached castle, on a high point northwards (or towards Scotland) of an unwalled city, and approached by a very steep roadway.

At Carlisle, the military engineers soon changed their plans. The ruined town, under protection of the fortress, shewed signs of vitality: large numbers of Flemings, probably artificers employed on the castle and fortifications, found their way to the town, and one of them, Botchardus, has left us his name at Botcherby. Large numbers of English, dispossessed of their homes for the making of the

* Visible also in Grose and many other drawings of the last century.

New

New Forest, were sent up to Carlisle with their horses and cattle, and settled there. Commerce revived, and, sure sign of that, a Jew or two appeared; one Moses, who I daresay accommodated the officers of the garrison, bought their old clothes, and like Isaac of York, dealt in new armour, chargers, contracts to victual the garrison, &c., Another rejoiced in the name of Vyner, and Moses, Vyner, & Co. did a deal of business with the Sheriff of Cumberland, as entries in the Pipe Rolls shew.*

Between Flemings, English, and Jews, and the Norman allottees of landed estates, who mainly had residences in Carlisle, the city soon waxed too tempting, too ready a bait for Scottish cupidity to be any longer safe unwalled. The military engineers altered their plans; they walled in the city, carried the walls up to the castle along the verge of the high ground, so as to incorporate the city walls and castle into one plan, but thus excluding the original castle gate from the ambit of the walls. To leave the castle gate thus outside the walls, and exposed, would clearly be injudicious; accordingly, sooner or later they built it up † and gained access to the castle by gates in the positions of these through which we enter to day, and which positions are covered from external attack by the city walls, and again protected on the city side by two or three moats.

Now the first and almost the only entry we find about Carlisle Castle in early records, is one curiously corroborative of what I have just been stating. It is in the Pipe Roll for the 14 Henry II., 1168, and is "Pro removenda

*The Pipe Rolls for Cumberland, published by the Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1847.

† It does not follow that they built it up immediately they opened the entrance within the ambit of the walls, the present entrance: they might use both. The third bridge over the moat before alluded to, p. 58, might be over a moat or ditch outside this gate. No doubt some sort of ditch or moat would go round the city and the castle. The Rev. Canon Hodgson, of Carlisle, informs me that he recollects some such ditch or moat near where this gate would be. The account of the seige of Carlisle in 1315, (*vide* postea) and what happened to the "great beressay" proves there was some sort of ditch outside the walls. But what we now call the moat, (*i.e.* the moat before the present entrance to the castle) must have been unconnected with this other moat or ditch; the levels shew that. One would have run the other dry in no time.

Porta

Porta Castelli de Cardel 40 sol. per breve Regis," for removing the gate of the castle of Carlisle under the king's brief, 40 shillings, which we may take as equivalent to £40.

This proves the change of entrance to the castle to have taken place in 1168, and I venture to submit that I have shewn that the original plan of the castle of Carlisle was merely a "turris fortissima," the keep alone: round this [afterthought No. 1] were built the fortifications now known as the inner ward, with its gateway at the south-east angle; that [afterthought No. 2] in Henry II.'s reign, the castle was connected with the city by the walls, the entrance moved, and the outer ward probably made. To me, the shape and size of the outer ward and its position with regard to the inner ward, seems to shew it was in some respect an afterthought, and not part of the original plan,* but still it may have been built before the walls of the city were complete.

William II. visited Carlisle in 1092: probably the castle was not commenced until long after his visit, if at all in his reign; as the gate was moved in or before 1168, the change of plan took place so soon after the commencement of the work, that we may expect to find, as we do, the works erected both before and after change to be very similar in style.

The Pipe Roll for Cumberland contains a few more entries relative to Carlisle Castle. In 1173, it was assaulted by William the Lion, King of Scotland, and Robert de Vallibus received £20 for the maintainance of the garrison on this occasion, and in the following year, the castle was repaired by Wulfricas, who appears to have been the royal engineer in charge: from various entries in the Pipe Roll, and in the Close and Librate Rolls, it appears that the castle was constantly under repair in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and of King John, in whose time it fell into

* Walter de Hemyngford speaks of the building ordered by William II. as "turris fortissima," language which goes a long way to support my views.

the

the hands of Alexander of Scotland, who also repaired it, but when he surrendered it to the English in 1256, it was in a very dilapidated state.* "The whole history," writes Mr. Hartshorne, "of Carlisle Castle, in fact, is one of decay and ruin, so constantly requiring an outlay that it can scarcely be said that it was at any time in a sound state."

"When Edward I.," says Mr. Hartshorne, "ascended the throne, it [Carlisle Castle] naturally engaged his early attention. In the 11th year of his reign [1283], its custody was deputed to Robert Brus, Earl of Carrick, but such was the constant restlessness of the Scots, that it did not appear prudent to entrust it very long to one belonging to that nation. In the 25th year, the king selected a prelate to take charge of the castle, who was in every way fitted for so important a trust. Whatever was done in this fortress, in the cathedral, at Rose Castle, * * * or whatever was done in the diocese to the ecclesiastical architecture, must be attributed to the superior mind and energy of John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle. His abilities fitted him for the prominent position in which the sagacity of the king placed him. If Bishop Burnel, a man so eminent and stirring, so wise also as to be capable of directing the legislative enactments of Edward, was the adviser of the crown in everything relating to the Welch, John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, occupied scarcely an inferior place as the king's councillor in the affairs of Scotland. The bishop comes singularly before notice in the royal writ addressed to him in the year 1297, at which time Robert Brus was ordered to give up the castle with all its appurtenances, victuals, and arms, and by a concurrent letter John de Halton, was to guard them at his peril during the king's pleasure."†

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*A report of its condition in 1256 is in the Cottonian Collection, from which it appears that the Queen's chamber, Maunsell's turret, the turret of William de Ireby, the chapel, great hall and kitchen, and other offices were in great decay. Lysons' Cumberland, p. 68:

† The Archæological Journal, Sep. 1859, p. 336.

In the next year, 1298, we find some citizens of Drogheda, and officials of Dublin chartering the following vessels, belonging to Drogheda, with grain, to Bishop Halton for the use of Carlisle Castle;—the Mariote, Teobold de Barton, master; the S. Cruce, Selman King, master; and the Gabriel, Richard Tromper, master. In September, 1298, Edward I. issues his warrant from Stanwix to Robert de Clifford, justice of the royal forests above Trent, desiring him to allow the Bishop of Carlisle 20 oaks from Inglewood Forest, for repairs at Carlisle Castle, and also 60 pickerels (or jack) to stock the moats with. These particulars are from the Reg. Halton, printed in "Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers."

Mr. Hartshorne quotes two entries from the Librate Rolls, which shew the nature of the outlay made on the castle during the reign of Edward I.

"In 27 Edward I., Michael de Harcla, late Sheriff of Cumberland, was allowed £7 6s. 3d. for the carriage of timber, taken in Inglewood Forest in the 24th and 25th years to Carlisle, to construct four large engines there; and £143 11s. 3d. expended in iron, steel, brass, canvass, and coals, bought for these engines, and £40 10s. 7d. in expenses of carriers carrying stores for the engines, and of men making cables for them. And £152 2s. 8½d. expended in wages and expenses of smiths, working the iron and other small necessaries for the engines (Rot. Lib.)." These four great engines cost a sum of money more than equivalent to £5000 now-a-days.*

"In 29 Edward I., John de Halton, Bishop of Carlisle, farmer of the castle and lordships of Carlisle, was allowed £10 14s. 1d. for timber brought for the repair of the houses beyond the gate of the castle, and of the brewhouse: £5 5s. for timber, brought to make anew the stockades

* For laws of calculation, see Hartshorne on The Parliaments of Carlisle. Ibid p. 330.

(bretachias)

(bretachias) round the castle, wages of carpenters, carriage of timber and nails; £3 15s. 8d. for timber, to make new the three bridges of the castle [this proves the existence of three distinct fosses on the south side], carriage of timber, and wages of carpenters; £1 6s. 4d. for glass windows, bought for the king's chamber, and chapel in the castle; £2 1s. 2d. for repair of the great hall, great chambers, wardrobe, large kitchen, small kitchen and stable, &c.; 18s. for repair of stone walls round the castle, and scouring the ditch inside and outside the castle; £6 10s. 8d. wages of four foot crossbow-men for the fortification and defence of the castle against the army of Scots besieging the city, to wit, twenty-eight days, 4d. per day each; £22 3s. 4d. wages of ninety-five foot men in the castle, twenty-eight days, 2d. per day; £2 6s. 8d. wages of ten crossbow-men in the castle fourteen days, 4d. per day; £3 10s. for wages of thirty foot men, fourteen days, at 2d. per day each. [Rot. Lib.] All these expenses were incurred for the defence of the castle against the Scotch army, in the 25th and 26th years of Edward I."

In "Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers" will be found the king's writ to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, to enquire into the bishop's accounts, and also into his losses by reason of the produce of the demesne lands of the castle, which he farmed, having been consumed by the royal troops, Welsh, Irish, and English, on their road to Scotland. The bishop's account follows, and is a long document; besides the above particulars, he has a long account for soldiers' pay and sustenance, for arms and men sent to Lochmaben Castle, for pay and sustenance for eleven hostages confined in Carlisle Castle, and for provisions. Both these documents are printed from the Reg. Halton.

Another extract from the Librate Roll of 32 Edward I. will close the view these documents give of the state of the buildings.

"The

"The Bishop of Carlisle, farmer of the castle, &c., is allowed £12 1s. 11d. for repairs in the 29th year; £8 2s. 9½d. for repairs of houses and walls in the 30th year; £2 3s. 11d. for the construction of new stockades and posts and repair of one springall in the said castle, in the 31st year."*

During his long reign, Edward I. resided much in the castle of Carlisle, as well as at Rose, Linstock, and Lanercost: in Carlisle Castle he assembled three of his parliaments, viz., those which met in 1299, 1300, and 1307, from the second of which he set out for the famous siege of Caerlaverock Castle, while the third passed the statute, known as the Statute of Carlisle, directed against papal encroachments, and good law, if not now, until within a very recent period.†

On the death of Edward I. on Burgh Marsh, his son Edward II. was at once summoned, and he, after visiting his father's remains at Burgh, received the homage of his nobles and prelates in the castle of Carlisle.

In 1315, Carlisle, under Andrew de Harcla, was besieged by Robert Bruce. An interesting account of this siege is in the so called Chronicle of Lanercost, and as it contains a full account of a siege prior to the invention of gunpowder, I give the translation contained in Jefferson's Carlisle.

"On every day, they [the Scotch] made an attack on some one of the three gates of the city, and sometimes on all three together; but not with impunity, for darts, arrows, and stones, as well then as at other times, were cast down

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* Hartshorne in Archæological Journal, September 1859, p. 336-7.

† John de Halton, the Bishop, retained command of the Castle, until the death of Edward I, and we get the following succession of governors:—

3	Edward II.	John de Castre	4	Edward III.	Ralph Dacre
5	,,	Andrew de Harcla	13	,,	John Bishop of Carlisle
5	,,	Peter de Gaveston			
6	,,	Andrew de Harcla	19	,,	Hugh de Moriceby
12	,,	Anthony de Lucy	24	,,	Richard de Denton
12	,,	Andrew de Harcla	30	,,	Thomas de Lucy
17	,,	Anthony de Lucy	51	,,	Robert de Clifford

From Hartshorne, Archæological Journal, September 1859, p. 337.

upon

upon them from the walls in so great an abundance, that they questioned among themselves whether the stones did not increase and multiply within the walls; but on the fifth day of the siege, they erected an engine for casting stones near the church of the Holy Trinity [the cathedral], where their king placed himself, and continually threw great stones towards the Caldew gate, and at the wall, but did no injury or little to those within, except that they killed one man. There were, indeed, within the city, seven or eight similar engines, with other warlike instruments called springaldes, for throwing long darts; and slings in sticks, for casting stones, which greatly terrified and annoyed those who were without the city. In the meanwhile, the Scots erected a great *berefray*, in the manner of a tower, the height of which considerably exceeded that of the walls: which being observed, the carpenters of the city erected a wooden tower, which exceeded the height of the other, upon one of the towers of the wall, towards which that engine must have come, if it had approached the wall; but it never drew near to the wall, for when it was drawn upon wheels over moist and clayey ground, there it stuck by reason of its weight, nor could it be drawn any further, or occasion any inconvenience.

"But the Scots applied many long ladders which they had brought with them, for the purpose of ascending the wall in the same manner in different places, and a sow for undermining the wall of the city, if they found it practicable: but neither the sow nor the ladders availed them anything. They also made bundles of straw and grass in great abundance, to fill up the moat without the wall, on the east side, in order to pass over it dry; they also made long wooden bridges running on wheels, that being drawn forcibly and rapidly with cords, they might be carried across the ditch; but neither would the bundles, during the whole stay of the Scots there, fill up the moat, nor those bridges pass the ditch, but fell by their weight to the bottom.

"On

"On the ninth day of the siege, when all the engines were ready, they made a general assault on all the gates of the town, and attacked valiantly throughout the whole circuit of the walls, and the citizens defended themselves as valiantly; and in the like manner on the following days." Jefferson's Carlisle pp. 20-22.

By the eleventh day the Scots had had enough, and decamped, leaving all their wonderful engines behind, and having only killed two of the besieged, one by an arrow, the other by a knock with a big stone.

For his successful defence of Carlisle, and for other exploits, Andrew Harcla, the governor, was made Earl of Carlisle, and Lord Warden of the Marshes. The new earl appears to have held great state in the royal palace in Carlisle Castle, but his honours possibly turned his head, and he is said to have entered into a traitorous engagement with Robert Bruce, which was speedily reported to the king at York, who commissioned Anthony, Lord Lucy, to arrest Harcla.

"Lord Lucy chose for his associates in this enterprise, Sir Hugh Lowther, Sir Richard Denton, and Sir Hugh de Moriceby. On the 25th February, Lord Lucy with these three gallant knights, attended by their esquires-at-arms and a few followers, entered the gate of the castle, passing under the formidable portcullis, and directed their steps toward the inner ward, as though upon a visit to the earl. To prevent any suspicion of their intention, the men had been previously charged to secrete their arms beneath their cloaks: and they thus passed the sentinels without exciting any alarm, or any misgiving as to the object of their visit. At each gate a few of the men loitered about, under pretence of waiting for the return of the others from the castle, but in reality to guard each avenue, and to prevent an alarm being spread.

"Lord Lucy and his knights entered the great hall, through which they passed into the private apartment of the governor, whom they found employed in writing, and wholly

wholly unarmed. He was then informed by Lord Lucy that he was his prisoner, and required either to defend himself or surrender himself as a traitor to his sovereign. The earl had no alternative, unarmed as he was; but the loud voice of Lord Lucy had caught the ears of some of his followers, and instantly the vaulted arches of the castle resounded with the cry of treason. The keeper of the inner gate was slain by Sir Richard Denton in his attempt to close the gate; with this single exception, this gallant enterprise was concluded without bloodshed." Jefferson's Carlisle, pp. 25-26. There is a little uncertainty about where Harcla was tried, but Stow's account reads thus.*

"Then commanded he to hew his spurres from his heeles, then to breake his sworde over his hedde, which the king had given him to keep and defend his land therewith when he made him earle. After this let unclothe him of his furred tabard, and of his whoode, of his coat of arms, and also of his girdle, and when this was done, Sir Antonie said unto him, 'Andrew' quoth he, 'now thou art no knight but a knave; and for thy treason, the king will that thou shall be hanged and drawen, and thy headde smitten offe from thy body, thy bowels taken out of thy body and burned before thee, and thy body quartered; and thy hedde being smitten offe, afterward to be set on London Bridge, and thy four quarters shall be sent unto four good towns of England, that all others may beware of thee,' which was accordingly done."

As to whether Harcla was a traitor or not, there is much doubt; envy of his success was probably the cause of his ruin.

During the reign of Edward III., the repairs of Carlisle Castle were very extensive, and a report to be found among the "Inquisitiones ad quod damnum" of 18 Edward III. estimates the amount that should be laid out in repairs at £200 for stone work: 100 marks for wood work, and stone

* The Chronicle of Lanercost shews that Harcla was executed at Harribee Hill, near Carlisle.

of

of the walls and gates £200, and other wood work £100, or more than £6000 of our present money, nearer £7000.

During the 14th and 15th centuries the Scots frequently harassed and besieged the place, but nothing of great mark happened to harm the castle, though the city and the suburbs suffered severely.

In the latter end of the reign of Edward IV., Richard, Duke of Gloucester, (afterwards Richard III.) was governor of Carlisle and Penrith castles, and sheriff of the county. Camden says, "this castle, King Richard III., as appeareth by his arms, repaired." I have already pointed out to you, or rather told you where is, the position of his badge, the white boar on the Tile Tower. I fancy Richard's repairs were very extensive, and that the great gateway may have been his work in great part.

In 1522, we first hear of Carlisle Castle in connection with artillery: in that year the Duke of Albany was deterred from attacking it by the news that it mounted forty-five pieces of cannon. These would probably be the sagars, and falcons, and demibombarders, and little pot-guns of brass we hear of in Queen Elizabeth's days, and probably one man could have carried the whole broadside the Castle was capable of discharging at the Duke of Albany.

Henry VIII. repaired the castle very extensively and altered it so as to adapt the wall to carrying artillery by backing up the ramparts with earth, and with a retaining wall. Steven von Harenpery, and Stephen the Almayn, master of the works at Carlisle, are mentioned in a warrant respecting the fortifications for the defence of the Castle, executed by him and T. Gower, 33 H. 8. Stephen was paid £11 4s. for fifty-six days, or 4s. a day. (Vide N. and Q., 4th Series, vol. VI. p. 467.) Henry VIII. built the block-house or citadel at the south end of the city, and armed it with cannon, and he repaired the city walls, and in 1549 sent a reinforcement of 800 Almayns, or Germans, to the garrison. His work was probably done in haste; for

for in 1563, the whole was in great decay, as appears from a survey made by the order of Queen Elizabeth, printed by Grose. Three sides of the keep were in a dangerous state. The captain's tower wanted parapets, as did much of the inner curtain, and all the glass of the great hall and great chamber was decayed. In the outer ward was an open breach, 70 ft. long, where the wall had fallen in 1557: apparently this breach was at the south-west angle of the outer ward. The result of this survey was the building a chapel and barrack, and no doubt the reparation of the wall and keep.

This report * is curious, as shewing the transitional state of warfare: the ordnance, artillery, and munitions, include sagars, falcons, pot-guns, demibombarders, half-hags, serpentines, fowlers, murderers, bowes, arrowes, and arquebusses, as well as picks, hammers, chisels, spades, and shovels; the powder was all kept in the town as no house of ordnance existed in the castle.

In 1568, Mary, Queen of Scots, came into Cumberland as a fugitive, landing from a small fishing boat at Workington, from which place she was conducted by Mr. Richard Lowther, and a retinue of the local gentry, to Carlisle Castle, where she found herself rather a prisoner than a guest, though treated with great deference, and allowed every semblance of liberty. Her lodgings were in the south-east corner already described, and from her windows she must have had lovely views of Stanwix and Rickerby Holmes. She remained at Carlisle for two months, the occasion of much anxiety to her keepers, who feared her being rescued from Scotland, and were highly glad when she consented to move southwards. Apropos of Queen Mary, when Nathaniel Hawthorne, the well known American writer, visited Carlisle Castle, the soldier who shewed him round, told him a most romantic story of a daughter of Lord Scrope, the governor of the castle, who attempted to

* Printed in all the county histories.

aid Queen Mary to escape. She was shot dead by a sentinel, and the very spot where she fell was pointed out to Hawthorne, who says "the story would be very interesting were there a word of truth in it."

In 1569 occurred a daring exploit, which gave dire offence to Queen Elizabeth, the rescue of Kinmont Willie, a notorious mosstrooper, from Carlisle Castle, by the bold Buccleuch, who considered Willie to have been lodged in durance vile, contrary to the Border laws and customs. Buccleuch collected 200 horsemen, entered Cumberland, crossed the Eden two hours before day, and halted by the Caldew near the Sorceries. By help of ladders some of his men got over the wall, opened the postern door, and in swarmed the whole lot with as much noise as possible. Before the garrison could tell what was up, the prisoner was rescued, and the whole party off again and across the Eden. This impudent deed nearly caused a war between the two countries.

James I. on his accession to the throne of England reduced the garrison of Carlisle, but in 1639 it consisted of 500 men; it was then raised to 1500 on account of troubles in Scotland, but the garrison was, by a treaty with Scotland, disbanded in 1641, and the arms and stores laid up.

In 1644, the castle and city, under Sir Henry Stradling and Sir Thomas Glenham, were besieged by the Parliamentary forces, under General Leslie, from October of that year to June, 1645, when the inhabitants were reduced to eating hempseed, dogs, and rats. The siege was of an inert nature; Leslie, though he had thrown up works at Stanwix, Newtown, and Harriby, trusted rather to starving the place than to more violent measures, and there were neither assaults nor sallies during the siege, but the main warfare consisted of skirmishes between foraging and blockading parties. A very curious account of this siege was written by Isaac Tullie, who went through it all, and is printed in a tract, now somewhat rare. On the surrender of the place, the garrison, according to the terms of

of the capitulation, marched out under arms, colours flying, drums beating, matches lighted at both ends, bullets in their mouth, with all their bag and baggage, and twelve charges of powder apiece.

A garrison of Scots was placed in charge, and there remained until Parliament dismissed them in 1646. Sir Philip Musgrave and Sir Thomas Glenham, in 1648, seized the castle by surprise, but it had shortly to surrender to Cromwell, who altered the keep so as to adapt its roof for the service of artillery. For some time after this, the garrison kept at Carlisle was large, so large as to be able to detach flying columns into Scotland of 1000 and 2000 men. On the restoration, Sir Philip Musgrave became the governor, and took great care to select his officers from the veterans of the Tangiers regiments. James II. garrisoned the castle with Irish papists, whose officers celebrated the prospect of an heir to James II. by dancing drunk and naked round a bonfire in the market place, but who sneaked off by night on hearing of Dutch William's arrival, and the bold stroke struck by the two Lowthers on his behalf.

In 1715, the tide of war rolled away from Carlisle Castle; true, the militia were called up, and the horse militia under Brigadier Stanwix patrolled to Longtown, only to find that the expected enemy had moved south by way of Brampton. When all was over, and the Highlanders had surrendered at Preston, their arms, mostly broadswords, were sent to Carlisle Castle, and stored there.

Of the sieges which the castle and city of Carlisle underwent in 1745 and 1746, I shall say but little. The late Mr. Mounsey, in that most interesting book "Carlisle in 1745," has told the history of these sieges far better and far more fully than I could do. The advance of the Highlanders in 1745 found Carlisle utterly unprepared to stand a siege: from the records of the court-martial held afterwards upon Colonel Durand for surrendering the place, it appears that the garrison consisted of two companies of invalids,

invalids, some 80 in number, all old and infirm men, four gunners, two of whom were townmen, and two old soldiers, but one of them a very old and infirm man; that the militia were disaffected, and in all probability only deterred from supporting Charles Edward by their national hatred for his Scotch supporters; that castle and city walls were in a ruinous condition and utterly defenceless, the castle having but 20 guns, all six pounders, while ten only were available for the city walls, ranging in calibre from two to four pounders. Under the skilful guidance of an Irish officer of Lally's French regiment, the Highlanders opened a trench, parallel to the city wall running down Lowther Street; so judiciously was the position of the trench chosen that castle and city could bring but two guns to bear upon it, while some hedges screened the working parties from musketry fire. The completion of this trench, situated in the present Catholic Lonning, frightened the town into a surrender, ere ever the Highlanders got a gun into position, but in spiking the guns on the citadel, the Mr. Dobinson of that day fired the gun, and slew the engineer working in the trench: "they said he was the best they had." A few months ago, a sewer was being made down the site of this trench, and two bodies, wrapped in rude lead coffins, were discovered, one of them was probably Mr. Dobinson's friend, (if indeed Mr. Dobinson did not kill both) buried, like a soldier, on the spot where he fell.*

The surrender of the town rendered the castle untenable, and thus on the 10th November, 1745, Prince Charles Edward rode into Carlisle on a milk-white charger, and preceded by an hundred pipers; as he came up the street numbers of the inhabitants got into the fish shambles, then a walled enclosure in the market place, and from that fancied place of security, mounted on the fish slabs and viewed the triumphant entry from over the walls.

* Vide "Carlisle in 1745," and "Memoirs of the Rebellion," by the Chevalier de Johnstone.

A short time saw the Prince's fortunes far changed: in December the Prince was again in Carlisle, and at a council of war, Lord George Murray advised that Carlisle should be evacuated, the castle blown into the air, and the stores pitched into the Eden. In a military point of view this advice was sound, but it was rejected. The prince left a garrison behind, which in the course of a few hours was completely invested by the Duke of Cumberland, who drew a cordon of troops around the town, at a distance of a mile-and-a-half. A week's delay was occasioned by the bringing of six 18 pounders from Whitehaven, which were placed in a trench on the site of the present infirmary, and at once opened on the 3 gun angle battery of the castle, and on the 4 gun battery, which having only earthen parapets, was soon silenced. This was on a Saturday, on which day also the Dutch troops shelled the castle from Stanwix. By Monday, the duke had three more 18 pounders in a new position, whereat the garrison surrendered, the castle walls being breached both at the angle and at the sally port. With the fate of the garrison I have nothing now to do, nor with the further history of Prince Charlie.

Acting on the principle of shutting the stable door when the steed was gone, the Government crowded Carlisle with the most famous regiments in the army, who consequently died off at about the rate of a man daily for some six months; the register books of St. Cuthbert's and St. Mary's Churches record the burials of numerous soldiers, of Bland's and Honeywood's dragoons, of Guise's foot, of Herbert's, Pultney's, Bocland's, Perry's, Richbell's, Lord Bury's, the old Buffs, the Welsh Fusileers, ye Royal Irish, and the 7th, 56th and 12th, and the train of artillery.

I have little more to tell about Carlisle Castle, but to read the record of its destruction. At the beginning of this century, the government pulled down the Elizabethan barracks, then they pulled down the long hall, and made a magazine on its site: they cut down Queen Mary's trees, and destroyed the Lady's walk; they transmogrified the great

great chamber and chapel into indifferent quarters for officers: worst of all, they, spite of remonstrance, pulled down Queen Mary's Tower level to the ground: and all antiquarians are indebted to Mr. Head, of Rickerby, for the spirit with which he procured a respite, long enough to allow him to have made an authentic record of the most interesting portion of the castle, in the shape of the valuable picture by Goodwin, now at Rickerby house, and kindly lent to this Society on the occasion of the reading of this paper.

Since the destruction, in 1835, of Queen Mary's Tower, little has been actually done to the castle, but at one time it was in contemplation to have let it for a manufactory, and recently the old orchard was fixed upon as the site for more buildings. Let us hope that our meeting within its old walls may stimulate a healthy public opinion on the subject, which may strengthen the hands of Colonel Newdigate, and of the Corporation, in their endeavours to preserve this historical castle, and to sweep away the fever-stricken buildings that now crowd in its vicinity.*

The conclusions I draw about Carlisle Castle are that it has some five eras in its history, which are deeply written on its walls.

The first,—the Norman era, during which it was built, first, as a mere keep tower, and then growing up to the full dignity of a castle, with keep, and inner and outer wards, or baileys.

The second,—the Edwardian era, when was built the Edwardian tower in the inner ward, possibly in place of something earlier, and when also large repairs were effected.

The third,—the Richardian, when Richard III., as duke of Gloucester, effected most extensive repairs and renovations.

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* Col. Warrant, R.E., the royal engineer in command over the castle, has, since this paper was read, done me the honour to consult me on the alterations proposed to the keep and other portions of the castle. The local papers also now (October 1874) announce that Government has made very liberal proposals to the Corporation, with a view to throwing open the castle. Possibly the interest excited by the Society's meeting may have done some good. R.S.F.

The

The fourth,—that of Henry the VIII., or the conversion of the castle into a fortress capable of bearing artillery.

The fifth,—the 19th century era, or, at any rate, its first half, the era of destruction.

ART. XII.—*The 34th or Cumberland Regiment.* By Captain GAGE.

Read in Carlisle Castle, August 12th, 1874.

THE 34th Regiment was raised in 1702, the last year of the reign of King William III.; it was at first composed of men from Norfolk, Essex, and the adjoining counties, and its first colonel was Robert, Lord Lucas, his commission bearing date 12th February, 1702. Whilst the regiment was completing its ranks, the death of the King occured, and Queen Anne ascended the throne, and the soldiers took the oath of allegiance to Her Majesty. In the spring of 1703, we read of the regiment, or a part of it, being sent to Carlisle, where it was stationed for a year.

In 1705, the regiment was first sent on active service to Spain, and there, under the command of Charles Mordaunt, Earl of Peterborough, they fought at the siege of Barcelona, and more particularly distinguished themselves at the capture of Fort Montjuich. The capture of Barcelona was followed by the submission of all the province of Catalonia, and part of that of Valencia, and the 34th regiment was selected to form part of the garrison of the ancient town of Tortosa. In the meanwhile proper provision had not been made for the defence of those towns which had been captured, and King Philip of Spain, knowing this, had assembled a numerous army, and suddenly approached Barcelona by land, whilst a French fleet threatened it from the sea. The garrison being weak, corps were hurried from various places to increase its strength, and the 34th regiment