

ART. XII.—*The keeping of Carlisle castle before 1381.*
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TOWARDS the end of the middle ages the defence of the northern marches of England was organised in a regular and simple way. On one side of the hills the Warden of the East March was also custodian of the castle of Berwick-on-Tweed, although, since he was a Percy more often than not, his headquarters were frequently at Alnwick.¹ His colleague, the Warden of the West March, was also the keeper of Carlisle castle, which served as his natural headquarters. A third, rather junior, partner was entrusted with the keeping of Roxburgh castle. Each of these three held his office by virtue of an indenture with the king, whereby he undertook the defence of his part of the border and found the necessary garrisons, in return for a fixed payment which was doubled in time of war. This arrangement however only came into being during the reign of Richard II, when Carlisle castle was upwards of 300 years old. As to how the border fortress was maintained, captained and garrisoned during these three centuries, the surviving evidence is fragmentary.

The English sheriff of the 12th century was often expected to find the money for repairing and provisioning the royal castles within his shire; and sometimes he was also entrusted with their custody.² Such may well have been the earliest arrangement at Carlisle. Although the building of the castle is said by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to have been begun by William II in 1092, the earliest

¹ For the East March see C. H. Hunter Blair, "Wardens and deputy wardens of the marches of England towards Scotland in Northumberland", AA4 xxviii.

² W. A. Morris, *The medieval English sheriff to 1300*, 59-60, 117, etc.

surviving reference to its existence in the public records appears to be the payment of 40s. in 1168 *pro removenda porta castelli de Cardel*.³ The most likely explanation of the meaning of this phrase was given by Chancellor Ferguson, who suggested that the gate of the castle was at this time moved to face the town, which had itself been recently fortified.⁴ Whatever the exact nature of the work done, this entry on the pipe roll shows that the sheriff paid for it and claimed allowance at the exchequer. During the remaining twenty years of Henry II's reign five more payments were made by this sheriff and his successors for works on the castle,⁵ and from the accession of Richard I in 1189 payments by the sheriffs of Cumberland for both works and provisions at the castle were made with increasing frequency. Similar payments continued to be made during the reigns of John and Henry III.⁶ Unfortunately they give very little detail about the castle, but they do prove, firstly that it comprised a tower, a bridge, a chapel, a king's chamber, a larder and a gaol, and secondly that some care was taken to keep it in a defensible state. Nevertheless four Cumberland knights, Thomas de Lascelles, William de Derwentwater, Robert de Castlekayrok and Alan de Orreton, reported to Henry III in about 1257 that every part of the castle was in need of repair; much of the damage sustained in John's reign being still not made good.⁷

Payment for building works was clearly the responsibility of the sheriff, but whether he was also the normal custodian is not known. In 1193 William FitzAldelin,

³ *Pipe roll*, 14 *Henry II*, p. 108 (Pipe Roll Soc. no. 12). There is a reference by another chronicler, Symeon of Durham, *Hist. Reg.* (Rolls Ser.), ii, 267, as early as 1122.

⁴ *CW* i ii 80.

⁵ *Pipe rolls*, *Henry II*, 19, p. 113; 24, p. 125; 32, p. 97; 33, p. 94; 34, p. 190 (Pipe Roll Soc. 19, 27, 36-38). For this early building work see a note by C. H. Hartshorne in *Archaeological Journal*, xvi 335-8.

⁶ *Pipe rolls*, *passim*. (Pipe Roll Soc. and *The Pipe rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland*, 1222-60, ed. F. H. M. Parker = this Society's Extra Series xii, 1905. Unfortunately this editor has erred in assigning the dates of the christian era to the rolls, and it is necessary to subtract one from each year date given.)

⁷ *Royal Letters*, *Henry III*, ed. W. W. Shirley (Rolls Ser.) ii, 124.

then sheriff of Cumberland, was allowed £60 for the custody of the castle during the preceding three years,⁸ but this being an exceptional grant is inconclusive. No other sheriff is recorded as having had the keeping of the castle until 1229. In that year Robert de Hampton, accounting as the deputy of Walter Mauclerk, bishop of Carlisle and sheriff of Cumberland, did not have to answer for the profits of the county, because the king had granted them to the bishop together with the issues of four carucates of the king's demesne for the keeping of the county and castle of Carlisle.⁹ Mauclerk remained responsible for both the shire and the castle until 1232, and continued to receive these revenues for his trouble. His successor as sheriff was Thomas de Muletone, who held the office until 1236. Although he was keeper of the castle for at least a part of his time as sheriff, and also provided money for repairing it, he does not appear to have received the same profits. The next sheriff was William de Dacre (1236-48). According to the pipe roll for 1246 he had been granted a tun of wine each year as a reward for the custody of the castle, together with the king's demesne there. The wine was valued at 40s., which sum was allowed to Dacre and his successors as sheriff for some fourteen years.¹⁰ In practice the grant became a money payment to the sheriffs towards the cost of keeping the castle. As such it must soon have proved inadequate, for Ralph de Dacre, who as sheriff had custody of the castle from 1268 to 1270, was allowed £30 a year for his expenses. He also had the keeping of the royal demesne by the castle.¹¹ Ten years later Gilbert de Curwen as sheriff received the same allowances,¹² but by 1290 a new arrangement had been made which was to last for over fifty years. The castle of Carlisle and its royal demesne lands were annexed to the *corpus*

⁸ *Pipe Roll 3-4 Richard I* (Pipe Roll Soc. n.s. 2), p. 195.

⁹ *Pipe rolls*, ed. Parker, p. 31.

¹⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 116-189.

¹¹ P.R.O.: Exchequer: Pipe Roll, 55 Henry III, (E 372/115).

¹² *Ibid.*, 10 Ed. I (E 372/127).

comitatus, that is the body of the lands for which the sheriff had to answer each year at the exchequer. For the castle and its demesne he had to pay a yearly rent of £55. 2s. 11d., which it must be supposed left him a sufficient balance to pay for the custody of the castle.¹³

This arrangement was made on the eve of Edward I's Scottish wars, which not only made Carlisle a centre of military activity, but also brought the king and his parliament there, so that in the closing years of the reign the city became the king's headquarters if not his capital, and he died nearby in 1307. When this period of activity was over, the situation there was but little changed. In October 1295 the command of Carlisle castle was separated from the sheriffdom and committed to Robert Bruce, earl of Carrick, father of the future king of Scotland.¹⁴ Two years later Bruce was replaced by John de Halton, the bishop of Carlisle,¹⁵ who had the custody of the castle and its demesne lands for five years. He was supposed to pay the sum of £55. 2s. 11d. for it each year, but owing to the depredations of the Scots in the demesne lands, which lay around the castle and in Stanwix and Upperby with the meadows in between, he was excused about £13 for each year.¹⁶ In addition to any profits which the Scots might allow him to draw from the demesne, the bishop claimed payment for garrisoning the castle. Besides a watchman and a porter, he had four men-at-arms there in 1297-8. This was increased to six men-at-arms, of whom one was a knight, for the following two years. For short periods the castle accommodated larger forces, 14 crossbowmen and 95 foot-men-at-arms in the autumn of 1297, and ten crossbowmen with 30 foot-men-at-arms in the following summer. Doubtless the knight and the men-at-arms had their followers and servants, but even so this first glimpse of

¹³ *Ibid.* 19 Ed. I (E 372/136).

¹⁴ *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland, 1272-1307*, para. 716.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* para. 950.

¹⁶ P.R.O.: Exchequer: K.R. Memoranda roll, 32 Ed. I, *brevia directa baronibus*, Trinity, m. 11d. (E 159/72).

the garrison shows how small it was even in time of war. For this force the bishop was paid largely in kind. He accounted for corn and wine received from the keeper of the king's wardrobe, John de Drokensford, through the agency of Richard de Abingdon and James de Dalilegh.¹⁷ These two officials, who were successively styled receivers of victuals at Carlisle, were not however primarily concerned with the castle. They were quartermasters of the royal army, and Abingdon accounted for more than £900 in eighteen months, whilst the bishop was spending about £100 a year on the defence of the castle.¹⁸

In the closing years of Edward I's reign its custody was restored to the sheriff, then William de Mulcastre, and during the reigns of Edward II and Edward III the sheriff remained the normal custodian. Changes in the command and strength of the garrison reflected, if not the exact state of war or peace between England and Scotland, at least the degree of danger which the English government anticipated from the Scots. In 1308, when Alexander de Basthenthwayt was ordered to put the castle in a state of defence, he claimed allowance for maintaining a garrison of four men-at-arms and ten archers.¹⁹ After him John Castre, Andrew de Harcla and John de Weston held the offices of sheriff and keeper of the castle, alternating with each other in quick succession.²⁰ In 1314 Sir Andrew de Harcla had a force of over 400 fighting men in the town and castle,²¹ and in the following year Carlisle was besieged by the Scots. Harcla was captured soon afterwards, but he wrote to the king assuring him that there were still 90 men-at-arms in the town and 55 in the castle. They were victualled, he said, for six months, but money was needed for their pay. In the following years the king remitted the farm payable

¹⁷ *Halton's Register*, ed. W. N. Thompson (Cant. & York. Soc.), i 178-83.

¹⁸ P.R.O.: Exchequer: Accounts various, E 101/6/30-31.

¹⁹ *Cal. of Docs. relating to Scotland*, iii, 40.

²⁰ *Cal. Fine R. 1307-19*, *passim*.

²¹ *Cal. of Docs. relating to Scotland*, iii, 403.

by the citizens of Carlisle owing to the losses which they had sustained during the siege.²²

Harcla continued to alternate with Anthony de Lucy as sheriff of Cumberland and keeper of the castle until 1322,²³ when having won the battle of Boroughbridge he was created earl of Carlisle; but in the following year he made a treaty with Robert Bruce, recognising him as king of Scots. For this he had no proper authority from Edward II, who regarded the negotiations as treasonable and ordered his arrest. Harcla was taken by Lucy in Carlisle castle, and after a summary trial was executed for treason.²⁴ Lucy, who had probably been only too pleased to arrest a successful rival, was exceptionally appointed keeper of the castle and of the king's demesne, but not sheriff. Like Harcla he also held an office akin to that of warden of the marches in Cumberland and Westmorland. The appointment of a single warden was at this time unusual, and it remained the custom during the next fifty years to appoint a group of four or five wardens, of whom the sheriff of Cumberland and keeper of the castle was sometimes one.²⁵ In 1323 apparently the revenues of the demesne were not sufficient to enable Anthony de Lucy to maintain the garrison, for he had an additional grant of 200 marks a year, which was reduced in his second year to £100. He retained his command until November 1328, when he was ordered to hand the castle back to the sheriff.²⁶

Once more the two offices were probably united for a few years, but in 1335 John de Glanton was granted the castle and demesne for life. It was then stated that £70. 7s. 7½d. had been accounted for in the time of Anthony de Lucy, but that the value of the demesne was now less, and Glanton was to pay £63. 7s. 7½d. annual rent to the sheriff of Cumberland. He was to have 10

²² *Ibid.*, 464, 510, 514, 516, 616, 621.

²³ *Cal. Fine R.* 1307-27, *passim*.

²⁴ For Harcla see CW2 xxix, 98-137.

²⁵ *Rot. Scot.* I, 189, 194, 213 *etc.*

²⁶ *Cal. Fine R.* 1319-27, 232, 285; 1327-37, 110.

marks yearly for his own wages, and the usual wages for a watchman and a porter. No provision was made for any other garrison, and it must therefore have been thought that Glanton's household would provide a sufficient one. It will be noticed that this sum of £63. 7s. 7½d. less 10 marks (£6. 13s. 4d.) and also less 1d. per day for a year (365d. = £1. 10s. 5d.) amounts to £55. 3s. 10½d. or 11½d. more than the £55. 2s. 11d. fixed as an annual payment for John de Halton in 1297. What was meant by the "usual wages for a watchman and a porter" is never stated but the pipe rolls several times imply that it was this difference between the two sums, that is £1. 11s. 4½d. or 1d. per day plus 11½d. per year.²⁷ However, Glanton was not destined to draw these sums for very long—in 1337 he was given the additional appointment of keeper of the king's victuals at Carlisle — but died soon afterwards.²⁸ The castle was again returned to the sheriff, and once more this was Anthony de Lucy.

During the next few years a new generation of knights is found acting in rotation as keepers of the castle. The new names included Hugh de Moriceby, John Kirkby, bishop of Carlisle, who was also a warden of the marches, Thomas de Lucy, Hugh de Louther, and several others.²⁹ Then, in 1356, one of them, Sir Thomas de Lucy, was appointed sole warden of the marches in Cumberland and Westmorland, and made an indenture with the king, whereby he undertook to guard the castle and city of Carlisle for half a year with 60 men-at-arms and 80 archers. The men-at-arms were to include one banneret, namely Lucy himself, five knights and 54 squires. Sixty of the archers were to be mounted and the whole force was to receive the customary wages.³⁰ It appears from an account which gives the names of all

²⁷ P.R.O. E 372/151, 181, 191.

²⁸ *Cal. Fine R.* 1327-37, 466, 469; 1337-47, 7, 64.

²⁹ *Ibid.* 1337-56, *passim*.

³⁰ *Rot. Scot.* I, 796; P.R.O.: Exchequer: Accounts various, E 101/68/74. For this and two other references I am indebted to Dr R. L. Storey.

the men engaged during the six months that the total of all these wages amounted to £825.³¹ Lucy's lieutenant was Matthew Redeman, and in the list of sheriffs who commanded Carlisle castle during the next ten years his name is found together with those of Christopher Moriceby, Robert Tilliol and others.³²

The succession of sheriffs who also had command of the castle continued with hardly a break until 1381. The account of one of them, William de Wyndesore in 1367, shows that he was not bound to provide any specific force, but received the round sum of 1,000 marks for maintaining the castle.³³ In 1369 his successor, Adam Parvyng, was granted £50 for the expenses of his office as well as for repairs to the walls, houses and other buildings within the castle.³⁴ The repair of the castle had in general remained the duty of the sheriff of Cumberland through the centuries; he was also its custodian, at least during the more peaceful years, but by 1381 this arrangement had come to an end. One of the last sheriffs to have command of the castle was William Stapelton, who took office on 25 November 1378. He undertook to live in the castle and to guard it with the members of his household. He was to receive £40 and the watchman's wages as of old, to be paid out of the revenues of the county of Cumberland. If, however, war with the Scots should break out, he was to have no additional responsibility unless he entered into a new agreement with the king's council.³⁵

In 1380-1 the castle was in the custody of Matthew Redeman, who was also one of the wardens of the West March.³⁶ His command comprised one knight, 38 men-at-arms and 50 archers, and he was also responsible for

³¹ E 101/26/39-40.

³² *Cal. Fine R.* 1356-68, *passim*.

³³ E 101/29/22.

³⁴ P.R.O.: Exchequer: warrants for issues E 404/9/61.

³⁵ *Cal. Fine R.* 1377-83, 113. E 101/68/186.

³⁶ For the wardens of the marches in general see T. Hodgkin, *The Wardens of the northern marches* (Creighton Memorial Lecture) 1910; and Howard Pease, *The Lord Wardens of the marches of England and Scotland*, 1913.

repairs to the castle.³⁷ Richard le Scrope succeeded him both as keeper of the castle and as warden of the West March.³⁸ Henceforth the two offices were normally combined, but instead of being entrusted as heretofore to a simple knight, they were usually held by a great lord, a Neville, a Percy or a member of the royal house.

³⁷ P.R.O.: Exchequer: Foreign accounts enrolled, E 364/14 m, H; E 101/39/11.

³⁸ E 364/15 m, F.