

ART. IV.—*The Topography of Medieval Carlisle.*
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THIS paper is based on notes originally prepared as an introduction to the use of documentary sources in an archaeological survey of Carlisle.¹ It attempts to describe changes in Carlisle's settlement and street pattern over a period of 300 years from the coming of the Normans in 1092 to the end of the 14th century.

A number of difficulties inherent in the documentary sources themselves will need a word or two of explanation at the outset. In Carlisle in the Middle Ages no one owner of property was dominant. The King was the ground landlord, but no lists of house gavel [*hus gabulum*] rents have come to light so far. Some few of the rents are known from references in deeds or Exchequer Pipe Rolls and these provide us with useful hints about the general pattern of settlement especially in the 12th century. Further information of a similar sort may be derived from *inquisitiones post mortem* of tenants in chief of the crown, cartularies and deeds. For example, it is of interest to note in connection with the allocation of land within the city to lords of manors and baronies in Cumberland as a whole, that many of them maintained at least one town house as a principal or chief burgage as well as developing plots for further building. In some cases the history of these principal houses can be traced through to the 16th century when, from probate inventories, we may begin to see more clearly what they looked like, and how the structures were arranged on the burgage plot. The

¹ P. A. G. Clack and P. F. Gosling: *Report on Carlisle*: pp. 180-185. *Northern Archaeological Survey*, HMSO 1976.

lords of Liddell, on the death of John Wake in 1300, had six burgages from which they derived 40s. annually in rent.² The de Tilliols of Scaleby were owners of a "baronia" in Scotch St.³ The Aglionby town house on the east side of English St. is described as a principal house or "manor" in 1503; next door was a Dacre house with a window built over the street on a vacant plot granted by the Mayor and Citizens.⁴

A de Boyville burgage, also on the east side of English St., clearly provided a refuge for its owner when the Scots threatened to attack for in an undated lease of about 1311, Joan widow of William de Boyville, reserved the right of lodging there whenever she could not stay safely at Thursby because of the Scots.⁵ The Earl of Northumberland's house which stood on the site of part of present Binns' and Marks and Spencer's stores and which had a central gateway (later the opening for a lane called Barwise Court) was known as Earl's Inn in the late 15th century and in 1405 was referred to as "La Lucy Inne".⁶ One of the six Liddell burgages was let on the understanding that when the Abbot of Jedburgh came to Carlisle the tenant would find a chamber for the Abbot to lodge in and stabling for his horses.⁷

Other monastic houses reserved similar accommodation for themselves and in this type of use of a principal house or even of a simple burgage we may perhaps see the origins of subsequent court or lane development especially in English St. and Scotch St.⁸ Unfortunately

² Public Record Office C 133/94/3. Inquisitio post mortem John Wake, 30 June, 28 Edward I 1300.

³ Francis Grainger and W. G. Collingwood (eds.) *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (CW Record Series, VII) 12.

⁴ Record Office, Carlisle (C.R.O.) Carlisle City deeds 1503.

⁵ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L. C 20.

⁶ Records at Cockermouth Castle: D/Lec Box 313/17 and *Cal. Pat. Rolls, Henry IV*, volume III (1405-1408).

⁷ Writ to the Sheriff 7 Dec. 1330 *Cal. Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery)*, preserved in the Public Record Office II, 283.

⁸ *Register of Holm Cultram*, 13. Hospitality to be offered to monks and lay brothers of Melrose Abbey on grant of property in Rickergate.

administrative records in the form of accounts or rentals for the families or religious houses who owned these properties do not survive, and we are forced to rely upon the occasional and often tantalising glimpse offered by a deed or a single rental and survey.

There are good series of medieval deeds for the Carlisle properties of the Dentons of Cardew and the Musgraves of Edenhall, however, and much reliance has been placed upon what these deeds in particular can tell us. In addition we are fortunate to have cartularies for Holm Cultram Abbey and Wetheral and Lanercost Priors, whose Carlisle properties became part of the estates of the Dean and Chapter after the Reformation; but for Carlisle Priory itself there is no cartulary and only a few medieval deeds are extant. Letters patent of Edward III in 1332 give the text of a charter of Henry II which lists a total of twenty-two earlier grants, some few of which are for property in Carlisle.⁹

The Mayor and citizens only began to acquire property after the granting of their charter of 1316 which enabled them to improve and build on waste places in the city, but apart from the ditches which they let, they exercised very little control over the defences. The walls and gates remained a royal responsibility. Town leases for towers and gates are not found; the few leases that survive in local records are from the Crown or crown officials.¹⁰ The town wall, when it served as a boundary to a property, is referred to in deeds as "murum domini Regis", but very few accounts for the repair of the walls appear to have survived among the Public Records in London.¹¹

Finally some of the deficiencies of the medieval

⁹ C.R.O. Diocesan Records DRC 2/1.

¹⁰ C.R.O. Carlisle City deeds and leases. On 16 August 1491 Henry Wyott, King's Commissioner, delivered the custody of the walls and ditches of the city to Henry Denton, mayor of Carlisle and also the care and maintenance of the gate called "Bochargate". (D/Lons/L.D. 72, 73).

¹¹ C.R.O. Musgrave deeds D/Mus. (Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.D. 72, 73). H.6.

records can be made good by the use of later sources, particularly maps. From the 16th century onwards Carlisle within the walls is well mapped. The 16th-century map published in Lysons' *Cumberland* is sufficiently detailed to show boundaries and individual buildings; in some respects it appears to be very reliable. Richard Asquith's map of Carlisle (printed for the Board of Health in 1853 on a scale of 1 ft. to 1 mile) provides an invaluable cartographical base from which to check earlier, less detailed and often more misleading maps, but there are obvious dangers in using later evidence of this sort to read back.¹²

Although Carlisle is on an ancient site and was a town of importance in Roman and possibly Anglo-Saxon times the year 1092 marks the beginning of the story of the modern town. The Normans made a new start by planting a new town on the old site. They created a frontier, built a castle and colonized the district round about to sustain and defend it. The outline of events is given in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.

"In this year King William went north to Carlisle with great levies and restored the town and built the castle. He drove out Dolphin who had formerly ruled that district and garrisoned the castle with his men. Thereafter he returned hither southwards, sending very many peasants thither with their wives and livestock to settle there and till the soil"¹³

Symeon of Durham added information derived partly from the chronicle of Florence of Worcester written about 1118, that "Carleil" or "Lugubalia", was the same city "which like others in those parts was destroyed by the pagan Danes 200 years before and remained deserted until that time"¹⁴ Many years later

¹² Lysons' *Britannia* vol. iv. *Cumberland* London 1816, 58; from an original in the British Library Cotton MSS Aug. vol. i, 13 and C.R.O. *Asquith's map of Carlisle*, 1853.

¹³ G. N. Garmonsway (ed.) *The Anglo Saxon Chronicle* (Everyman's Library, no. 624 London, (rev. ed. 1960)) 227.

¹⁴ Symeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* (Rolls series ed. Thomas Arnold, 1885) ii, 220.

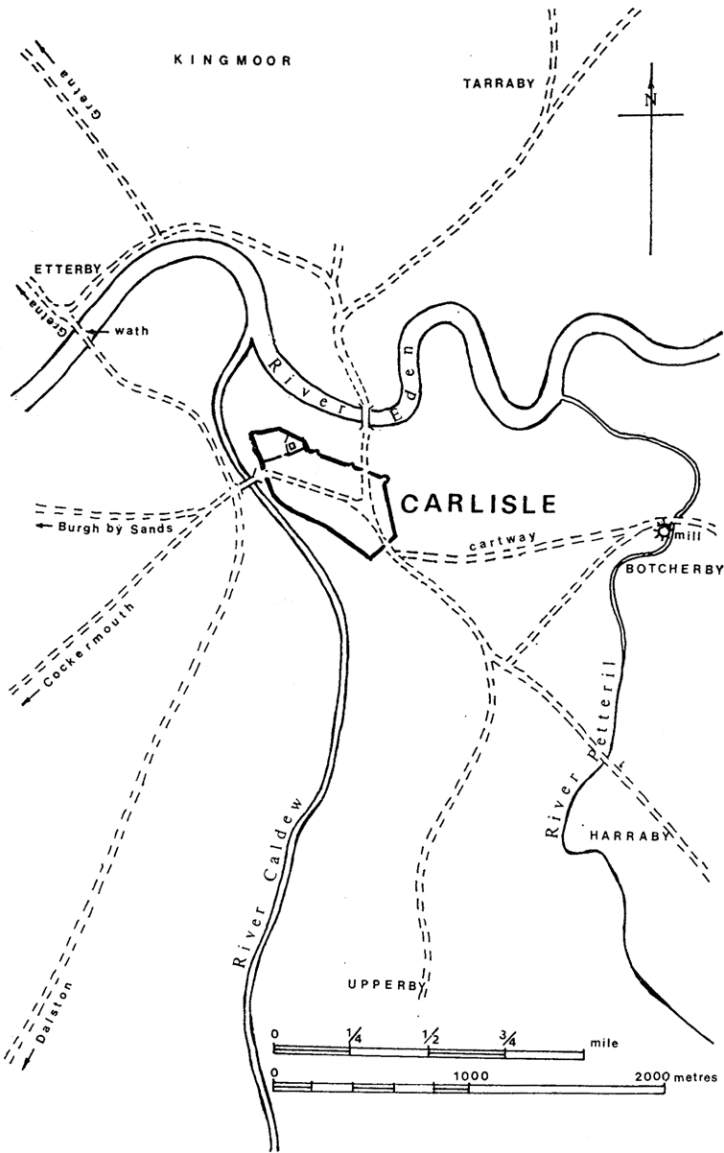


FIG. 1.—Medieval Carlisle and environs.

Dr Hugh Todd in his history of the city and diocese of Carlisle embellished the story with the remark that the city continued deserted "for near 200 years, never an inhabitant to be seen but some few straglin Irish who lodged themselves amongst the ruines. There was no trace of apearance of a city but the very foundations were soe buried in the earth that it is said large oaks grew upon them, soe that it looked more like a forest than a place of civill government".¹⁵

Evidence of a mixed racial content in the Norman colonization of the immediate vicinity of Carlisle is suggested by place names. Etterby, Upperby and Harraby are examples of French forms of continental Germanic personal names.¹⁶ The Pipe Roll, 1130, refers more positively to Roger of Stock who "owed two coursers for land and houses which belonged to Gueri the Fleming in Carlisle" and to Richard the Knight who owed "5 silver marks for the land which was Etards". Part of Gueri's holding was almost certainly at Willow Holme by the wath which crossed the Eden to Etard's land at Etterby.¹⁷ The wath was one of a series of important river crossings to Scotland. In common with the creation of the baronies of Burgh and Liddell and the introduction of new tenants to the strategically important lordships of Scaleby, Rickerby and Botcherby, the allocation of these estates across the wath to Etard and Gueri can be seen as part of a deliberate plan to safeguard the approaches to Carlisle across the Solway and the north-western border. In fact, the memory of this early arrangement for the defence of the town was preserved later in some of the ward names of the town from the late 12th century onwards. Rickergate and Botchergate survived as

¹⁵ Hugh Todd *Account of the City and Diocese of Carlisle* (CW Tract Series 5, ed. R. S. Ferguson 1891) 9.

¹⁶ *The Place names of Cumberland* English Place-Name Society, 1950-52, vol. xxii, xxxi.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. xx, 43.

names of wards as well as gateways both within and without the walls and these are names which are presumably derived from Richard the Knight of the 1130 Pipe Roll and Bochart who gave his name to Botcherby. These two wards within the walled town lay along the line of the modern Botchergate, English Street, Scotch Street and Rickergate. Obviously this was an important route into the town from the east as well as the south by the road from Warwick Bridge and by the modern A6 on the line of the old Roman road. On its way out again the road crossed the Eden by the bridge which the Normans had built and then divided, turning west to join the road coming across Etterby wath and so into Scotland or north-east on its way through Tarraby, Houghton, Scaleby and the Barony of Liddell.¹⁸ On the western side but not, however, extending within the walls of the town was a ward or *vicus* known as the *vicus Flandrensi* or *vicus Flandrensis*. This Fleming quarter is recorded in a gift about 1200 by Alice, daughter of Reginald Porteiore to John of Crofton of a toft beyond Caldew, held from the master and brothers of the Hospital of St Peter of York in the suburb of Carlisle.¹⁹ The *vicus Flandrensis* may have gained in importance in early medieval times from the survival of the old Roman town street which ran through Tullie House garden.²⁰

The long continuance of this street and its resurfacing in the 13th century implies a very different road pattern in this area from the one with which we are familiar today. In fact the dogleg pattern of Paternoster Row and Abbey St. in the present street plan, with Annetwell St. acting as a link to Caldewbridge, makes sense only when the old Roman street through Tullie House garden was finally abandoned and the northern

¹⁸ CW2 lii, Robert Hogg, "The Historic Crossings of the River Eden", 131.

¹⁹ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.C.11.

²⁰ CW2 lxiv, Robert Hogg, "Excavations at Tullie House", 13-62.

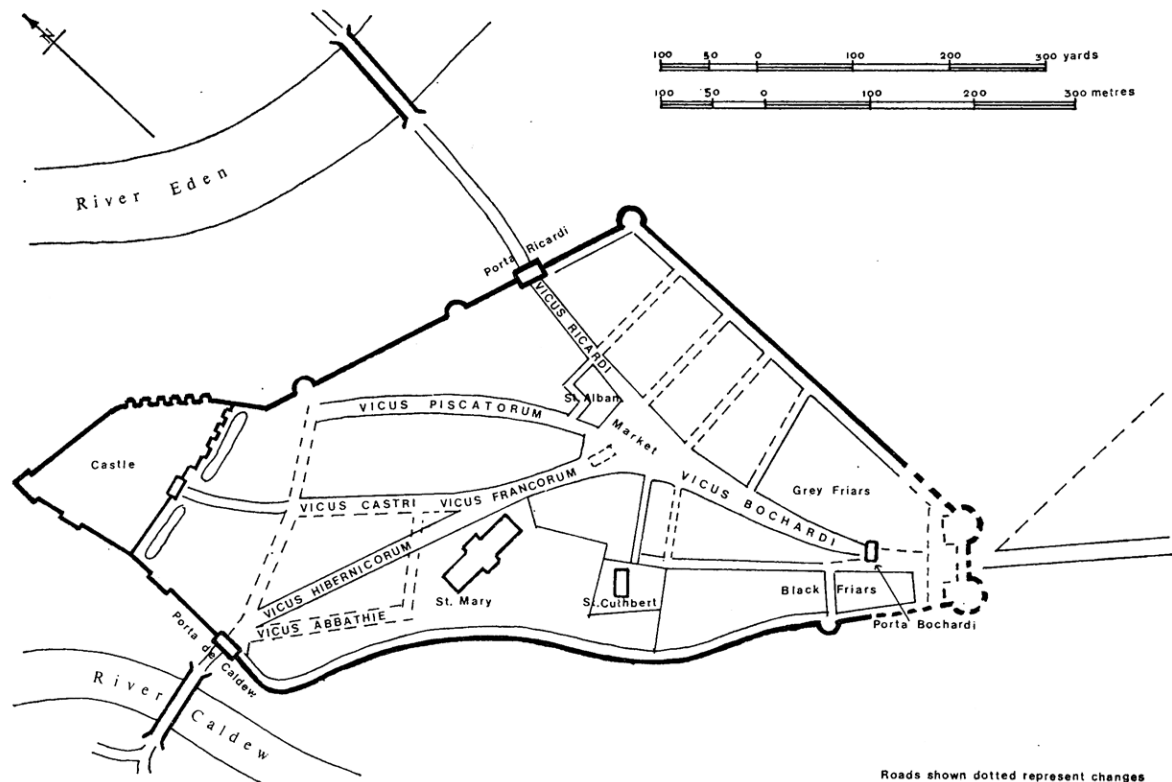


FIG. 2.—Carlisle : layout of main streets.
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Roads shown dotted represent changes after 1292

end of Castle St. was put through to serve as an access road to the castle.

The old Roman street aimed at the west gate of the walled town and was, therefore, as important a thoroughfare as English St. and Scotch St., but that it may have served as the road out of the town to the north by way of Etterby Wath is suggested in an agreement between the Prior and Convent of Carlisle and the Bishop in 1321 for an exchange of Linstock for the tithes of corn beyond Caldew "as the highway runs beyond Caldew towards Burgh before the gate of Michael of Haverington by the ancient way to the north" [*sicut via regia ducit de parte de Caldew versus Burgh ante portam Michaelis de Haverington, per antiquam stratam versus aquilonem*].²¹ The reference in this late context is ambiguous, but the boundary appears to have been recorded as early as the first distribution between the Bishop and the Prior in the early 13th century and if taken at its face value could refer to the old road across the Willow Holme to the wath.²²

Throughout the 12th and early 13th centuries Carlisle had time to grow undisturbed by the anarchy of Stephen's reign or persistent invasion from Scotland.²³ In 1130 a wall of some sort surrounded the town and in the later 12th century the defences of the town and the castle are being improved. In 1165 money was spent on the gates and again in 1190, when three gates are

²¹ C.R.O./D/MH Mounsey Heysham MSS vol. ii, 15-16 copy letters patent. In *Cal. Pat. R. 1321-1324*, 4; "parte" is transcribed as "ponte" which seems to make better sense. Burgh on the other hand is transcribed as "borough" which makes no sense at all.

²² D/MH. vol. ii, 2. Transcript of a MS book apparently not now extant in which the schedule appended to the first instrument of partition between the Bishop of Carlisle and the Priory is recorded.

²³ David, King of Scotland, ruled in Carlisle during Stephen's reign and appears to have wished to develop the city as a kind of southern capital of his kingdom. The invasions of William the Lion in 1173 and 1174 caused devastation in the area around Carlisle but the city was not surrendered. In 1216 the town was delivered to Alexander II without opposition. Joseph Bain (ed.) *Cal. of Documents Relating to Scotland* ii, 116-117. (4 vols.; London, 1881-88).

specifically mentioned. Bochard's gate at the south end of the town is referred to by name in the Pipe Roll of 1210. In 1245 the names of all three gates are given as "portam Ricardi" for the north gate in Scotch St., "portam Boschardi" for the south gate in English St. and "portam de Caldewe" for the west gate leading to Caldew Bridge.²⁴

One area of growth within the walls during the 12th century and early 13th century is likely to have been along the English St. and Scotch St. axis, where the distinctive lane pattern on the east side of the curving line formed by these two streets strongly suggests an area originally taken in from a field through which the wall ran as an artificial barrier. At the southern end on the east side of English St. there was room to establish the house of the Franciscans or Grey Friars as late as 1233.²⁵ The 16th century map of Carlisle marks the site with no buildings on it; presumably the boundary wall lay along the line of English St. and not behind it in the yards. Some time after 1237 the Dominicans or Black Friars found room for their house on the west side of Blackfriars St.²⁶

The precise southern limit of the walled town in early medieval times is not known. That it may have been somewhere near the Grey Friars is suggested by a deed of about 1250 by which Robert son of Amisius of Carlisle granted to Thomas de Moleton the land which lay in breadth between the land of Robert of Hibernia and the site of the house in which he lived, and in length from the hedge of the Friars Minor to the highway, which is the way out of the city. [*ad regiam viam que est exitus civitatus Karleoli*].²⁷ In the story of the siting of the Dominicans' house there is also a hint

²⁴ VCH i, 338, 341, 366, 407 and F. H. M. Parker (ed.). *Pipe Rolls of Cumberland and Westmorland* (CW Extra Series, xii, 1905) 109.

²⁵ VCH ii, 194.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ C.R.O. Musgrave deeds D/Mus. H. 67 *temp.* Magister Peter Legat.

of a possible extension of the limits of the town in this area. The question is touched upon in R. S. Ferguson's appendix to C. R. Palmer's article in these Transactions, *The Friars Preacher or Black Friars of Carlisle*.²⁸ We know from the Close Rolls that on 12 March 1233/4 the Dominicans having petitioned the King for a plot of ground in the *strata publica* lying between their chapel and another part of their own land, the Sheriff was ordered to give them possession for the enlargement of their house and buildings. Just over three years later, in June 1237, the Friars were compelled to remove the house which they had built in the *strata publica extra civitatem* because it was a nuisance. On 19 May 1238 the mayor and citizens of Carlisle were instructed to allow the Friars to carry their conduit through the city wall; clearly by this time they were inside the walls.²⁹ The impression given by the documents is one of two sites close together with one of them lying outside the town. If this interpretation is correct then the most likely candidate is not the Great Orchard on Damside, as Ferguson supposed, but the little garden on the site of the later gaol and the present Woolworth building. This garden also belonged to the Dominicans but was never built on at its northern end. In 1232 the King had granted a licence to the Mayor and Citizens of Carlisle to levy tolls for two years, to enclose their town [*ad villam suam claudendum*].³⁰ There is no further record of either money received or work done, but it seems just possible that the Friars fell foul of whatever alterations were being made to the defences at this time and were forced to abandon their building. From the 14th century, deeds of a Denton property on the east side of English St. show that the family had a house just

²⁸ CWI vi 138.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ VCH ii, 195.

south of the modern Devonshire St. and opposite the old Bush Hotel, where some of the old maps of Carlisle show the street narrowing as if for a gateway. The boundaries of the property were said to lie between the highway on the one side and the city wall on the other, giving the impression that there was no road under the walls at this point. On the south of this property lay a tenement belonging to the Priory.³¹

The line of building along the west side of English St. poses a double problem of not only how late this development was but also of the existence in medieval times of Blackfriars St. itself. The hospital of St Nicholas held land and buildings *in vico Bocharidi*, which are described in a grant of about 1230 as lying between the land of David of Blackhall on the one side and the land of Alexander Bakun on the other. The buildings on the site certainly included a dwelling house, for it is said that Gilbert Collan lived there. A rent charge of 5s was reserved to the Hospital and this was subsequently a matter of dispute between the Hospital and Wetheral Priory. The issue was finally settled in 1270 and in the agreement recording the settlement the property is described as a waste place between the wall of the Friars Preacher and the house formerly of Richard de Mora, a boundary which appears to ignore Blackfriars St. altogether.³² Other boundaries of property on English St. seem to do the same. In 1379 a Denton house is described as lying between a messuage formerly of William of London and a messuage formerly William Briscow's with one end abutting on the highway towards [*versus*] the Friars minor, or Grey Friars and the other on the wall of the Dominicans [*super muros fratrum predicatorum*].³³ A Musgrave family deed about 1270

³¹ C.R.O. Asquith's Map of Carlisle (1853) and Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.D.29.

³² J. E. Prescott (ed.), *Register of the Priory of Wetheral*, (Kendal, T. Wilson, 1897) 175-181.

³³ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.D.31.

describes a plot of land lying between the market place and the gate of the Dominicans [*unum caput se extendit versus forum Karleoli in vico Bocharidi et aliud caput se extendit versus portam fratrum predicatorum*].³⁴ Presumably as the line of building extended southwards access to the Black Friars house became more and more difficult except by Blackfriars St. if it existed, or after 1324 by New Bank Lane. In this year Thomas le Spenser was allowed to assign to the Dominicans a piece of land 240 ft. long by 7 ft. wide to make a road from English St. to their house.³⁵

Nevertheless it is difficult not to think of Blackfriars St. as the natural continuation of the line of the old Roman road from the south along the line of the modern A6, in which case it could be aiming at the pre-Hadrianic Roman fort, presumed to be on the Cathedral and Tullie House sites. The idea is further reinforced by the discovery of an old road across the fields to Botcherby mill which is marked on a sketch map drawn up in connection with a boundary dispute in the 18th century and is shown again, aiming at one of the Citadel towers, on the map of Carlisle published by Hutchinson in 1794.³⁶ For part of its length this road ran along the boundary between the parishes of St Mary and St Cuthbert which may argue in favour of its antiquity.³⁷ Certainly it makes the old medieval route to the east by way of Greystone Road look very much like a diversion to avoid new fields brought into cultivation. If it is an old road of greater importance than just a cartway to Botcherby mill, then there is the

³⁴ C.R.O. Musgrave deeds. D/Mus. Carlisle. *temp.* Robert de Hibernia, mayor.

³⁵ CWI vi 141.

³⁶ C.R.O. D/Mus. Carlisle Field boundary papers and Hutchinson's *History of Cumberland*, ii, 585.

³⁷ C.R.O. Botchergate Tithe map and award DRC8/22. In 1691 it is referred to as the foot-track which marks the boundary between parishes of St Mary and St Cuthbert (D/Mus. Carlisle boundary papers). The tithe map shows that for the whole of its length it was the boundary between the townships of Rickergate and Botchergate.

further possibility that it is a Roman road. Additionally it is to be noted that the earliest known written reference to a location of any house in Carlisle occurs in a gift by Waldeve son of Gospatrick to the Priory some time before 1130 of his dwelling house, next to St Cuthbert's church, a reference which proves the early existence of the church itself and 12th century occupation in this part of Carlisle.³⁸ The siting of the church is not easily reconciled with the development along the line of English St. and Scotch St. — a line which was probably determined by the building of the Norman bridge across the Eden. It is easier to understand the position of St Cuthbert's church if we presuppose the antiquity of Blackfriars St. The street would lose in importance as English St. and Scotch St. developed as thoroughfares.

At the northern end of the walled town Musgrave family deeds for property on both sides of Scotch St., near the Rickergate, give the impression of a gradual filling in and building up in this part as at the south end of English St. About 1281, for example, William of Multon and his wife Christiana, daughter of Robert of Routhcliff, gave to Henry of Brumfield, clerk, a piece of land lying between the land of Adam of Soureby on one side and the land of Adam the Furbur on the other next to the wall of Carlisle [*iuxta murum Karlioli*] measuring 72 ft. in length and extending from the highway next to the wall to Henry of Brumfeld's own tenement. About the same date Stephen Synagh gave to John the Ledbeter and Golda his wife land lying between the land of William of Carlisle, merchant, on the one side and land formerly of Robert of Scaleby on the other, one end abutting on the highway and the other on the King's wall [*aluid capud se extendit versus murum domini Regis*].³⁹

³⁸ C.R.O. DRC2/1 Original Letters patent Edward III, 1332.

³⁹ C.R.O. Musgrave deeds D/Mus. E.212 and D/Mus. H.6.

In the Castle St. and Abbey St. area of the town medieval deeds give further evidence of radical changes in the street pattern which almost certainly occurred when the old Roman road through Tullie House garden ceased to be used. Possibly the fire of 1292, which destroyed a large part of the western side of the town, gave occasion for this remodelling.⁴⁰

In 1397 William Denton bought the Carlisle town properties of Robert Grinsdale.⁴¹ Title deeds run in a series from the late 12th century to the date of the Denton purchase and show how the Grinsdales themselves had acquired the estate. Early deeds, one dated 1233, the others approximately 1270, 1284 and 1285 refer to property which is described as being either in *vico hyberniensium* or in *vico hybernicorum*.⁴² No other references to this *vicus* name are known, but from later deeds in the same title it would seem to apply to an area between Abbey St. and Castle St., perhaps along the line of the Tullie House road. About 1270 Robert of Arthuret granted to Gilbert of Grinsdale land in *vico hybernicorum* which lay between Gilbert's own land on one side and the land of Robert of Carleton on the other, rendering a pair of white gloves to the grantor, house gavel to the King and 4s a year to the Prioress of Lambley.⁴³ The same land is one of the boundaries referred to in a quitclaim, again about 1270, granted by Nicholas, son of John of Crofton, to Gilbert of Grinsdale. It lay in *vico hiberniensium* between land held by Adam of Corbridge and land which Gilbert had bought from Robert of Arthuret.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Sir Herbert Maxwell (ed.), *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346* (1916), 87-9.

⁴¹ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.D.39.

⁴² It is possible that this connection with Ireland derived from a trading link which is suggested by the presence in Dublin of a number of men from Carlisle by about 1200. J. T. Gilbert (ed.) *Historical and Municipal Documents of Ireland 1172-1320* (Rolls Ser., 1870) 3-48. I am indebted to Mr A. M. Jackson of the Record Office, Glasgow, for this reference.

⁴³ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L. Additional Denton deeds, *temp.* Alexander of Boulton, mayor.

⁴⁴ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L. Additional Denton deeds, *temp.* Alexander of Boulton, mayor.

In about 1285 Margaret, widow of Adam of Corbridge, quitclaimed to Gilbert her interest in land *in vico hibernicorum* lying between land belonging to the Prior and Convent of Carlisle on the one side and Gilbert's own land on the other: it extended from the highway to the land of Michael of Haverington.⁴⁵ The title to Gilbert's own land in this vicinity is perhaps to be found in a quitclaim of 1233, by Henry of Thurnai to Adam of Aspatria, of his right and interest in a messuage *in vico hyberniensium* in which his father was living, subject to the payment of 3s a year to Adam son of Roger, as chief lord of the fee.⁴⁶ Another gift in about 1284 by Alice daughter of William del Sarteryn to Isaac le Brun, rector of Bowness of land *in vico hibernicorum* lying between the lands of John of Crofton and Simon of Tebay is probably identical with property described in a deed of partition dated 1 July 1352 between William of Arthuret and Mary his wife as one of the heirs of Adam of Crofton and Adam's other heir, Adam of Staffield. It is described as a chief messuage lying between the tenement of Robert of Tebay and a tenement next to the Caldew gate within the walls of Carlisle.⁴⁷ About 1311 Robert of Grinsdale assigned to Robert of Mulcaster all his lands, rents and tenements in Carlisle and among these are specified a tenement *in vico Castri*, a plot of land *in vico Abbathie* and land and buildings extending from Abbey St. to Castle St.⁴⁸ That the changes which gave rise to the modern street pattern in this part of the town, however, were not completed until about 1345 is suggested by an incident in that year when Peter Tylliol with the mayor and bailiffs attempted to enforce a claim to appropriate

⁴⁵ C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.C.10.

⁴⁶ D/Lons/L.C.6 endorsed 16 Henry 3 and with date 1233 in a contemporary hand, *temp.* Thomas son of John, sheriff and VCH ii, 314.

⁴⁷ D/Lons/L.C.15 *temp.* Michael of Haverington, mayor and D/Lons/L. additional Denton deeds.

⁴⁸ D/Lons/L. Additional Denton deeds. *temp.* Sir John de Castre, Keeper of Carlisle, VCH ii, 314. The document could be between 1310-1312 or 1315-1316.

as waste ground under the town's charter of 1316 "a certain long street in the King's highway" and to build on the fosse of the castle.⁴⁹ At a later date property thus improved by the town was held by a form of customary tenure called *cullery*, and it is worth noting that much of this property was at the northern end of Abbey St. and on the north sides of Annetwell and Finkle Street.⁵⁰ In a grant dated 6 December 1418 by the mayor and citizens of Carlisle, Annetwell St. is described as a "street leading from Caldewgate to Castlebrig".⁵¹

In addition to holding property in the market and at the head of Fisher St., locations which are normally described as *in foro* or *in vico piscatorum* at well established dates in the 13th century before 1292, the Grinsdale family also had land in a part of the town described as being *in vico francorum*.⁵² From the Lanercost Priory cartulary we learn that this same land, on which there was a house, carried a rent charge of 2s a year payable to the Priory and when Gilbert acquired it he gave the equivalent in rent from the house and land which lay next to the land of Michael of Haverington on the south. Both properties are described in the Cartulary as being *in via francorum*.⁵³ Where was the *vicus* or *via francorum*?

Holm Cultram abbey also owned property in this *vicus* and from the first grant of the property and subsequent leases recorded in the abbey's cartulary, it is possible to be more precise about where the *vicus* was. Henry son of William, about 1200, granted to the Abbey a messuage close to the cemetery of St Mary's, Carlisle, towards the Castle, on which he had built two

⁴⁹ J. Bain (ed.) *Cal. of Documents relating to Scotland*, iii, 1448.

⁵⁰ CWI vi, W. Nanson *Cullery Tenure* 305-318.

⁵¹ C.R.O. Carlisle City deeds 1418.

⁵² C.R.O. Lonsdale deeds D/Lons/L.C.16 Grant by Isaac of Ireby to Gilbert of Grinsdale, *temp.* Alexander of Boulton, mayor about 1280.

⁵³ Dean and Chapter Library *Lanercost cartulary* 10/19 *temp.* Alan of Pennington, mayor, *c.* 1287.

houses, each of two stories. In a later surrender of a lease of the same property, probably before 1296, it is described as being *in vico francorum* near the cemetery of St Mary's with one end abutting on the highway and the other on a house where Astin Oley once lived.⁵⁴ This description seems to fit with a property on the east side of the present Castle St. with one boundary abutting on to properties in Fisher St. The conclusion might reasonably be that if the *vicus hibernicorum* lay towards Abbey St. on the line of the old Roman road, then the *vicus francorum* was at the southern end of the modern Castle St. near the market and extended towards the Castle on the east side. Development had taken place along this line towards the Castle ditch in the early 13th century. A rent of 12d from a house next to the Castle ditch was granted to Lanercost about 1236, and the Bishop had a burgage on lease to John of Rillington in about 1295, which extended in width from the castle ditch to the land of Adam the saddler and in length from the "highway which leads to the Castle" to land belonging to Holm Cultram abbey. Later leases confirm that the burgage stood on the corner of Finkle St. and Castle St. facing Castle Green.⁵⁵ The Pipe Rolls record the construction of a ditch by the castle in 1173 and in 1197 a bridge was being built between the castle and the town.⁵⁶ It may be that these developments were associated with the building of the outer bailey and the consequent removal of the main gate of the castle from the inner ward to its modern position.

Given the earlier position of the main gate of the castle in the inner ward it is possible, however, that in origin Fisher St. served as the main access from town to Castle. It is certainly an old street which on the face

⁵⁴ *Register of Holm Cultram* 12-13.

⁵⁵ *Lanercost cartulary*, 6/144 and W. N. Thompson (ed.) *The Register of John de Halton* (Canterbury and York Society vol. xii, 1913) 84.

⁵⁶ VCH i, 346, 380.

of it seems to have no obvious purpose. Holm Cultram abbey owned property there for which there is a record of two leases, one of which might be dated about 1280.⁵⁷ The name *vicus piscatorum* may imply no more than the street where the fisherman sold their fish; there are later parallels for the use of the word *vicus* to mean a street as well as a ward or district. Property in the shambles was described as being in *vico carnifice* in 1550 and in Baxter Row in the market place as *in via pistorum* in 1349.⁵⁸

On the other hand before the development of the northern end of Castle St. in the 13th century, Fisher St. is the only other old street in the town which appears to run in the direction of the Castle. At the head of Fisher St. by the market place stood St Alban's church and its graveyard. The church was an old one. The earliest known reference to it occurs in the Pipe Roll for 1201 when Adam, son of Robert of Carlisle, gave 5 marks to have a plot of ground which extended from his house near the wall of the cemetery of St Alban as far as the angle of the wall in order to make a road and entrance to the cemetery.⁵⁹ This entry in the Pipe Roll appears to be describing the dogleg shape of Rosemary Lane and it is worth noting that the north to south portion of this lane appears to lie along the boundaries between properties on Scotch St. on the one hand and Fisher St. on the other. This prompts the further question as to whether this part of the lane could give a clue to the line of the road to the Roman bridge over the Eden.⁶⁰ Or is the southern end of Fisher St., at the point before it turns towards the Castle, reflecting this Roman line and to a limited extent pre-determining the line of later medieval building development? Only

⁵⁷ *Register of Holm Cultram*, 14, 15.

⁵⁸ Dean and Chapter Library. Receiver's Accounts 1549-50. D.C. E.2/7 and C.R.O. Musgrave deeds, Carlisle. In 1381 the same property is said to be in 'le Bakysterawe'.

⁵⁹ VCH i, 388.

⁶⁰ CW2 lii 155-6, where the possible site of the bridge is discussed.

archaeological excavation can settle this question and offer firmer answers to all the other questions which, it is obvious from this discussion, the surviving medieval documents appear to have raised without answering with certainty.

An overwhelming impression which a reading of the documents gives, however, is one of a medieval town growing rapidly in the 12th and 13th centuries and owing very little in its medieval development within the walls to the older Roman street pattern, which nevertheless did survive at least in some degree until the Normans came. With the possible exception of the area to the south of St Cuthbert's church we appear to be dealing with areas of ground which even in the 19th century boundaries of buildings still showed signs of a fossilized pattern of strip fields. The pattern is particularly marked on the east side of English St. and Scotch St. and here it looks as if the Normans were building over ground that for many years previously had been cultivated. If a town existed at all in the time of Dolphin before 1092 then the chances are that it lay on the high ground now occupied by the Cathedral, St Cuthbert's church and the area to the south, along the line of Blackfriars St.