

ART. VII. – *St Alban's church and graveyard, Carlisle*

By B. C. JONES, M.A., F.S.A.

RECENT excavations by Graham Keevil (1988) on the site of 66-68 Scotch Street, Carlisle, have uncovered some of the foundations of the former church or chapel of St Alban, demolished shortly after the dissolution of the chantries and the sale of the site in 1549. Burials within the walls of the chapel and on the south side in the graveyard towards St Alban's Row were also revealed. The area available to the excavators however was not large enough to determine the extent of the graveyard on its southern, eastern or western sides. Nonetheless it should be noted that a human burial was discovered lately (1989), below the floor of a shop in the old Town Hall in the market place and "a human left tibia" and "a shaft fragment of a human humerus" were recovered from behind Vasey's store, (62 Scotch Street) in 1976. In Keevil's excavations it was found that the foundations of the chapel cut through some of the graves and graves were observed, but not excavated near the Sue Ryder building in Rosemary Lane. Additionally, the *Carlisle Journal* of 21 April 1804 recorded the presence of human bones "intermixed with earth, pieces of wood and two circular pieces of brass, part of an iron chair and a quantity of molten lead" when workmen were digging a cellar in St Alban's Row. They also discovered "two vaults which had every appearance of being repositories for the dead". The workmen removed only a few of the upper stones of the vaults, "leaving the remains of the dead in the cells in which probably they had remained for many ages".¹

As these discoveries appear to be at variance with some of the surviving documentary evidence, this paper will seek a reconciliation.

Early History

The earliest known reference to St Alban's church and its graveyard will be found in the Pipe Roll of the Exchequer for 1201. In translation the full entry reads:-

Adam son of Robert of Carlisle renders account of 5 marks for having and holding of the King a place which extends from his house near the wall of the cemetery of St Alban to the angle of the same wall and to make a road and entrance into the aforesaid cemetery. He has paid it and is quit.²

Presumably this grant was made in February 1201, when King John was on his northern border visiting Bamborough and Carlisle. It may be that the price paid, five marks or £3 6s. 8d., gives some idea of the size of the land granted by the King, but equally it could reflect the extortionate demands then being made to meet the rising costs of government generally and of the defence of Normandy in particular.³ We cannot be certain, but it is clear that the grant in 1201 was of some of the open ground or waste land, near the market, still remaining in the King's hands. This suggests a site for the grant beside St Alban's churchyard on its western boundary. Keevil's excavations indicate that the church building extended almost to Scotch Street and if, as some later records

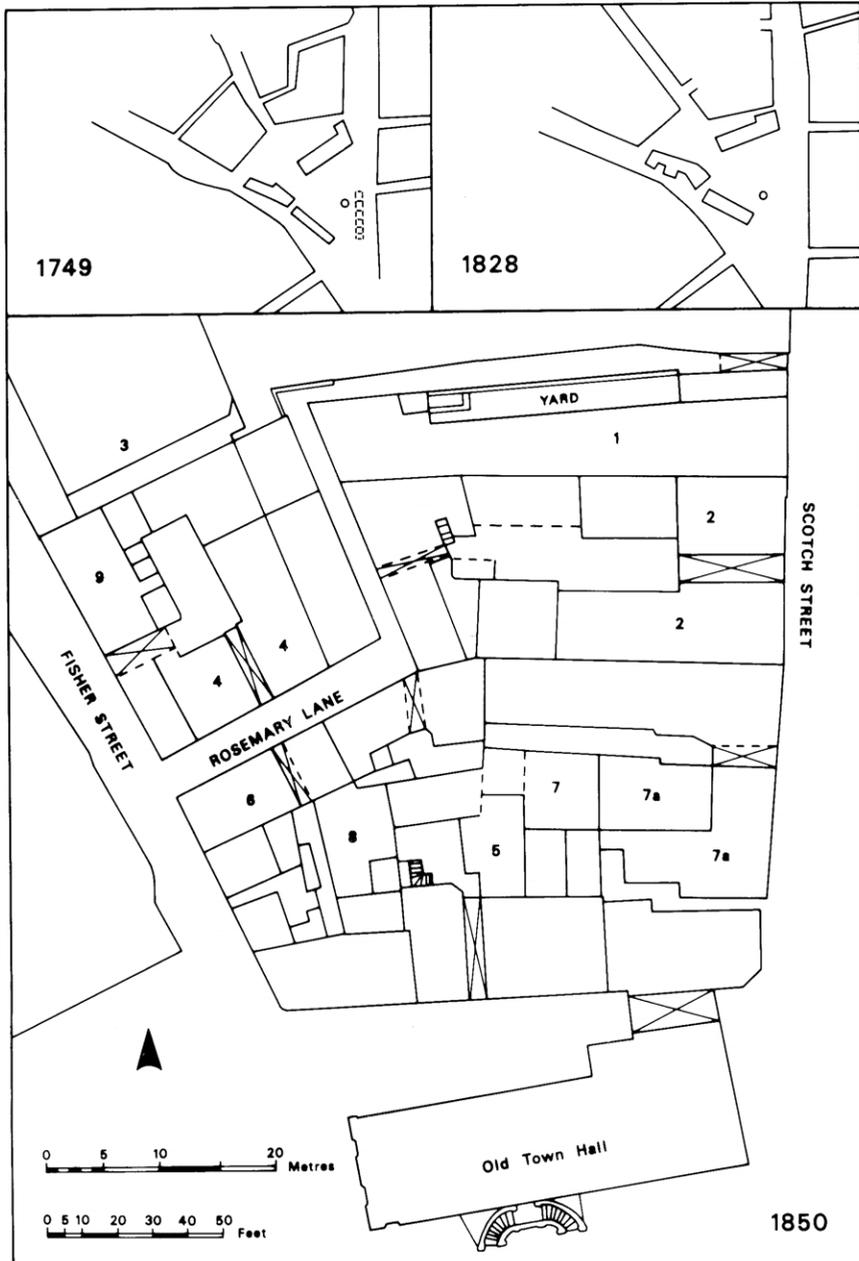


FIG. 1. – Drawings of Carlisle's market place showing medieval rows and townhall 1749 and 1828 and of St Alban's Row and development towards Rosemary Lane, 1850.

KEY. – 1. Duke's Head. 2. Blue Bell. 3. Friend's Meeting House. 4. Old King's Head. 5. Queen's Head. 6. Hosier's shop. 7. Plume of Feathers. 7a. Green Dragon above and shop beneath. 8. Market rooms above stables. Assembly Rooms above gig house.

Drawings dated 1749 and 1828 not to scale.

suggest, (see below, p. 173), there may have been buildings, stalls or shops on the roadside waste along the line of the cemetery wall in Scotch Street; their construction would not have required the making of a road; access to the graveyard would only have been difficult in the event of major encroachments on the waste on the Fisher Street side. Furthermore, on at least two occasions, a highway to the graveyard is mentioned as a boundary to properties in Fisher Street on both sides of Rosemary Lane. On the south side of the Lane, in a grant dated 22 May 1401, among the deeds to the Howard of Corby Burgage, (see below), John, brother of Roland Vaux of Triermain, gave to Robert Whitehead a vacant plot extending in length from John Freeman's tenement at one end to the highway to St Alban's cemetery at the other and on the north side. Among Dacre/Blennerhasset deeds at Castle Howard, there is a lease, dated 1 April 1417, for an annual rent of 20d. by John Blennerhasset esq. to Thomas More of Carlisle, merchant, of a piece of waste ground in Fisher Street, bounded by the tenements of John de Manche, shoemaker, on the east and of Thomas Boget, clerk, and Robert Whitehead on the west abutting on the King's highway to (*penes*, or belonging to) St Alban's cemetery and extending northwards to Richard Caldbeck's tenement.⁴ These boundaries almost exactly reflect the 18th century boundaries of the King's Arms Public House. According to a deed of 4 July 1771, the house stood in Rosemary Lane, adjoining a house belonging to Isaac Nixon on the east, an old decayed building belonging to Thomas Connor, esq on the west, a house, commonly used as a Quaker meeting house on the north and Rosemary Lane on the south.⁵ If the highway in the 15th century deeds was the road which was to be built by Adam of Carlisle, then it is not surprising to find development along the line of it with house or building frontages on the Lane. Adam of Carlisle's house could have been on either side of the Lane, on the site of Richard Caldbeck's tenement or between Rosemary Lane and St Alban's Row, where the Howard of Corby burgage stood.

Adam, son of Robert, can be traced in the Pipe Rolls as either Adam of Carlisle or Adam, son of Robert, 1191-1205, paying the fee farm for his bailiwick of Hayton in Gilsland and instalments of a sum of 24 marks (£16) for a fine by charter, concerning a transaction involving the great money lender, Aaron the Jew of Lincoln.⁶ Aaron died about 1185 which must give a date for Adam and his father Robert before then, although the business of collecting his debts, which fell to the Exchequer, went on for more than twenty years after Aaron's death.⁷ Prescott names an Adam of Carduil as a witness of a charter of Hugh de Moreville to Wetheral Priory granting two salt pans in Burgh-by-Sands, sometime before 1202 and says in his note, that this Adam was the son of Robert de Hodelm (flor. 1177-c. 1209), great grandson of Hildred of Carlisle, (occ. with his son Odard 1130-1131).⁸ Confirmation of this connection with Hildred's family comes from the register of Bishop Kirby (1332-1352), which recites a grant, c. 1204-1214, by Adam, son of Robert, to the hospital of St Nicholas, Carlisle, of half the tithes of Little Bampton, to maintain two sick people of the parish of Kirkbampton in the hospital at his nomination. The grant was made by Adam, claiming to be the true patron of half the church of Kirkbampton and came with the consent of Bishop Bernard, the Prior and Convent of Carlisle and the rector of the parish.⁹ Hildred's principal seat was probably at Kirkbampton where he may have been the founder of the present church. Again about 1226-1227, we find Eudo of Carlisle, "son of Adam son of Robert, son of Odard, son of Hildred of Carlisle", granting to Walter of Bampton, David the marshall and Robert of Wampool with his wife Margaret, daughter of Richard son of Troite, a carucate of land

in Cummersdale, two carucates in Cumwhinton and four carucates in Oughterby and Little Bampton which were all places where Hildred and his family had holdings.¹⁰ If Adam's father was, as Prescott thought, Robert de Hodelm, then the Robert de Turb or Turp who answered for a false claim in the Pipe Roll of 1185 could have been the same man, as the de Turp family, who later held half the fee of Edenhall, were descended from Adam of Carlisle who held the fee in 1214.¹¹

It is also interesting to note a direct link between the de Turps of Edenhall, the market town of Carlisle and John of Crofton one of its leading citizens. About 1245, Robert de Turp granted to John of Crofton, a vaccary in Thorbancroft near Edenhall with pasturage for 700 wethers.¹² In addition to holding burgages in Abbey Street, Castle Street and Scotch Street in Carlisle, John of Crofton was freeholder, under the Bishop, of part of Morton, in the manor of Caldotes, tenant of part of Newby on the moor by Carlisle and other properties in the suburb of Caldewgate.¹³ His descendant by marriage was William of Arthuret (d. 1376), whose widow, Mary or Mariota was, with Robert of Tebay, a beneficiary of the prayers of the chaplains serving the chantry in St Alban's church. She was also an heiress in her own right to the estates of Alan de Grinsdale of Carlisle. The Blennerhassets of Carlisle succeeded to parts of the Arthuret, Crofton and de Grinsdale estates and are found as holders of property on both sides of Rosemary Lane. Gilbert Pepir, who married Margaret, daughter and heiress of Robert de Grinsdale, Alan's brother, was also an Arthuret tenant of a burgage with granaries and kilns on the east side of Fisher Street, not far from the King's Arms and, in 1383, held other property "*penes*" St Alban's graveyard.¹⁴

Finally concerning the King's grant to Adam, son of Robert in 1201, it is surprising to find that within seventy-nine years of the foundation of the Priory of Carlisle in the ancient parish church of St Mary in 1122, a church, dedicated to St Alban, with its own graveyard had survived. As burial rights were jealously guarded in the Middle Ages, it is not likely that the church or chapel was founded after the date of the Priory's own foundation and so the chances are that it was already there when the Normans came to resettle the town after 1092. As our member, Dr Dickinson has pointed out, there is a late tradition for the founding of the priory recorded in the lost register of bishop William Strickland (1399-1419) which says that "a certain chaplain called Walter, who had come over with William the conqueror, obtained the churches of Carlisle and Stanwix with their chapels and vills. This Walter abounded in wealth and began to found a most noble church in the honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary within the walls but died before it was finished".¹⁵ Was St Alban's one of these chapels and was St Mary a new dedication for an ancient church, rebuilt by Walter? Keevil's Cathedral excavation found that the Norman church cut into a late Anglian or Norse graveyard of the 9th and 10th centuries.¹⁶ In the same way, the surviving foundations of St Alban's church cut through some pre-existing graves. If there was a re-building, who would have been strong enough to prevent the Canons from opposing it and suppressing a rival graveyard? Perhaps only King Henry I, the Priory's benefactor, could have done that, or Hildred and his son Odard as the King's officers in the city. St Alban is an unusual dedication in this part of the world. Although he was the only saint in England with a continuous cult from Roman times the dedication alone is not necessarily proof of great antiquity. There were revivals of the cult in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.¹⁷ Percy Hedley thought that Hildred of Carlisle and Odard the sheriff of Northumberland, (founder of the de Wigton

family in Cumberland and the Viscounts of Embleton in Northumberland), may have been brothers. The St Alban tradition was well known in Northumberland, not only through Bede but also by the foundation of a cell of the powerful southern Abbey of St Alban at Tynemouth. Henry I favoured the cell with a grant of free warren throughout the county.¹⁸ As Adam, son of Robert of Carlisle was very probably a descendent of Hildred, his possession of a house near the graveyard might point to a family link with the chapel. There is a possibility that Hildred restored the chapel and re-dedicated it to St Alban.

After 1201, until the 14th and 15th centuries the history of the chapel is obscure. In 1340, Bishop Kirby issued a monition against those who had stolen money and other goods from William of Ripon, formerly priest of St Alban's and on 28 September 1356, John Caldsmithe, chaplain, made his will leaving 6s. 8d to the fabric of the chapel and all his vestments and ornaments to its altar. However, he asked to be buried in the graveyard of St Mary's. His will was proved at Rose on 20 November 1356. On 20 October of that year, Bishop Welton raised the question of the chapel's consecration and appointed a commission to enquire into the matter. On 12 November, the Commission reported that although services had been celebrated in the chapel and bodies had been buried in the graveyard, they had found no evidence of consecration. Accordingly all services were temporarily forbidden by the bishop.¹⁹ Burials may have ceased altogether from this time although gifts continued to be made to its chaplains and its fabric. In 1378, for example, Joan, widow of William of London of Carlisle left Robert of Rosgill, chaplain, seven marks a year (£4 13s. 4d.), to celebrate for her soul in the chapel of St Alban and on 8 December 1395, Richard of Cardew, mercer, whilst wishing to be buried in St Mary's churchyard, gave 24 marks (£16) to a secular chaplain to celebrate for his soul and for Agnes his wife and all his kin and benefactors for three years, or to three secular chaplains for one year in his parish church of St Mary or in the church of St Alban at the discretion of his executors. He gave a further sum of 20s. to mend the bell of St Alban and to glaze half a window there. His two tenements, in Scotch Street and Fisher Street, he left to his wife Agnes for her lifetime.²⁰ It seems likely that after the foundation of Tebay's chantry in 1385, the chapel became indistinguishable from the chantry or chantries within it. In Leland's Itinerary made about 1536 he refers to two parish churches in Carlisle, "a chapel of St Alban" and also "withyn the walles ij Howses of Freres, Blake and Gray".²¹

St Albans Row and the Fourteenth Century Boundaries of the Graveyard

In a survey of the estates of the Priory of Carlisle, made at the dissolution of the monasteries in 1539/40, rents were being received from twelve tenements and gardens in a street called "New Rents" out of which the city received 5s. 4d. from a tenement of Alexander Dalton and a further 5s. 4d. from the rest of the tenements.²² The Priory's estates subsequently became Dean and Chapter property under King Henry VIII's new foundation but despite the fact that the declared income of £2 6s. 4d. in 1540 does not tally with the income which the Dean and Chapter later received from its properties in St Alban's Row of £1 4s. 8d., it will be apparent that subtracting the rents due to the city, one free rent of 5s. 4d. and two customary rents of 3s. 4d. and 2s. 6d. (see below) the two totals can be reconciled. The street called "New Rents" can be identified as St

Alban's Row. Further confirmation can be found in a lease of a shop to Thomas Stocks, merchant, dated 22 March 1548-49 at an annual rent of 4s. which says that it stood "upon the gavel land of the new rent Nye unto the Bull Ring", and this must surely be the same shop and loft, adjoining the Bull Ring in St Alban's Row, late in the holding of John Stock at a rent of 4s., which the Chapter leased to Edward Dalton on 1 September 1630 and later described in a lease to Joseph Waugh dated 23 June 1842 as a corner property, "adjoining a street called the Bull Ring, and the head of Fishergate on the south and west and the shop of Elizabeth Boucher on the east,"²³

An indication that the "New Rents" were not new in the 16th century, is given in letters patent of King Edward III of 2 October 1348, confirming a grant to Thomas of Staunton, plasterer, of a vacant plot of ground next to the churchyard of St Alban, extending in length from the house formerly in the occupation of Robert of Goverton to the furthest corner of the graveyard by the flesh shambles and in breadth from the graveyard to the common hall of the city, paying a rent of 5s. a year to the mayor and citizens of Carlisle.²⁴ Presumably the mayor and citizens received what was originally a crown rent derived from the alienation of a piece of waste ground beside the graveyard wall under King Edward II's charter of 1316, which gave them the right to profit from the wastes of the city and transferred to them the rents of shops and stalls in the market place which the Crown had already conceded. It is not clear why letters patent were necessary in 1348 unless there had been some doubt about the right of the city to receive their rent of 5s. That this may have been the case, is indicated by an entry in a rental of the King's tenants in socage *in vico Ricardi* within and without the city in 1335 when Ralph Miles paid 5s. for his house in Carlisle market. It is possible that his house stood on the site of Thomas of Staunton's vacant plot.²⁵ In 1311, Ralph Miles, perhaps the same man, occurs as a tenant of Robert of Grinsdale, paying a rent of 3s. for a property later acquired by William Denton of Cardew and described as the moot hall in a Denton rental of 1408-09. The same rental refers to another rent of 3s. from the tenements of Toty, Grayson and Redness, in the Green Market or Bull Ring, which as the title deeds of Redness Hall or the Guild Hall confirm, had been part of Robert of Grinsdale's estate.²⁶ Subsequently the city drew cullery rents from the shops under the Town Hall and the Guild Hall, which may suggest that they were in origin grants by the Crown before 1316 of purprestures or open spaces, comparable to the Thomas Staunton's vacant plot which the city later acquired under their charter. This may explain why no licence in mortmain was required to transfer them.

The same process seems to be at work elsewhere in the market place. In 1292-93, for example, as *custos* of Carlisle, Michael de Harcla rendered an account to the Exchequer for stalls, presumably in the market place, when John de Capella paid 2s., Peter le Spicer, 4s., Walter le Spicer, 4s. and Andrew le Seler, (saddler), 40d. or 3s. 4d. in rents which are identical to the city's cullery rents from properties in two rows at the head of Castle Street. One of these properties was pulled down in 1827 to widen the entry into the Green Market. Called Baxter's burgage, it paid a cullery rent of 4s. a year. The title deeds begin with a deed of sale by Samuel, son of Richard Monk of Carlisle, merchant, dated 29 September 1688, to James Nicholson of Carlisle, gentleman, when it was described as a "mansion house and shop at the head of Castlegate, being the corner house at the entering into the place called the Bull Ring". This would appear to have been identical to the tenement which in 1381, Richard Bonkyn and Robert Rosgill,

clerks, granted to Robert Musgrave, chaplain, lying between a tenement of John of Yarine, clerk, and the *via regia*, one end abutting on the market place and the other on *le Bakysterawe*, paying house gavel to the King and 4s. to the *communitas* of Carlisle and possibly to an earlier grant in 1349, by Gilbert, son of Thomas le Sadeler of Carlisle, to John le Sadeler of a tenement measuring thirty two feet by seventeen feet, one end abutting on the market place and the other on the *via pistorum* or Baker Street.²⁷ A list of "ancient householders" in Castle Street, c. 1660, gives in sequence, Widow Carlisle, Mr Isaac Tullie and Richard Monk. Widow Carlisle's house belonged to the Dean and Chapter. On 17 August 1630 it was let to Thomas Carlisle at 15s. 8d. a year as a house or burgage in the Bull Ring, lying between a house or burgage of Matthew Cape and a house or burgage of Edward Dalton. In the survey of Dean and Chapter estates, 1649-50, it was in the occupation of Grace, Thomas Carlisle's widow and was said to be bounded by Castle Street on the west and the market place on the east. In a Dean and Chapter lease of 23 June 1843 the same house was described as a burgage, converted into two shops in the Bull Ring, adjoining the house of John Blamire and another house in the possession of the Corporation, "one end abutting on the Queen's High Street on the south and the other on the High Street towards the moot hall". It was sold to the Corporation on 23 December 1857.²⁸ Blamires' tenement was another cullery property which paid a rent of 2s. and had Glover Row on the south. The records show that Blamire's tenement was Cape's in 1653 and was sold by John Cape to Cuthbert Studholme on 10 April of that year as a burgage lying beside the Bull Ring with three lofts, "parcel of the Chantry lands, belonging to the Mayor and Corporation called Saddler House or saddler shop", given to Matthew Cape by Edward Dalton on 16 May 1597;²⁹ so Matthew Cape's burgage stood to the south of Carlisle's and Edward Dalton's, later Isaac Tullie's, to the north. The early history of these properties may be seen in the following deeds:-

1. On 2 February 1464-65, the Mayor and Citizens granted to Thomas Saddler, a saddler by trade, for a rent of 2s., a waste place next to the Bull Ring, between a tenement of John Knoblowe, chaplain, and a tenement of the warden of the light of St Mary.

2. On 22 June 1503, the Mayor and Citizens granted a lease for forty years at 3s. 4d. a year, to Richard Sadler, saddler, of a tenement by (*iuxta*) the Bull Ring, between a tenement of the Prior of Carlisle and a tenement of the warden of the light of St Mary.

3. On 10 July 1503, Richard Sadler received another lease on the same terms for 4s. a year of a tenement opposite (*ex opposito*) the Bull Ring between a tenement of the warden of the light of St Mary and his own tenement.³⁰

To return to St Alban's Row, it is apparent that by the Reformation, the Priory of Carlisle had acquired most of the buildings in the Row. A step in this process is recorded in an *Inquisition ad quod damnum* of 39 Edward III (1364-65), when it was the intention to give to the Priory a third part of a messuage in the city, held by William Stapleton and Mary his wife, for the life time of Joan, wife of Thomas of Staunton, under the Mayor and Citizens at an annual rent of 20d. being a third of the full rent of 5s.³¹ Mary Stapleton in addition to being an heiress in her own right was the widow of Thomas of Allonby. Under his will of 4 August 1362 she had received, *inter alia*, rents from shops and solars called New Rent, formerly held by Henry of Staunton, no doubt built on the waste ground granted to Thomas of Staunton in 1348.³²

The points of reference given in the 1348 grant, the town hall, the flesh shambles and

the house of Robert of Goverton determine the southern and western boundaries of St Alban graveyard in the 14th century.

The Town Hall

Records describe the medieval town hall as the Toll booth in the market place in 1345, the "Tollboythe or Moot hall" of the city in 1600, the Common hall of the city in 1348 and 1409 and "le Motehall" in 1408-09 and 1429. In 1409 a defeasance for rents to a total of 60s. from shops under the hall is referred to and in 1429, an extract from the city's accounts gives a total of £6 15s. in revenue from all of the six shops of "le Mote hall".³³ Finally the 16th century map of Carlisle shows the hall in elevation, roughly on the site of the existing old Town Hall, but with a frontage of about eighty feet, if the scale of feet on the original map can be relied upon. The present old Town Hall, excluding the addition at its western end measures about 110 feet. In relation to St Alban's Row, the 16th century town hall stood with its Scotch Street gable where the "New Hall" was built in 1717. The elevation shows clearly the shops under the hall, steps at the western end and three large windows lighting the hall on the southern side.³⁴

When the town hall was rebuilt in 1668, the builders were instructed to take down the "Common Hall of the city from the top to the bottom of the foundation and from the end adjoining upon the great chamber belonging to the city to the other end as it adjoins the shop belonging to James Harding". As James Harding's shop was at the west end, it follows that the "great chamber" of the old building survived until 1717 when the "New Hall" was built at the east or Scotch Street end.³⁵

The shops under the town hall, formerly held as cullery or customary tenure under the Mayor and Citizens, were bought by the Corporation from their tenants between 1882 and 1886. The title deeds and the plans drawn on the final deeds of sale show that on 29 September 1688 Samuel Monk, gentleman, surrendered to William Jackson, two adjoining shops under the town hall, once in the tenure of his father, Richard Monk, merchant and here described as gentleman, at a customary rent of £1 6s. 8d. The plan on the deed of sale of these shops shows that they were under the old great chamber. They were bounded on the west by a shop formerly in the occupation of Thomas Jackson, shoemaker, by the market place on the south and east and a shop of John Thomlinson on the north. The title deeds of Thomas Jackson's shop begin with a bargain and sale of 9 March 1631-32, by Janet, widow of David Hindson and Catherine Hindson their daughter, to Robert Jackson of Carlisle, shoemaker, of a shop under the town hall, between a shop called "the new fore shop", in the holding of Edward Dalton of Carlisle, merchant, late Atkinson's on the north-east and the shop in the occupation of Mary Slee, widow, late Thomas Monk's on the south-west, paying an annual rent of 6s. On 13 July 1650, Thomas, son of Robert Jackson was admitted, but apparently only to part of the premises held by his father, at an apportioned customary rent 4s. Edward Dalton held the shop on the east and Mary Craggell, formerly Slee, the shop on the west.³⁶ As Thomas Monk was named as tenant of Slee's shop at an earlier time, this dates it to before 1594 when Thomas Monk received it under the will of his brother Matthew and so to within a few years of the date of the 16th century map.³⁷ Plans on the deed of sale show that this shop was immediately to the east of the stairs in the present building, where the human burial was found.³⁸ The town hall may have been rebuilt between

1348 and the 16th century but it is unlikely to have changed its position and so the conclusion must be that, from the 14th century onwards, it stood mainly in the Scotch Street quarter of the market place. Further confirmation of its position is to be found in the inclusion of all the town hall shops in the Scotch Street land tax assessments 1766-1829, with the exception of the additional house and shop, built at the west end in 1727 which was included in the Fisher Street land tax lists. The Ordnance survey of the 19th century shows the ward boundary dividing St Albans Row between the two wards along the line of the entry into the Old Queen's Head public house and that this was an ancient division is confirmed by land tax assessments; the eastern properties being in the Scotch Street Quarter and the western ones in Fisher Street. A similar allocation of properties between the *vicus Ricardi* and the *vicus de Caldewe* occurs in the Poll Tax assessment roll of 1377. (See below).

The Flesh Shambles

The 16th century map and later maps show the shambles extending from the boundary between English Street and Scotch Street to King's Arms Lane. Records of the 17th century also show that opposite the shambles, on the frontages of the properties in English Street, there were butchers' shops. However there is similar evidence for butchers' shops at the head of Scotch Street and at least one reference in 1632 to a burgage on the north side of New Grapes Lane standing opposite the "flesh shambles".³⁹ At the dissolution of the monasteries and in 1539-40 the Priory of Carlisle received two free rents *in vico carnifice* or Butcher Row in the parish of St Mary from the tenements of Richard and William Myres namely 2s. 8d. and 10d. respectively. The rents cannot be traced in the records of the Dean and Chapter in later times and Butcher Row appears to have been a lost name.⁴⁰ A Myres family, if related to Richard and William, are found holding properties in Globe Lane in Scotch Street, at the head of Scotch Street near St Alban's church, in English Street south of Kings Arms Lane, and possibly in Fisher Street at the end of Brown's Lane.⁴¹ As the Latin, *in vico pistorum* became *le Bakysterawe* at the head of Castle Street so the butchers' shambles may have divided the head of Scotch Street to become Butcher Row.⁴² On the other hand, in the deeds of Redness Hall or the Guild Hall in 1397, reference is made to a "*macellam*" or meat market nearby and in 1373, in the will of John of Yarone, two tenements left to his son John are described as standing opposite "les Fleshamels".⁴³ If the son John was the same as John de Yarone, clerk, who held a tenement in the Castle Street Row (see above) then this cannot be reconciled with the boundary in the 1348 grant and it must be presumed that between 1348 and 1373 the shambles had moved to the Green Market or that shambles existed in the Green Market, Scotch Street and English Street simultaneously.

The House of Robert of Goverton

Two properties in the Row stand out as possible candidates for Robert of Goverton's house, No. 14 and Nos. 4-6. No. 14 was a customary property held of the Dean and Chapter as lords of the manor of Botchergate at a customary rent of 5s. 10d. a year, when among other properties, it was bought by Carlisle Bros. from J. Huthart and Co. on 18 December 1923. At the time of purchase it was in the occupation of George

Scott McGlasson; it stood on the west side of a passageway which led to the freehold house, yard, stable and out buildings at the rear of Nos. 8, 10 and 14, known as the "Old Queen's Head", also bought by Carlisle Bros.⁴⁴ From manor court records and from the parliamentary survey of the Dean and Chapter's estates made in 1649-50 it is plain that the later rent of 5s. 10d. was a combination of two rents for two shops, one at 3s. 4d. and the other at 2s. 6d.. In 1649-50, John Thomlinson paid 3s. 4d. and Thomas Craister, 2s. 6d. Sometime before 1655 Thomas Monk of Scotch Street bought Craister's shop as by his will of 5 February 1654-55 he left it to his wife Ann or Annas. On 10 September 1663 she surrendered it to Benjamin Ellison of Newcastle, merchant, possibly by way of mortgage. Then on 28 May 1670, John Thomlinson surrendered both shops to the use of Robert and Benjamin Ellison. By 1748 the combined properties were in the holding of David Hodgson of Wormanby who, on 4 August 1748, sold them to Samuel Newton of Carlisle, glasier, to hold for his lifetime and then to Newton's daughter, Elizabeth.⁴⁵

Nos. 4-6 St Alban's Row originally seem to have been Thomas Knagg's shop which in the Parliamentary survey of 1649-50 he held for an annual rent of 5s. 4d. as a freeholder of the Dean and Chapter's manor of John de Chapelle.⁴⁶ It stood on the south side of a leasehold shop of the Dean and Chapter, originally leased to Robert Blennerhasset, tailor, for forty years from 18 June 1559. The tenement to the west was held by William Atkinson, probably No. 8. On the east was Edward Dalton's shop. The John de Chapelle free rents of the Dean and Chapter for properties in Carlisle should not be confused with the John de Chapelle properties which were given to endow the Chantry of St Catherine. The latter were retained as Crown rents after the dissolution of the Chantries. The former were free rents which probably came to the Priory with the grant of the manor in 1346.⁴⁷

If Robert of Goverton's house was on the site of Thomas Knagg's shop then it stood in the Scotch Street Quarter, that is *in vico Ricardi*. If it was on the site of No. 14 then it was in Fisher Street, or *in vico de Caldewe*. In favour of Knagg's shop is the fact that Robert of Goverton occurs among the witnesses of grants in Scotch Street near St Albans church in 1322 and 1335. In 1335 he was a witness to a grant to Adam le Sherman who in this year was one of the King's tenants in socage, possibly *in vico Ricardi* within the city, paying 12d. for a house.⁴⁸ His principal residence however, was on the west side of English Street, where he appears to have been a tenant of Thomas of Allonby. Thomas of Allonby, at one time held a tenement in Scotch Street, between a tenement of William Ironmonger and one of John Sorsulas, abutting on the highway and the chapel of St Alban, which in 1354 he leased to Thomas, son of Walter the spicer and Ellen his wife. This tenement may have descended to his son in law, John of Levington and may therefore be referred to again in 1401, when Robert of Skelton granted to John of Skelton a tenement *in vico Ricardi* between a tenement of John of Thirwell and one formerly in the occupation of John of Levington, also abutting on St Alban's Church and on the highway.⁴⁹ Both could have been situated on St Alban's Row, but if they fronted on Scotch Street itself then the presumption must be that they had been built on the roadside waste alongside the graveyard wall. If Robert of Goverton's house was on the site of No. 14 then the connection with Thomas of Allonby may have been through his wife, Mary who was an heiress in her own right, for in 1360 Thomas of Allonby made an agreement with Mathilda, widow of Robert of Burgh, about her claims to dower from lands in

Thurstanfield and Longburgh and to other properties in Carlisle.⁵⁰ The Poll Tax of 1377 gives Robert of Burgh, probably Mathilda's son, as a householder *in vico de Caldewe* near St Alban's church. (See below, p. 174).⁵¹

Behind St Alban's Row and other properties in Fisher Street Quarter

Behind Nos. 8 and 10 St Alban's Row was freehold property, latterly part of the Old Queen's Head, which included buildings which must have been built after the sale of the chantry and its lands in 1549, because they were clearly in the area of the former graveyard, and warehouse rooms fronting Rosemary lane and other buildings at the back of burgages fronting Fisher Street and behind No. 14 St Alban's Row, some of which had been in common ownership since the 17th century.⁵² In some cases the history of these properties can be traced back to the late 14th century and the sub-division of a plot of ground, originally in the holding of the de Vaux of Triermain family.

A key to the development of the area as a whole is provided by the deeds of a burgage, bought by Lord William Howard from Henry Denton of Carlisle on 10 February 1631-32 and conveyed to the use of himself and his wife, Elizabeth, by a deed of revocation of 4 July 1634. At the same time he bought a parcel of ground, formerly belonging to Edward Monk, lying on the west side of the burgage on the Fisher Street frontage. Subsequently the burgage was retained by the Howards of Corby and the series of deeds remains among their family muniments.⁵³

Henry Denton was the son of George Denton of Carlisle and nephew of Thomas Denton of Warnell. When he bought the property from Lawrence Morland of Botcher-gate, glover, on 9 October 1599, it was described as a burgage in Fisher Street, now in his tenure, lying between a tenement of George Denton on the north, a tenement of William Dickenson on the south, Fishergate on the west and a garden, now or formerly in the tenure of Thomas Warwick on the east. George Denton's tenement to the north was almost certainly a property belonging to the Crown acquired when the house of the Grey Friars was dissolved. In 1538 it was described as a house, granary and garden in Fishergate in the tenancy of Sir Christopher Dacre at an annual rent of 3s. 4d. In 1551-52, no rent was paid because it was used to house the King's artillery and ordnance.⁵⁴ In 1593, Matthew Monk of Carlisle, merchant, gave the reversion of his tenantry in a barn and two garths, then called the White Friars, but certainly the same property or part of it, after the death of his wife Dorothy, to his brother Thomas Monk, also a merchant. Thomas Monk died in 1598 and left the barn and two garths, then in lease to Thomas Browne, to his son Francis, who may then have sold his interest to George Denton. There was a close family relationship between the Monks and the Dentons, as Dorothy Monk was George Denton's sister. Edward Monk was nephew to both Matthew and Thomas Monk; his father, Richard Monk was a Dacre tenant of a burgage nearby on the west side of Fisher Street.⁵⁵

The modern title deeds of the Monks' White Friars tenement, later to become Huthart's shop and then part of the estate of Carlisle Bros., confirm that it stood on the south side of Rosemary Lane. The title begins in 1727, when John Lowson junior, shoemaker, made his will and left his freehold house, kitchen and stable to his mother, Margaret Lowson, widow, who sold to Mary Nixon. Almost immediately, Mary Nixon sold to Henry Hall, bookseller, who remained in occupation until his death in 1759.

When his widow, Ann, sold to Isaac Nixon on 24 March 1759, the house was described as a burgage in Rosemary Lane, at the head of Fisher Street, bounded by Rosemary Lane on the north and the dwelling house of James Nicholson, innkeeper, on the south and as having at one time been part of the property of the White Friars.⁵⁶

The tenement of the shoemaker William Dickenson, which in 1599, stood on the south side of the Howard of Corby burgage, was probably "the burgage in Fishergate in the possession of William Dickenson, shoemaker", mentioned in the will of Thomas Monk on 6 June 1598 and which Thomas held on a lease from John Blennerhasset of Flimby. (See below p. 176).⁵⁷

Lawrence Morland probably derived his title to Lord William Howard's burgage from the More or del More family of Carlisle as mesne tenants of the Salkelds of Corby, descendants by marriage of the de Vaux family of Triermain as will appear from the following deeds in the title:-

1. 25 March 1494. A quitclaim by Thomas More, citizen of Carlisle, to Sir Richard Salkeld and Joan his wife, of his interest in tenements in Fisher Street, near the church of St Alban, formerly the property of Joan, wife of Richard Vaux of Triermain, ancestor of Lady Joan Salkeld.

2. 2 October 1416. A quitclaim by William del More of Carlisle, mercer, of his interest in a parcel of land on his tenement which John of Morland held by gift of William Davison, parson of Thursby and a trustee of William del More. This quitclaim is attached to William Davison's deed of gift of 3 April 1415 in which the boundaries are defined. The parcel of land, measuring seventeen and a half yards by two and three quarter yards, was on the east side of Fisher Street, between a tenement where John Morland lived on the south and another tenement which William Davison held by William del More's gift. Witnesses in addition to the mayor and bailiffs, were John Hirnby, mercer, John Atkinson, draper, William Raper, John Grayson, mercer, Thomas Frankys, draper, John of Penrith, mercer, John Dowson, shoemaker, John of Thursby, mercer, Nicholas Taylor and Thomas Don, mercer; an indication perhaps of the commercial importance of this area so near to the market where barns and shop lofts could be used for the storage of merchandise.

On 14 September 1408, John Morland and Agnes, his wife, acquired from John Carruthers, vicar of Irthington, a vacant place behind the tenement belonging to Richard of Redness, next to the church of St Alban in Fisher Street, between the tenements of William Huby and John Escotson. One end abutted on the garden, formerly in the occupation of William of Carleton junior and the other on the tenement of Richard of Redness, next to the church. This plot of ground, measuring forty-five feet by twenty-four feet, enjoyed a right of entry through the tenement of Richard of Redness. The tenement where John Morland lived was probably held by him in the right of his wife, as previously on 14 June 1408, Robert Musgrave and John Austin, chaplains, as trustees of John Carruthers, had granted to Agnes Carruthers, servant of John Dickenson of Beaumont, a tenement in Fisher Street between tenements of William of Carleton junior and William Huby, one end abutting on the highway and the other on a tenement of Robert of Burgh. Agnes was probably a sister of John Carruthers, son of Richard Carruthers who had received the tenement from John of Bolteby and Joan his wife, prior to 22 August 1400 when John Carruthers, chaplain, granted it to his trustees. Another deed in the Howard of Corby title, to which Richard Carruthers was a witness, dated 12

March 1387-88, between Reynold of Redmain and Robert of Burgh, records that Reynold of Redmain was allowed to build a "frount" or porch to his tenement, standing next to the tenement where Robert of Burgh lived, on condition that it was placed as near to St Alban's graveyard as possible, that he would protect Robert's tenement from damage by roofing timbers and partitions of the newly built "frount" and that he would leave him reasonable access to his own porch. From the boundaries given in this agreement, it looks as if both the Redmain and the Burgh tenements stood on St Alban's Row and this is partly confirmed by a deed in the Dacre title to properties in Carlisle, mostly acquired by them from the Blennerhasset family. The deed is dated 3 April 1383, when John Nicholson, butcher, gave to William Saddler a tenement bounded by tenements of Robert of Burgh and William Freeman, one end abutting on St Alban's graveyard and the other on a garden of John Escotson. As the deed records, Nicholson had received the tenement by gift of Robert Goldsmith. Robert Goldsmith's will dated 31 January 1378-79 refers to a rent of 3s. a year from a tenement "*iuxta ecclesiam Sancti Albani*" which he gave to his daughter, Ellen.⁵⁸

Finally, the earliest surviving deed in the Howard of Corby title is a gift of 15 August 1373, by Richard Vaux of Triermain to John Vaux, of a messuage which stood near St Alban's church and was then in the occupation of John Coke. John Coke's name appears in the Poll Tax list of 1377 in Caldew ward in a sequence, roughly speaking from Rosemary Lane to St Alban's Row. Beginning with William of Carleton and his household we find William Birle, one of the witnesses of the 1373 deed, William Huby, John Kok, John Freeman, Robert of Burgh, another witness in 1373, John Nicholson, the butcher, Robert Chamberlain, William Redness, John, servant of Patrick Bakester, Ellen del Sandes and Alice Semestres.⁵⁹ William Carleton, junior, William Birle, William Huby and Robert of Burgh occupied tenements on the boundaries of the Howard of Corby burgage. John Freeman was perhaps a relative of William of the same surname in the Nicholson deed of 1383 and was certainly the same man whose tenement was on the boundary of Robert Whitehead's vacant plot which extended to Rosemary Lane. (See above p. 165). William Huby's tenement can surely be identified with the house of William Huby on the Hayrow from which forty shillings in annual rents went to make up part of the endowment of St Alban's chantry, together with another tenement formerly belonging to Robert Tebay having its porch or entry on "la Hayrow".⁶⁰ This tenement was bounded on one side by a tenement of Mary of Arthuret. In addition to Robert of Tebay, both Mary of Arthuret and the Community of the City were mentioned in the deed of foundation of the Chantry as future beneficiaries of the prayers of the priests serving the altar, presumably this was because they were landholders with interests in the area. Mary of Arthuret was a de Grinsdale heiress. William of Arthuret, her second husband, died about 1377 and on 21 April 1377 a deed of settlement was made of his estate. Among the tenants named was a John Bakester, for a tenement yielding an annual rent of 3s. 4d. In the Poll Tax, John, servant of Patrick Bakester, (another Arthuret tenant in English Street), occurs as a neighbour of William of Redness, surely a relative of Richard of Redness whose tenement in 1408 was near the church. (See above p. 174). John Nicholson's tenement which abutted on the graveyard was nearby. There is a further link with the Blennerhasset family as one of the main beneficiaries of the Arthuret estate when heirs failed, was John Blennerhasset of Carlisle. Two centuries later a direct

descendant, John Blennerhasset of Flimby was the landlord of William Dickenson's tenement on the south side of the Howard of Corby burgage. (See above p. 174).

John Bakester's tenement could be the same as the burgage in the tenure of John Dunken "set in Saynt Albayn Vennell", which yielded an annual rent of 3s. 4d. in 1546 when the survey of the chantry's lands was made and identical with Donkin's bakehouse of the 17th century.⁶¹ For the bakehouse the documentation is as follows:-

On 20 January 1639-40, Robert Shepherd, shoemaker, was admitted freeholder of a baking house, burgage and garth in St Alban's Row which had been left to him by his father in his will of 29 October 1637. When on 18 April 1653, Thomas Monk of Scotch Street, merchant and Annas or Agnes his wife became freeholders by purchase, the property was described more fully as a burgage "commonly called Donckins backhouse", containing four rooms, a garth and an orchard in St Alban's Row.⁶² The Parliamentary survey of the Dean and Chapter's estates in 1649-50 places the bakehouse on the north side of No. 14 St Alban's Row. William Atkinson was then the tenant of two shops and lofts, paying an annual rent of 5s. 4d., abutting upon a shop, late Robert Shepherd's, which presumably was part of his freehold on the north and Thomas Craister's customary shop on the south. He had received the two shops as the assignee of the assigns of George Cragg of Prior Hall, Ireby on a lease for ninety-nine years from 2 July 1559. (See above p. 172).⁶³

It is clear from the details given above that, in the 14th century at least, St Alban's graveyard was limited on its southern and western sides by the development of St Alban's Row and by the buildings and gardens in the Fisher Street quarter between Rosemary Lane on the north and the Row itself on the south. North of Rosemary Lane it would appear from the history of the King's Arms site that in the 15th century and perhaps long before, the graveyard was confined to the Scotch Street quarter east of the present Lane. (See above p. 165).

The Northern Boundary

The northern boundary of the graveyard is more difficult to determine. The 1976 excavations recovered human remains from behind the central entrance of the former Vasey's store, but in general the archaeological evidence was inconclusive. In fact the excavators thought that despite stray finds, the general absence of human remains in the area suggested that the graveyard did not extend as far as Rosemary Lane. From the Scotch Street end Rosemary Lane looks as if it might have been a through lane at one time, emerging in Fisher Street nearly opposite the former Brown's Lane, roughly on the line of the modern passageway. Its direction or line is comparable to the line of the former Sun vennel, now lost in the covered Market. Its name in Scotch Street, in the 17th century was Moore's vennel, (see below, p. 178). Although Wood's map of Carlisle, 1821, marks an open space on the south side of the Lane which was only later occupied by buildings, the detailed map of the area published in the Board of Health report of 1851 shows that the open space was in fact a yard which was divided from the Lane by a wall. In 1851, the yard belonged to the Duke's Head Public House. In this case the entrance to the Lane from Scotch Street was narrow and similar to other vennel entrances from the street. The Lane in Scotch Street is therefore not at all comparable to the "highway" entrance from Fisher Street.

The survey of Chantry lands in 1546 does not refer to property belonging to St Alban's in Scotch Street, but the original endowment deed of 1385, preserved among the Aglionby muniments, mentions a tenement "*in vico Ricardi*" within the city next to the garden of Gilbert Peper.⁶⁴ Among Dacre deeds in the Castle Howard muniments there are several references to Gilbert Peper's holdings in Fisher Street as follows:-

1. 6 October 1353. A grant by John le Ferour and Euphemia his wife, to Gilbert Peper of a plot of ground between John Threapland's land and Gilbert Peper's tenement, extending from the road below the walls running towards the Castle to a garden formerly John Yveson's.

2. 14 July 1397. A quitclaim by William of Arthuret, vicar of Arthuret to trustees, presumably Blennerhasset's, of his right to a tenement with kilns granges and gardens which Gilbert Peper formerly held as his dwelling place in Fisher Street and the rent issuing from it.

3. 8 April 1383. A damaged document which was probably a grant by Gilbert and his wife Margaret to Robert of Grinsdale of a tenement near St Alban's graveyard.⁶⁵

Additionally, in the deed of settlement of William of Arthuret's estate, 1377, Gilbert Peper is mentioned as an Arthuret tenant paying a rent of 20s. a year and in the Poll Tax of the same year his name occurs towards the head of Fisher Street on the east side not far from Rosemary Lane. The sequence is, William Waite, Gilbert Peper, Thomas of Rowclif, Thomas de Lucy, John Stele, Kokes, Agnes Broket, William Karlton, followed by the names of people occupying tenements south of Rosemary Lane.⁶⁶ The location of this tenement is confirmed by Robert Carlisle's purchase from Richard de Roos of property on the Tullie House site in Abbey Street and *inter alia* a tenement in Fisher Street on 1 February 1404-05, then held by John Knoblow, but formerly in the occupation of Adam Wallays, son of Bernard le Pulter, (MP for Carlisle, 1319 and 1325, mayor, 1323, occupant of a burgage in Scotch Street 1342-43, near to a Lanercost Priory burgage in which the Tebays held an interest), bounded by tenements of Thomas son of John Lucy and a tenement formerly belonging to William More, mercer. William More's garden in Fisher Street backed on to a Stapleton burgage on the west side of Scotch Street bounded on one side by the Lanercost Priory burgage and on the other by another Stapleton burgage. The earliest surviving City Freeholders list, c. 1565 gives Thomas Carlisle, gent. for this Fisher Street tenement of the Carlises, between John Blennerhasset's freehold on the south and a Dean and Chapter burgage on the north, and so places it on the site of the later Quaker Meeting House, north of the King's Arms. There is no way of being certain on present evidence but if these identifications are correct, then the Scotch Street property with which the Chantry was endowed in 1385 could have been on the north side of Rosemary Lane, backing on to Gilbert Peper's garden.⁶⁷

On the south side of the Lane the documentation is as follows:-

1. 18 April 1653. Thomas Sowerby, butcher was admitted freeholder of a burgage in Scotch Street, adjoining the house of Mr John Aglionby on one side and of William Carlisle on the other, by purchase from Robert and Benjamin Ellison of Newcastle, merchants on 1 December 1651.

2. 20 May 1653. Thomas Sowerby passed this same burgage to George Sowerby and Jane his wife, now described as a burgage adjoining the tenement of John Aglionby on

the south and a tenement of the Reverend Leonard Milbourne on the north, the street on the east and the burgage of Janet Barnfather, widow, on the west.⁶⁸

The Freeholders list of 1636-37 running from south to north along Scotch Street gives Edward Aglionby, Francis Robinson, shoemaker, William Robinson, Bassenthwaite, and then Edward Milbourne. The Barnfather burgage and the Aglionby burgage can be further documented thus:-

1. 18 January 1640-41, Mabel Barnfather was admitted freeholder of a burgage in Moore's vennel, (Rosemary Lane), bought from Francis Robinson by Clement Barnfather, deceased and bequeathed to Mabel, who occurs in the Freeholders list, 1645 as then under age. In the list for 1660, Janet Barnfather, widow, has replaced William Robinson, who was still the freeholder in 1645, and William Ursley and Mabel his wife are named for Mabel Barnfather's burgage. Presumably Mabel had in the meantime married William Ursley.

2. Freeholders lists, 1636-37 and 1645, confirm that Aglionby's burgage stood immediately to the south of a burgage which had at one time belonged to the heirs of Adam Ward. The list for 1680 says that the heir of Thomas Ward had sold the burgage to Robert Jackson, gent., thus identifying the later Blue Bell Inn, (part of Vasey's store), as Ward's burgage and the Duke's Head as Aglionby's. The Sowerby burgage may then have stood on the north side of Rosemary Lane.⁶⁹

On 14 July 1546, before the sale of the lands of the chantry of St Alban which did not take place until 1549, Achilles James of Carlisle, merchant, sold to Edward Aglionby a tenement in Scotch Street then in the tenure of Henry Monk, to hold directly of the King in free burgage but not in chief. Clearly this was the root of title for the Aglionby burgage, but another deed survives among the Aglionby muniments which may have come into Edward Aglionby's possession at the time of his purchase from Achilles James. It is a grant by Henry the girdler, on 29 March 1322, to Henry, son of Alan the burnisher (Furber), of half a messuage in Scotch Street lying between the messuages of John and Henry Birle, measuring seventeen feet by eleven feet. Among the witnesses were Robert of Goverton, Adam the tailor and Ralph the tailor. One penny house gavel was payable to the King. On 30 August 1568, John Aglionby leased to John Monk, for sixty-one years at an annual rent of 16s. his tenement in Scotch Street, formerly the dwelling house of Henry Monk, clearly the burgage bought in 1546. John Monk agreed to keep the property in repair "as it is built with post and panne and covered with slate", together with the houses which John Aglionby intended to build on the waste ground.⁷⁰ The reference to tenure in free burgage but not in chief in the deed of 1546 may imply an alienation to a mesne lord sometime in the past, perhaps as a dependency to a manor. On the other hand the reference to the waste land nearby upon which houses were to be built in 1568, may suggest that in origin the original burgage was granted from the waste or that the waste land may have been acquired by Aglionby from part of the former graveyard for the purpose of enlarging his holding. Whatever the answer, it would seem likely from its past history that the burgage was outside the graveyard wall in 1546 and so the northern limit of the graveyard must be expected to lie within the boundary of the later Blue Bell Inn.

During most of the time for which records survive the conclusion must be that the church and graveyard occupied a constricted site at the head of Scotch Street. Archaeological evidence alone can decide the date at which burials ceased in the

graveyard; the historical record strongly suggests that they did not continue for long after 1356, but the chapel continued to be favoured by the townspeople as a chantry until it was finally extinguished between 1546 and 1549. That the pre-Norman chapel and graveyard might at one time have extended southwards to the present old Town Hall is a possibility, but much will depend upon the age of the burial found on this site. The historical record is a blank as to burials on the Fisher Street side, but clearly by 1201 the ground both north and south of Rosemary Lane was open for development. The presence of the chapel and its graveyard at the time of the Norman settlement, after 1092, prevented burgrave development near the market place on the west side of Scotch Street and increased the commercial importance and value of King John's grant of the open ground at the head of Fisher Street. The contrast between the two sides of Scotch Street is evident even in records of the 17th century. For example the freeholders list for 1636-37 gives twenty freeholds on the east side and fifteen on the west. Three of these fifteen freeholds dated only from the sale of the chantry lands in 1549. The hearth tax list of 1673 gives ten households with more than three hearths on the east side, including one of six, two of five and three of four. On the west side there was one of four in the area of St Alban's and two of three on the site of the present market entrance, but these two were the result of the partition of the original burgrave c. 1650.⁷¹ As to ancient public houses, on the east side, nine houses had brewing vessels capable of brewing 4.5 bushels at one brewing and three capable of brewing 6 bushels as recorded in a return of baking ovens and brewing vessels made in 1639-40. On the west side, there were five houses with brewing vessels capable of brewing 4.5 bushels and a possible two of six bushels.⁷² The Red Heart, mentioned as a meeting place for a Commission of the Exchequer in 1633 was one of the five capable of brewing 4.5 bushels. In 1639-40 it was in the occupation of Dorothy Middleton, daughter of Eleanor Warwick, the innkeeper in 1633.⁷³ The Old Bush and the Lion and the Lamb on the east side were clearly large and important public houses by the middle of the 17th century.⁷⁴ The more famous Blue Bell on the west side did not come into prominence until the 18th century. As late as 1762 the Lion and Lamb Inn, occupying the site of 65-67 Scotch Street, could be described as "All that large tenement of houses with garden, offices, etc. called King's Arms at the head of Scotch Street, in the market place, in the occupation of Mrs Lupton".⁷⁵

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Mr Tom Clare and Mr Graham Keevil for advice and for giving me access to their unpublished reports, Mr Denis Perriam for references in printed local newspapers and the Carlisle Archaeological Unit for drawing the maps based upon surveys by the Board of Ordnance, Studholme and for the Board of Health Commissioners, 1749, 1828 and 1850. (Originals or photocopies in the Cumbria Record Office, Carlisle DX 454, Ca 2/17 Ca. C. 12/1/7.).

Notes and References

- ¹ Graham Keevil *Excavation Report: 66-68 Scotch Street* (Forthcoming). Tom Clare *Excavation Report: 59-62 Scotch Street* (typescript) 1976. Quotation from *Carlisle Journal* kindly supplied by Denis Perriam.

- ² *Victoria County History: Cumberland* 1., 388 (hereafter V.C.H.).
- ³ Austen Lane Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1215* (Oxford, 1951) 430-431, also 422.
- ⁴ Cumbria County Record Office (Carlisle), hereafter C.R.O., D/HC2/7.4 and Summerson. Transcript of deeds at Castle Howard No. 148 (hereafter CH).
- ⁵ C.R.O. T/SM5/box 7 deeds of the King's Head.
- ⁶ V.C.H. 1. Pipe Roll entries 1191-1205 *passim* and F. W. Ragg, "The Earlier Owners of Edenhall". CW2, xiii, 201 ff.
- ⁷ A. L. Poole *op.cit.*, 422.
- ⁸ Prescott, *The Register of Wetherhal Priory* (hereafter *Wetheral*) 190 (CW Record Series I. 1897).
- ⁹ C.R.O. DRC1/2, 482.
- ¹⁰ J. H. Martindale, "Kirkbampton Church", CW2, xiii, 252. Hutchinson 2. 511-512.
- ¹¹ Ragg, *loc.cit.* and V.C.H. 1. 357.
- ¹² Francis Grainger and W. F. Collingwood. *The Register and Records of Holm Cultram* (hereafter *Holm Cultram*) (CW Record Series VII). 16-17, Nos. 44 and 46.
- ¹³ C.R.O. D/LONS./L 5/1. Additional Denton Deeds (hereafter Denton deeds), cited in B. C. Jones, "Before Tullie House", CW2, lxxxviii, 133 and 138. C.R.O. D/Mh. TL 542 /6 *Liber lacerat* 142, D/Mus Carlisle deeds, Nicholas son of John of Crofton to John of Newark, c. 1270-1280 and *Holm Cultram* nos. 43, 43a-d.
- ¹⁴ C.R.O. D/LONS/L 5/1 Denton deeds. Division of the estate of Adam of Crofton between William of Arthuret and Mary his wife and Adam of Staffield, his co-heirs 1 July 1352, also Allocation of the estate of William of Arthuret to Thomas his son and heir and Thomas of Sandford and Mary his wife, 28 April 1376. Also CH no. 105 and 106. See also Grinsdale/Crofton pedigree CW2, lxxxviii 131. C.R.O. D/Ay 1/88 and CH nos. 115, 130, 148.
- ¹⁵ CW2, lxix, 102 ff.
- ¹⁶ G. Keevil, *Carlisle Cathedral Excavations 1988*: Interim Report. Carlisle Archaeological Unit. (Summer 1989).
- ¹⁷ David Hugh Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (O.U.P., 1978).
- ¹⁸ W. Percy Hedley, "Odard *Vicecomes*", CW2, lix, 41 ff.
- ¹⁹ R. L. Storey, "The Chantries of Cumberland and Westmorland, part 1". CW2, lx, 70-71.
- ²⁰ R. S. Ferguson *Testamenta Karleolensia* (hereafter T.K.). 1353-1386 (CW Extra Series IX), 118. R. N. Swanson, "*Sede Vacante Administration of the Medieval Diocese of Carlisle; the accounts of the vacancy of December 1395 to March 1396*", CW2, xc, Appendix.
- ²¹ Thomas Hearne ed. *Leland's Itinerary* Vol. VII part one. (Oxford, 1769) (from the library of the County Record Office, County Offices, Kendal).
- ²² Public Record Office, London (P.R.O.) E 315, 376 "The Stret callyd new Rentes" and the reprises.
- ²³ Dean and Chapter Records, Carlisle (D. and C.) E2/1-2. Rental 1613/14. Chapter Register III, 26 and C.R.O. D/Cha. original Chapter Lease 1842.
- ²⁴ C.R.O. Ca/C 8/6. Escheat case papers. Documents put in evidence by the Crown, 31. Patent Roll 22 Edward III 3. m. 36.
- ²⁵ C.R.O. DX 1090/5/ Summerson transcripts of documents in the P.R.O. 946 P.R.O. E 101/18/40.
- ²⁶ C.R.O. D/LONS/L. 5/1. Denton deeds. See also CW2, lxxxviii, 136. C.R.O. Ca 5/40.
- ²⁷ C.R.O. DX 1090/2 (hereafter Summerson) 311 E 372 21 Edward I 1293-93, C.R.O. Ca 5/2/21 and D/Mus. Carlisle, un-numbered deeds 1381 and 1349.
- ²⁸ D. and C. EF 3, Chap. Reg. VI, 147, EM3/1. C.R.O. original chapter leases. See also P. 1665 the will of Thomas Carlisle, merchant.
- ²⁹ C.R.O. Ca 3/30, 189 and 303, for Blamire's dwelling house and shop and Ca 3/3/25 for Cape's, later Studholme's.
- ³⁰ C.R.O. Ca 5/1/27, 30 and 31.
- ³¹ C.R.O. Ca/C 8/6 Escheat case papers as above, 68.
- ³² Ferguson T. K., *op.cit.*, 58.
- ³³ C.R.O. Summerson 770 P.R.O. C. D/LONS/L 5/2 Carlisle 5., Ca 8/6 as above, Ca 5/1 13b, D/LONS/L 5/1 Rental of Grinsdale and Gerbot lands q.v. also CW2, lxxxviii, 136 n. 51. Ca 2/19.
- ³⁴ From a photograph of an original drawing of a map of Carlisle in the British Library Cotton MSS. Aug. Vol. I 13. Also in Lyson's *Britannia: Cumberland* vol. IV, 58. 1816.
- ³⁵ C.R.O. Ca 5/1/47. Information about Harding's shop from Town Hall deeds, Ca 5/2/27 ff.

- ³⁶ C.R.O. Ca 5/2/27-29.
- ³⁷ C.R.O. P. 1594 will of Matthew Monk, merchant.
- ³⁸ Information from Graham Keevil, 1989.
- ³⁹ C.R.O. Ca 3/3/18.
- ⁴⁰ P.R.O. E. 315, 376.
- ⁴¹ Carlisle City. Deed packet no. 583 (2). Also Ca 3/3/1-12. Freeholders lists from 1636-37 and CW2, lx, 74.
- ⁴² C.R.O. D/Mus. Carlisle deeds.
- ⁴³ C.R.O. Ca 5/1/40. Ferguson T. K., 104. For translation of *macellum* see Migne *Lexicon Manuale ad Scriptores Mediae et infimae*.
- ⁴⁴ C.R.O. D/Ha (4844).
- ⁴⁵ D. and C. EM3/1, Chapter manors, court book, temporarily at C.R.O., P.R.O. prob. 11 245, will of Thomas Monk and C.R.O. DX 157/6.
- ⁴⁶ D. and C. records EM3/1 and Chapt. Regs. III 44v and V, 38.
- ⁴⁷ C.R.O. D/LONS/L 5/1. C 32. confirmation by the bishop of the grant of the manor.
- ⁴⁸ C.R.O. Summerson 946, and CH No. 49.
- ⁴⁹ C.R.O. D/Mus. Carlisle deeds. For John of Levington see F. W. Ragg, CW2, xiii, 220 and C.R.O. Ca/C 8/6 Inquisitions *post mortem* John of Levington I 1384 and John of Levington II 1427. Also Summerson 950 Ancient deeds C. 146/3468.
- ⁵⁰ C.R.O. D/Mus. (Cumberland deeds). The deed is not dated as to day or month but the year is 1359-60.
- ⁵¹ CW2, lviii, 116.
- ⁵² See above, p. 171-2.
- ⁵³ C.R.O. D/HC2 deeds of Lord William Howard's burgage.
- ⁵⁴ C.R.O. Summerson p. 870 P.R.O. SC 6 Edward VI 107 5 Mich-6Mich. Edward VI.
- ⁵⁵ C.R.O. P. 1594 and P. 1598, wills of Matthew Monk and his brother, Thomas, P. 1579 will of their father, John Monk.
- ⁵⁶ C.R.O. D/Ha. Calendar of deeds, formerly Carlisle Bros. in the possession (1983) of Mr P. Yardley.
- ⁵⁷ C.R.O. P. 1598 will of Thomas Monk. Also CH. no. 111.
- ⁵⁸ Ferguson, T. K., p. 123.
- ⁵⁹ CW2, lviii, 116.
- ⁶⁰ C.R.O. D/Ay.
- ⁶¹ CW2, lx, 69.
- ⁶² C.R.O. Ca 3/3/22(8) and 25(7).
- ⁶³ D. and C. records EM3/1.
- ⁶⁴ As for note 60.
- ⁶⁵ CH nos. 73, 130, 115.
- ⁶⁶ CW2, lx, 69.
- ⁶⁷ C.R.O. D/LONS/L 5/1 D. 41 and CW2, lxxxviii, 130. For Bernard le Pulter see V.C.H. 2, and C.R.O. Calendar of Carlisle City Records, List of Mayors. For Adam le Walays, see C.R.O. DZ1 Lanercost Cartulary, 254 and D/Mus. E. 79. For location of the Lanercost burgage see my un-published notes on properties in Scotch Street. Also Freeholders list c. 1565. C.R.O. Ca 2/19.
- ⁶⁸ C.R.O. Ca 3/3/25.
- ⁶⁹ C.R.O. Ca 3/3, Ca 3/3/23, Ca 3/3/1.
- ⁷⁰ C.R.O. D/Ay. 1/18, 217, 229.
- ⁷¹ C.R.O. Library. Transcript of the Carlisle Hearth Tax by John Steadman.
- ⁷² John Steadman's transcript of P.R.O. S.P. 16 444/24 51v. in my possession.
- ⁷³ C.R.O. Ca 2/80. P. 1636. Will of Eleanor Warwick. This inn may have been later called the Sun, referred to in Ca 4/3 1669-70.
- ⁷⁴ P.R.O. SP16 as above and 1673 Hearth Tax, Ca 4/3 1668. P. 1686 will and inventory Simon Tait.
- ⁷⁵ C.R.O. D/Cart. /C 13/11.

