SALISBURY

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SALISBURY

The first town to be called Salisbury was sited on the hill-top above the east bank of the Avon about two miles north of the medieval foundation in the plain below.[1] This site, fortified in the Iron Age, was called by the Romans *Sorviodvnvm*, a Latinization of its British name, and by the Saxons *Searoburh*. The Romans clearly regarded it as of importance, for it was the crossing place of two roads, those from Silchester to Dorchester and from Winchester to the Mendips, while a third led from it to *Cunetio* (Mildenhall near Marlborough). Evidence of Roman occupation from the first to the late third century has been found. In 552 it was the scene of a battle between the Britons and West Saxons, and the fact that it remained part of the demesne of the Saxon kings, when all the surrounding land was given to the church, suggests that it was used as a royal stronghold. It has even been suggested that Wilton, an important Saxon town from at least the ninth century, but relatively weakly defended, was in some way linked with the hill fort. At all events, when Wilton was sacked by the Danes in 1003 they went on to Salisbury, but no assault on it is recorded. Moreover, the evidence of coins shows that moneyers, once at Wilton, took refuge in Salisbury where they continued to operate.[2]

The hill of Salisbury thus assumed its greatest importance in troubled times, and its defensive value clearly appealed to William I, who had a castle built within its ramparts. It was evidently an inhabited place with urban characteristics when the Normans came and made it the centre of the administration of the shire. Moneyers, whose activities were confined to 'ports' (i.e. trading centres), worked there continuously from the early 11th century to the reign of Henry II, and where there was a mint there was almost certainly a market. The decree of 1075 by the Council of London that seats of bishops should be moved from villages to cities led to the removal of the cathedral of the united sees of Ramsbury and Sherborne to a site within the outer bailey of the royal castle.[3] The choice of Salisbury struck William of Malmesbury as strange, the place being 'a castle rather than a city, an unknown place'.[4] Nevertheless, by 1086 and probably earlier it was sufficiently urban in character to pay the distinctive third penny to the king. Henry I granted the burgesses a charter conferring a guild merchant and freedom from toll and customs.[5] The place-name Newtown Westgate, though only found when the town was in decay, may well indicate an attempt, perhaps associated with this charter, to lay out a new or extended borough on that side of the castle. There was certainly a suburb there, and others on the south and east which seem to have been of some extent.[6]

Domesday Book makes it clear that in 1086 the name Salisbury was also applied, and no doubt long had been, to a group of manors belonging to the bishop, which included the later parishes of Woodford, Stratford, and Milford. In the 12th century this estate was named Old Salisbury or the Old Salisburys (*Veteres Sarisbiriae*) to distinguish it from the royal borough with its castle and cathedral. The latter formed a tiny lay island in a sea of ecclesiastical property, and had probably been reserved to the kings of Wessex because of its defensive strength. It was only when the cathedral was moved to a site within the manor of Old Salisbury, and the new town grew up around it, that the epithet 'Old' was attached to the royal borough. From the 13th century it was commonly called Old Sarum and the city in the plain became New Sarum.[7]

The Site of New Salisbury

Over a hundred new towns were established in England between 1086 and 1300, but no foundation was so spectacular as that of the city of New Salisbury, which was preceded by the removal of the cathedral from the hill top to the new site in the plain. The utter desolation of the old site, its gloomy grandeur, and its later notoriety as a rotten borough, against the splendid and immediate success of the new city, all combined to fix it in the popular mind, and to gather legends about it, such as that of the site being revealed in a dream.[8] Nevertheless, the reasons for wanting to move the cathedral as set out by the chapter to the Pope in 1217 are straightforward and plausible. The chief was clearly friction between the garrison and the clergy, which, it can be imagined, had been acute in times when the king was at odds with the church. The castellan would interfere with the coming and going both of the clergy and of pilgrims. Moreover, the site was bleak and windswept, without trees and grass, and water had to be fetched from a distance at a high price. It must long have been clear that there were more eligible sites on the surrounding church land, and a decision to move the cathedral was taken in the last years of the 12th century. For reasons probably political, nothing was done until 1217, when the chapter, soon aided by the new bishop, Richard Poore, petitioned the Pope for authority to move. The traditional story, that the clergy were refused permission to return to the cathedral from a Rogationtide procession in that year may well be true, and indicate that relations with the garrison were unusually strained at this time.[9]

With some six square miles of ecclesiastical territory at hand, the choice of the new site was clearly a matter of importance. That chosen was an almost flat area, about 150 feet above sea level, bounded on the west and south by

The following special abbreviations have been used:
D. & C. Sar.: Dean and Chapter of Salisbury.
Hatcher, *Salisbury*: R. Benson and H. Hatcher, *Old and New Sarum or Salisbury* (1834), a part of Sir Richard Colt Hoare's *Modern Wiltshire*.
Sar. Chart. and Doc.: *Charters and Documents illustrating the History of Salisbury* (R.S.), ed. W. D. Macray.
Sar. Corp MSS.: Salisbury Corporation MSS.
W.A.M.: *Wiltshire Archaeological . . . Magazine*.

[1] In view of the recent and detailed account of Salisbury's buildings and economic history in V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi, it has been thought best to devote special attention to the foundation of the new city.
[2] V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi. 51-3; P. A. Rahtz and J. W. G. Musty, 'Excavations at Old Sarum, 1957': *W.A.M.* lvii. 353-70; R. H. M. Dolley and D. M. Metcalf, 'Reform of the English Coinage under Edgar' in *Anglo-Saxon Coins*, ed. R. H. M. Dolley, 153.
[3] V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi. 53, 60.
[4] *Gest. Pont.* (R.S.), ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, 67, 183.
[5] V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi. 62.
[6] J. W. G. Musty and P. A. Rahtz, *W.A.M.* lix. 130-54.
[7] V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi. 51-2.
[8] *Tropenell Cartulary*, ed. J. S. Davies, i. 184-5.
[9] V.C.H. *Wilts*. iii. 164-5; *Sar. Chart and Doc.*, 267.

the Avon, on the north by the chalk ridge rising towards Old Sarum, and on the east by the low ridge of Milford Hill, with the Bourne to the east. This valley site was within a mile of the junction of the Nadder and the Bourne with the Avon. It was thus the focus of four of the five river valleys of the chalk country of south Wiltshire, for the Wylye runs into the Nadder at Wilton, three miles to the north-west. The fifth of the plain rivers, the Chalke, joins the Avon at the same distance below. Along these rivers for twenty miles or more in each direction are the villages of the plain, whose economy, as first revealed in contemporary documents, was already prosperously based on corn and sheep farming. Between the valleys the high chalk ridges point inwards to within half a mile of the centre of the city. On them, hard roads, easily accessible from the villages, connected the new settlement with its whole hinterland. Some were replaced by valley roads in turnpike days and became lanes.

What was on the site before the new city was built can only be guessed, for there is little evidence. The Rogationtide procession of 1217 is said in the 15th-century account of the removal to have visited St. Martin's church, and archaeological and architectural evidence indicates that a church existed in the 12th century.[10] In the 14th century, deeds referred to property 'outside the bars opposite the bishop's villeinage at old town', or 'opposite the bishop's villeinage as it leads towards St. Martin's church'.[11] The villeins were no doubt those of the bishop's manor of Milford still living on the fringe of the new city.[12] Besides this small rural settlement on the slope of Milford Hill and near the ancient road to Southampton, there may have been a second one near the site of the later town mills by Fisherton Bridge. It seems likely that one of the mills belonging to the bishop's manor of Salisbury, recorded in 1086, was sited here and that there was a crossing of the river, either by ford or bridge.

It is suggested that the new settlement began in the common marsh of Milford manor, its least valuable land, and then spread into its poorest common field. It is known that at least a part of the site of the city was called Myrifield; a late account calls it a meadow, but the name indicates common-field land of a muddy kind, and analogy with other chalk parishes suggests that Milford had a 'low field' on badly-drained land at the foot of its hill. Nearer the river to the west might be expected at this time a 'marsh', that is a rough pasture as there certainly was on the Fisherton side of the Avon. A 15th-century account actually says that the site was a marsh for pasturing animals belonging to Milford manor.[13] Moreover, the second element of the name Bugmore, the area south-west of St. Martin's church, means 'marsh', and we have here possibly a survival of the name originally applied to the whole common marsh of Milford.[14] The existence of a common field with established ways through it, and probably also drainage ditches, would account for the irregularities observable in the lay-out of the city. The curve of New Canal and Milford Street for instance, may be the result of the deep ditch along the former being already in existence, possibly forming a division between the common field and the common marsh. It should also be noted that the course of the ditch is approximately on the division of the alluvium to the south and gravel to the north, where in fact the boundary between marsh and field could be expected. The departure from parallel in the course of Castle Street, Milford Street, and St. Ann Street could equally be due to the existence of established ways across, or skirting, the common field from Salisbury on the hill to the mill near Fisherton, from the river crossing there towards Milford, and from the settlement near St. Martin's church into the common field. Finally, it should also be noted that crofts which existed in the 14th century, one with hedges and ditches near Castle Bar called Galiencroft, and one called Martin Croft, on which the street called Nuggeston was built,[15] may have been relics of the pre-settlement topography of the area. So indeed may be the Greencroft to the north-east, which gave its name to a street.[16]

Before the wholesale move began, the bishop already had a house, presumably on the site of his later palace, called New Place at the 'Old Salisburys' by the river. In 1219 a graveyard was consecrated and a wooden chapel built. The foundation stones of the cathedral were laid the following year and by 1225 the east end was sufficiently advanced for three altars to be consecrated.[17] The chapter was a secular one, so its members needed houses. The building of these began in 1219, and by 1222 it was ordered that sites on which buildings had not been begun by the following Whitsun should be disposed of.[18] Master Elias of Dereham, the probable architect of the cathedral, built Leadenhall as a pattern for the houses of his fellow canons.[19] As land was plentiful a spacious lay-out was adopted. The cathedral stood roughly in the centre of an area of some eighty acres, bounded on the north and east and partly on the south by a wall with a ditch outside it. The ditch may have been dug to mark out the precinct at its foundation, but royal licence to build the wall was not obtained until 1327. Four years later permission was granted to remove stone from Old Sarum for the purpose, but the supply of stone was still causing difficulty in 1342. When completed the wall was battlemented, had a wall-walk and four gates,[20] but it was never built beyond Harnham Gate, where it should presumably have turned south to the river.

The south-east quarter of the close was set aside for the bishop's palace, while on the western and northern sides the houses of the clergy were laid out along two walks set well back from the cathedral, in accordance with a chapter decree of 1222. Those on the west had particularly spacious gardens leading down to the Avon. Most of the houses on the north were set in from the close wall, but to the west of the north gate the houses were much closer to it, so that there was a small green plot before them. This was presumably so that as many houses as possible could be built on the more desirable west side. Only the north walk developed an inner group of buildings at its east end, turning down towards the palace to form a small east walk.

[10] W.A.M. lvii. 40-49, with plan of earlier church (c.1109) on a different site.
[11] Sar. Corp. MSS. Domesday Bk. iii.
[12] The houses of some copyhold tenants of the manor remained there until the 18th century. One holding was significantly called Old Town, a name in use in 1395: Sar. Dioc. Record Office, Ch. Com. 160671.
[13] Tropenell Cart., i. 166, 185; D. & C. Sarum Deeds, Mixed 22.
[14] P.N. Wilts. (E.P.N.S.), 23.
[15] D. & C. Sarum Deeds 1/43; Sar. Corp. MSS. will of Hen. Baudrei, 1348.
[16] V.C.H. Wilts. vi. 85. Greencroft came into the city's possession in the mid-16th century.
[17] Ibid. iii. 165. A charter was granted in June 1218, ad Novum Locum apud Veteres Sarisbirias: Sar. Chart. and Doc., 84
[18] Kathleen Edwards, 'Houses of Salisbury Close in the 14th Century', Jnl. Brit. Arch. Assoc. (3rd ser.), iv. 54-115.
[19] W.A.M. xxxix, 433-44. The surviving undercrofts of the bishop's palace and of the North Canonry probably date from this early period; the Deanery (now the Old Deanery), which still has its original roof, with louvre framing for a central hearth, dates from c.1258-74: Antiq. Jnl. 1964, 41-59.
[20] V.C.H. Wilts. vi. 75.

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The Foundation of the City

No record remains of any previous decision to establish a new town at the cathedral's gates, but it is unlikely that the exceptionally able group of men, who formed the chapter at the time of the move had not planned to do so. Licences to have a market and a two-day fair on the new site were obtained in 1219 and 1221. The licence for a market was renewed for short periods, from time to time, until in April 1224 it was granted for a whole year. As it was called the market of New Salisbury, its existence may be taken as a sign that permanent settlers were already established. The bishop's charter to his 'free citizens of the city of New Salisbury' followed in the next year; and in 1227 a royal charter gave the new citizens further extensive privileges. The king re-inforced his charter by sending letters to nine sheriffs and twenty-nine towns, including Bristol and Exeter, to inform them of the grant.[21] The Crown was evidently anxious to ensure the success of the project.

The creation of seignorial boroughs was a common-place by 1200: the bishops of Salisbury had two; and only a few miles to the south of the city's new site the Bishop of Winchester had a small manorial borough at Downton; and just as the Salisbury clergy were moving to their new houses, he was founding the borough of Hindon in the common fields of East Knoyle, fifteen miles to the west.[22] As a sixteenth-century account of the foundation of New Salisbury says, the canons doubtless agreed to found a town as it would be convenient, commodious, and profitable.[23] They could hardly have foreseen, however, the phenomenal success which was to attend their enterprise. Just over a century later Salisbury ranked as the ninth wealthiest provincial town in England. More than one reason is needed to account for this. The removal of the clergy from the old site to the new must have provided an immediate incentive for traders who depended on their custom to move too, thus speedily reducing the old royal borough to ruin. The building of the cathedral, belfry, cloisters, chapter-house, canons' houses, and close walls and gates occupied well over a century, and obviously provided continuous employment for large numbers of craftsmen and traders, besides those employed in building the new town itself. Pilgrims, attracted by indulgences and the splendour of the new buildings, needed to be provided for. In addition, there was the castle at Old Sarum, garrisoned throughout the reign of Henry III, and intermittently repaired into the 14th century; it housed the county gaol and sheriff's offices even later. Two miles to the east was the royal palace of Clarendon, a favourite of Henry III, who spent large sums on its extension and embellishment.[24] But some more solid reasons are needed to explain why Salisbury became a regional centre of trade and, for its period, a great industrial town eclipsing the old established boroughs of Wilton and Old Salisbury.

The chief of the economic advantages it had to offer was undoubtedly its position. The inhabitants of most villages within twenty miles to the north, east, or west could climb out of them on to a ridgeway road, which did not descend into a valley again until it came to Salisbury. Wilton did not offer this advantage, an important one when the valley bottoms, before the making of water meadows, were more water-logged than in later times, and when good bridges were fewer. Salisbury also had the inestimable advantages of a good road on well-drained ground to Southampton and of lying between that port and Wilton. The road from London to Exeter, one of the great main routes in England in the 14th century, also ran through it.[25] Before the building of New Salisbury, Wilton offered a resting place to travellers on this road, which ran to the west on the chalk ridge to the south of the Nadder valley. Going east travellers probably crossed the Avon at Stratford and so gained the Roman road from Old Sarum to Winchester. The building of the new city probably had the immediate effect of diverting this road to the south, so that it was entered from the east across Clarendon Park and the crossing of the Bourne at Milford. To the west, the new route left the city by the crossing into Fisherton, which meant that travellers had to go to Wilton before they could cross the Nadder and climb on to the ridgeway road to Shaftesbury and the west. In 1244, however, Bishop Bingham built a great stone bridge of ten arches over the Avon leading to the south, so that the western road could be reached by loaded carts without the necessity of going into Wilton. This clearly proved a master stroke in the development of the city. As Leland said: 'the chaunging of this way was the totale cause of the ruine of Old-Saresbyri and Wiltoun'.[26] The heavy traffic which would come this way was foreseen, for when the great bridge was made, a chapel of St. John was built on an island part-way across, and the adjacent Hospital of St. Nicholas was charged with the maintenance of both the chapel and the bridge.[27]

Next in importance were the privileges bestowed or obtained by the bishop. The royal charter of 1227 provided the legal framework for the city's development: New Salisbury was to be a free city, its citizens were to have freedom of toll throughout the land (i.e. in practice in the king's demesnes), and all the liberties enjoyed by Winchester; the bishop was licenced to have a fair and market, and to alter the course of roads and bridges for the improvement of the city.[28] This last unusual clause is an interesting indication of the prescience of the founder. Already the bishop had granted his citizens the right to hold their tenements freely for a ground rent of 12d. with power to dispose of them freely. Fortified by these two charters, the future was largely in the hands of the citizens themselves. Winchester enjoyed as extensive privileges and customs as any city in the kingdom and Salisbury could now, if it suited its citizens, adopt any of its customs it chose, subject to the approval of its own overlord. There is little doubt that a guild merchant was at once formed and that municipal officers, headed by a mayor, were elected. For local government purposes the city was divided into four aldermanries, later called wards.[29]

The bishop's overlordship was undoubtedly of great assistance in the early period of fierce economic competition

[21] Ibid. 52; *Sarum Chart. and Doc.*, 175-8; *Rot. Litt. Claus.* (Rec. Com.), i. 466, 527, 542b, 561, 594b; ii. 177b.
[22] M. Beresford, 'Six New Towns of the Bishops of Winchester', *Medieval Archaeology*, iii. 187-215.
[23] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 269.
[24] *History of the King's Works*, ed. H. M. Colvin, ii. 824-8, 910-18.
[25] Bodl. Libr. Gough Map; *Ec.H.R.* vii. 7-9.
[26] Leland, *Itin.*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, i. 260.
[27] *Cartulary of St. Nicholas Hospital*, ed. C. Wordsworth, 22-23, 30; *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 344.
[28] *Sarum Chart. and Doc.*, 175-8.
[29] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 728. Guild and mayor are referred to in 1249: *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 95, 132.

with Wilton, the shire town which had long been established as a flourishing trading centre. It was alleged in 1275, to take one example of Wilton's vigorous methods, that its bailiffs forcibly prevented merchants from coming to Salisbury and compelled them to trade in Wilton market. In disputes such as these, over markets and fairs, it proved advantageous to have an influential protector at hand, while the lords of Wilton, although equally powerful were remote figures, frequently abroad.[30] The bishop did not exaggerate, in the preamble to the agreement of 1306, when he declared that the burgesses of Salisbury were so strengthened with privileges that fame publicly proclaimed them a chosen race, and the city so glorious, in many respects, that he deemed himself happy who was considered worthy to become a citizen.[31] In fact, the number of surnames of its citizens taken from local place names, especially from south Wiltshire and Dorset, show what a great attraction to enterprising immigrants the city had become.

The Thirteenth-century City

The detailed tracing of the development of the street plan is impossible, both because of the paucity of evidence and the rapidity with which it was accomplished. It has been suggested above that there were already features such as settlements, established ways and water-courses which influenced the lay-out of the streets. The definition of the cathedral precincts and its entrances and the site of the market-place, which must have been fixed by 1219, added to these. The site chosen for the market lay near the river crossing and at the junction of the way from Old Sarum, running southwards to the north gate of the Close and an east-west way from Wilton to Milford. Soon after, the limits of the new city may have been defined by a boundary ditch, very possibly made well before the royal licence of 1227. The fully developed plan of the city is noticeably irregular. Its most striking symmetry is in the parallel lay-out of four north to south streets and the eastern rampart. The western-most of these streets was known originally as High Street, and was probably the first new street laid out. Further west, the awkward course of Minster Street round St. Thomas's church, on the line of the Old Sarum road, looks as if there might have been something already on the site. This may have been the church and a small rural settlement, but it is more likely that St. Thomas's dates from the grant of the market and that it was erected as a market-chapel in the first place, very probably for the clergy in the Close and for the workmen building the cathedral.[32] Before later encroachments the market-place extended from Blue Boar Row to the Canal. Eastwards from it ran two ways, the southern called until the 16th century Winchester Street, because it led there by the old route through Milford and Clarendon, and the northern, Wyneman Street. Starting from these streets the city spread quickly. The building sites (*placeae*) offered to settlers at a rent of 12d. each, measured seven perches by three; sizes other than this could be held at a proportionate rent.[33] The standard plot was short compared with that of many new towns, but it clearly had some currency, for a mid 13th-century deed refers to 'a place and a half'.[34] It is possible that the spacing of the four parallel north-south streets was governed approximately by a double seven-perch unit. But the vagaries of the city's street plan were against uniformity, and there are early references to irregularly sized plots; one in New Street about 1261 was about 6 x $2\frac{1}{3}$ perches and paid a rent of 10d.[35]

Later changes have made it impossible to say with certainty whether all the plots in the regularly laid-out parts of the city ran east to west, so that the crossing roads were only fronted by the sides of plots, or whether in fact they had their own plots running north to south. The early evidence is slightly in favour of the former arrangement.[36] A deed of 1269 implies that a plot at the corner of Minster Street and the Market Place ran east to west[37] and there are other examples of the same thing.[38] A later case of a corner plot between Minster Street and Scots Lane illustrates the way in which the original lay-out was soon obscured, for by 1342 the garden of the 'capital' house on this plot was occupied by three shops which fronted on to Scots Lane.[39] The way in which a substantial block of property at the corner was built up and occupied by a succession of prosperous citizens was clearly typical of Salisbury. Corner tenements acquire distinctive names: Nuggescorner, Cheesecorner, and Duynescorner, all names derived from sometime owners, stood at the junction of High Street, Wyneman Street, and the Market Place.[40] Another common way in which the value of a plot could be enhanced was to obtain a second one backing on to it, so that property extended from street to street.[41]

The most striking evidence of the rapidity with which the city grew is in a document of 1269, which created a new parish of St. Edmund and defined the parish boundaries of the city's two other churches of St. Martin and St. Thomas. It makes it clear that there were buildings in Minster Street as far as and also beyond the bars to the north, and in Winchester Street as far as the bars to the east.[42] This evidence, coupled with 13th-century references to houses in New Street, Gigant Street, High Street, Chipper Lane, Market Place, the street leading to St. Edmund's church, Minster Street, Brown Street, and Winchester Street;[43] with the division of the city into three parishes of fairly equal area; and with the siting of the new church of St. Edmund well to the north, suggest that the general lay-out was approaching completion by 1300.

[30] *Rot. Hund.* (Rec. Com.), ii. 279; Richard, Earl of Cornwall and his son held Wilton from 1230 to 1300: *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 8.
[31] *Tropenell Cart.*, i. 189.
[32] The origin of St. Thomas is obscure. The rector of the chapel of St. Thomas is mentioned in 1238; in 1248 it appears as a parish church: Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 52, 315-16.
[33] Ibid. 728.
[34] D. & C. Sarum Deeds 1/4.
[35] *Cart. of St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury*, 144-5.
[36] A plot extending towards Winchester from the market-place may be one of the five original plots still probably to be identified at the N. end of the modern Queen Street: *W.A.M.* xlix. 166.
[37] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 735-6.
[38] The house later called Nuggescorner, in Blue Boar Row, lay adjoining one in Endless Street, so presumably the plot also ran east and west: ibid.; D. & C. Sarum Deeds 1/3. Cp. a similar case at the corner at Brown Street and New Street in 1331: Sar. Corp. MSS. Deeds iii. 28.
[39] Sar. Corp. MSS. Deeds ii. 26. For the detailed history of Balle's Place, a corner house belonging to a wool merchant (d. 1386), see Helen Bonney, *W.A.M.* lix. 155-67. Mrs. Bonney suggests that plots at some corners were 'interlocked' from the beginning.
[40] *W.A.M.* xxxvii. 67-8.
[41] e.g. D. & C. Sarum Deeds 1/16 (Brown St. to Gigant St.), 1/41 (Catherine St. to Brown St.).
[42] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 735-6.
[43] Sar. Corp. MSS. and D. & C. Sarum Deeds, *passim*.

This was the time too when the original ditch seems to have been enlarged to supplement the water defences. The royal charter of 1227 gave the bishop leave to enclose the city with a ditch so as to protect it from thieves, and although 'all the land within the ditch of our city of Sarum' is mentioned in 1228,[44] the construction of a protective, as distinct from a boundary ditch, may not have been undertaken until the time of Bishop Simon of Ghent (d. 1315). This was the tradition recorded by Leland and there is contemporary evidence that an effort was being made at this time to complete the work.[45]

Perhaps the city's most striking feature, apart from its glorious cathedral, was its system of open water-channels flowing through its streets, which made it unique amongst English cities. Lack of water had been one of the principal reasons for moving from the hill-top, and those who planned the new settlement saw to it that the city had a constant natural water supply, as well as its shallow wells sunk in the alluvial or gravel subsoils. At the same time they provided against flooding and ensured the proper drainage of the marshy site. The streets were unusually broad, and at least by about 1600 channels, knee-deep, ran down the middle of all those west of and including St. Edmund Church Street and Gigant Street, as well as through the great Market Place.[46] The evidence indicates that some were much deeper in the Middle Ages than at a later date. The many bridges in existence—three in the Market Place and half a dozen other named ones, can hardly be explained except on this hypothesis. The channel known as the 'ditch' or the 'common trench' and in post-Medieval times as the New Canal was certainly a deep and broad one, as it still was in the 18th century. Medieval bridges which crossed it must have been substantial structures. Like the channel surrounding the close, which was also deep and wide, it ran out of the Avon below the town mill and so was at a lower level and fuller in volume than the others.[47]

The bishops provided more than the physical framework for the town's development: they saw to its spiritual, intellectual, and social needs. Bishop Richard Poore himself may well have invited the Franciscan Friars to the city. They were settled on episcopal land on the outskirts between 1225 and 1228; the Dominicans followed rather later and obtained a building site at Fisherton, just outside the city boundary. The Friaries quickly expanded; by 1285 each contained forty friars, and five years later the Friars minor were rebuilding or extending their house in stone, granted to them by the king from the cathedral of Old Sarum.[48]

Bishop Richard Poore was also an active patron of the Hospital of St. Nicholas, possibly old-established at the time of the move and charged with the duty of caring for the poor, the sick, and travellers. It was refounded and probably rebuilt on a new nearby site in the 1230s.[49]

In 1262 the buildings of a foundation of considerable interest, the College of de Vaux, were erected close to the Hospital. It was for twenty scholars and has often been claimed as the first university college in England, being founded two years before Merton College, the first Oxford college. Already university masters and students from Oxford were settled in Salisbury, for after the suspension of Oxford University in 1238, they were attracted by the facilities offered by the new city as a centre of learning. There was a group of exceptionally learned canons, there were ample accommodation and supplies of food and other necessities. It seems likely that for a period after this migration, the city had an incipient university organized under the chancellor of the cathedral. When it failed to survive, the college remained in the unique position of preparing students for other universities, while functioning as a college for university graduates, though detached from any university.[50] A later foundation of 1269, the college of St. Edmund, was also intended to promote learning. Its thirteen priests, under a provost, were to attend lectures in the neighbouring theological schools, as well as attending to the parochial duties of the new parish of St. Edmund.[51]

The City in the Later Middle Ages

Thus by the end of the 13th century, Salisbury had all the characteristics of a fair-sized town, but, apart from the years of plague, there was no pause in development in the late Middle Ages. The number of new street names found in the 14th and 15th centuries points to the gradual conversion into town streets of what had once been country lanes. Indeed, new building was envisaged in the agreement of 1306. The bishop's right to measure out more 'places' and lease them as he wished was recognized by the burgesses.[52] The city, however, had in parts long been closely built. In 1298, for instance, the owner of a house in Brown Street obtained permission to build a sleeping-chamber over part of his neighbour's house, and in 1309 another secured by deed the right to place a ladder on his neighbour's land whenever it was necessary to mend the roof of his privy.[53] Cottages or shops were being built on empty parts of plots originally occupied by only one house, which then became the 'capital tenement'.[54] The need for space on which to build shops was most noticeable around the Market Place, where it resulted in the establishment of rows of permanent stalls which soon developed into structures in which tradesmen could live. Rows called Butcher Row, Pot Row, Cordwainer Row, Ironmonger Row, Wheeler Row, and Fish Row all stood on or around the Market Place in the 14th century. Butcher Row, Pot (later Ox) Row,[55] Fish Row, and Wheeler (later Oatmeal) Row remained in 1800, and some of the others probably formed the block between the Canal and Silver Street, or stood against St. Thomas's

[44] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 45. There are many 13th-century references to the ditch and the 'bars' at the exits; e.g. Castle Street bar, and 'on the way leading to Milford'.
[45] Ibid. 740.
[46] Map of Salisbury (1611) in John Speed's *The Theatre...of Great Britaine* (1611); *Short Survey of the Western Counties...in 1635* by Lieut. Hammond, (Camd. Soc. Misc. xvi), ed. L. G. Wickham Legg, 60. The rectangular blocks of buildings marked off by the water-courses were known by the 17th century as Chequers.
[47] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 95. Hatcher thought that the numerous water-courses depicted by Speed were a 16th-century development.
[48] A. G. Little, *W.A.M.* xlvii, 36; *Cal. Chan. Warrants*, i. 30; *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 343-4. The Franciscan house was built round a courtyard and roofed with tiles: *Close R.*, 1227-31, 45.
[49] *Cart. of St. Nicholas Hospital*, 12-14, 154-6.
[50] *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 385-6; *Sar. Chart. and Doc.* 346-9.
[51] *V.C.H. Wilts.* iii. 85-9.
[52] *Tropenell Cart.* i. 189. For successive street names see map *infra* and *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 79-85. Nuggeston derived its name from a family called Nugge, who owned land called Martin Croft on which houses had been built; Rolveston, later Rolston Street (the modern Rollestone Street), by tradition belonged to Rolfe.
[53] *Cart. of St. Nicholas Hospital*, 148-9; D. & C. Sarum Deeds 1/3.
[54] In 1303 a shop with solar above, 22 ft. × 16 ft. adjoined such a tenement (Sarum Corp. MSS. Deeds V. 19), and in 1346 a shop stood in Minster Street next to the door of the hall of a larger house (ibid. ii. 25). In 1398 a plot in New Street contained a capital tenement divided into two houses, and three cottages built on the front between the hall doorway and the adjoining house (ibid. i. 12).
[55] Ex inf. kindly supplied by Mrs. H. Bonney who has identified Pot Row with the present Ox Row.

churchyard. The first fairly complete view of the city as a whole is provided by a rental of 1455 which refers specifically to over 400 tenements, 120 cottages, and 100 shops,[56] but as exact numbers, especially of the two latter classes are not given, these figures certainly fall short of the true numbers. In 1377 the city had 3,226 poll-tax payers, the sixth largest number in an English provincial town, which suggests a minimum population of 4,800.[57] It was actually larger, for these figures do not include what was virtually a suburb of the city, across the Avon, in the neighbouring parish of Fisherton Anger. Soon after the foundation, Richard, son of Henry Aucher, evidently following the example of the bishop, granted to Augustine the shoemaker a 'place' of land in his marsh of Fisherton, bounded by at least four other 'places' already granted out, to be held by what amounted to burgage tenure.[58] This demonstrates the origin of Fisherton Street as a speculative appendage to the new city.

Despite its size and wealth in the 14th century, the city showed some reluctance to provide itself with adequate fortifications. Under threat of war the bishop authorized in 1367 the building of a stone wall, four stone gates, and a ditch eight perches wide. The task proved too heavy, although a licence was obtained to impress workmen and labourers to 'complete the stone walling of the city', on the grounds that the great circumference made it impossible without compulsion.[59] In 1387 the citizens petitioned Parliament to ordain that all who had tenements or rents in the city should contribute to the cost of the 'great ditches', they said that if the work of enclosing were to be completed in the way in which it had been begun, it would provide great security for all the country round and discomfort to the French, who had threatened to take and rob the city at will.[60] This suggests that the idea of walling Salisbury had been abandoned; certainly no trace of any wall has been found, and only two street gates were certainly built: Castle Gate and Wynman Street Gate;[61] other exits continued to be closed only by bars. The great ditch was not completed until about 1440; it appears to have been a dry one for Naish's map of 1716 shows that part of the London road ran along the bottom. The rampart thrown up in digging it was impressive in its size, but it is doubtful if any determined assault could have been withstood. Fortunately none ever came.[62]

The Economic Background to the City's Medieval Development

Salisbury's prosperity in the Middle Ages was broadly based. In its earliest days its merchants were concerned in the export of wool, for which it was a convenient collecting centre, from Southampton and other south-coast ports, and also with the import of foreign cloth. The eight men said in 1249 to have sold cloth in Salisbury against the assize were probably in this trade.[63] But the rise of a cloth manufacture within the city is probably indicated by the presence of fulling-mills at Stratford-sub-Castle (1277) and West Harnham (1299). By the mid-14th century cloth-making was well-established in the city, and aulnage accounts of the 1390s show it with a predominant position in the developing Wiltshire industry, both in the manufacture and sale of its own cloth and in the marketing of cloth produced up the river valleys.[64] A second constant source of prosperity was the regular markets and fairs obtained for the city between 1227 and 1315. Besides the usual staples of butchers' meat, vegetables, poultry, corn, and cheeses, all of which had parts of the market-place appropriate to their sale, Salisbury market was famous for fish, and Leland said that most taken between the Tamar and Southampton Water were sold there. Wool and yarn were also sold in the market and two of the three yearly-fairs were specially concerned with cloth.

In the 14th and 15th centuries one of the vital factors in Salisbury's prosperity was its extensive general trade. In the first half of the 14th century there is ample evidence of large exports of wool, and when Southampton's port records become available in the 15th century they reveal an extensive import trade, especially in wine, fish, fruit, and dyestuffs. Fish from Iceland also came in quantity through Bristol. At least one Salisbury merchant was a member of the Calais Staple, and the sources make it clear that many were trading overseas on their own account, sometimes in their own ships and as far afield as Gascony and Spain; they were not merely buying from the Southampton merchants. These contacts with the continent are reflected in the Doom in St. Thomas's church, which is thought to be influenced by Flemish glaziers. Many members of the mercantile crafts, mercers, drapers, grocers, and others who formed the ruling class in the city, were engaged as entrepreneurs in the manufacture of cloth as well as its sale. Even the weavers and fullers were by this time organized in guilds and were clearly prosperous workmen, who might at times deal in cloth as the master clothiers. Salisbury's speciality, a fine striped cloth, known as 'rays', was being marketed in London throughout the 15th century. Many London drapers and merchants regularly attended the Lady Day fair, Salisbury's chief cloth fair, and held property in the city.[66]

The wealth and standing of individual merchants was clearly considerable. William Swayne, who was a burgess of the city in 1449, held twenty-three tenements or shops there in 1455; was three times mayor; founded two chantries in St. Thomas's church and rebuilt its south chancel aisle, where his merchant's mark is engraved.[67] The house of his contemporary John Hall in the new Canal was one of the comparatively rare houses built of ashlar, when timber-framing was customary. This Hall was notable as the leader of the citizen body in the most serious of many attempts to shake off the overlordship of the bishop, between 1465 and 1474, in the course of which he was imprisoned for his insolent conduct before the king and council. These disputes with the bishop began towards the end of the 13th

[56] E. R. Nevill, 'Salisbury in 1455', *W.A.M.* xxxvii. 66-91. The shops *de novo aventato* referred to (e.g. p. 68) and interpreted as in Oatmeal Row, are the result of a misreading. The original reads *arentato*.
[57] *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 72.
[58] *Tropenell Cart.*, i. 166.
[59] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 748.
[60] *Rot. Parl.* iii. 255a.
[61] The Gate of St. Edmund's graveyard mentioned in 1461 is shown on Speed's map, possibly correctly, as a gateway to the graveyard itself.
[62] Remains of the rampart can be seen near the N.E. corner. There is no record of when the rest was levelled.
[63] *Crown Pleas of the Wilts. Eyre* (Wilts. Arch. Soc. Records Branch, xvi), 258.
[64] *V.C.H. Wilts.* iv. 119-128; A. R. Bridbury, *Economic Growth*, 45, 47.
[65] *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 138-41.
[66] Ibid. 124-6; A. Hollaender, *W.A.M.* L. 351-70.
[67] *V.C.H. Wilts.* vi. 127, 149-50.

century as a consequence of the growing economic strength of the merchant rulers, but they never assumed the violent proportions experienced by some other ecclesiastical boroughs.[68] Opposition was to be expected as the bishop had full seignorial powers, including the right to a gallows. Justice, except for cases reserved to the Crown, was administered in his court at the Guildhall and the gaol was his. His representative was supreme both in the court and the market, though care was taken to act in co-operation with the burgesses. The first known dispute broke out in 1281 when the burgesses infringed the liberty of the Close by pursuing a thief who had taken sanctuary there.[69] A fiercer and more sustained conflict began in 1302 with the imposition of a tallage, the first to be imposed by the bishop, though he had had the power to do so since 1227. The agreement made in 1306, after resort to the royal court, asserted in formal terms the supreme authority of the bishop, particularly over the city markets and fairs and in all jurisdictional matters. The subordination of the mayor to his steward was re-affirmed. The church had good grounds for complaining that some men, 'grown wanton with fatness,' had rebelled against it, despite all the benefits they had received.[70]

The contribution of the cathedral and its highly efficient chapter to the city's prosperity was to be no less outstanding in the later Middle Ages. By the early 15th century the chapter had become one of the most distinguished ecclesiastical bodies of the time; its Confraternity included many aristocratic laymen and women; it was in close touch with the court and royal visits were frequent; it secured the canonization of St. Osmund and a fresh influx of pilgrims. The lack of independence and the restriction on growth, inevitable in a dual control, on the other hand, remained a constant grievance with the governing body of the city. During the next three hundred years or so determined efforts were made to win concessions from the bishop and establish greater independence of action for the burghal body, particularly in financial matters and the regulation of trade. In 1612 it at last obtained undivided control: the city was incorporated by royal charter and the jurisdiction of the bishop was confined to the Close.[71]

From the Reformation to 1800

The story of Salisbury in this period may be briefly told. A crucial economic change came in the 16th century with the complete decay of the port of Southampton, which ended Salisbury's trade with the continent and the reign of its merchant magnates. By 1576 it had fallen to thirteenth or fourteenth place for wealth among English provincial towns. From now on its importance was regional rather than national. Its staple industry became the broadcloth manufacture and the clothiers superseded the merchants as civic leaders, though they never appear to have made quite such large fortunes as their predecessors. In the late 16th century they suffered from the general depression in the trade, but during the 17th and 18th centuries, though the Salisbury industry was overshadowed by that in the west of the county, its business in white broadcloth and in flannels was by no means negligible. London was now its main market. Aubrey wrote of its 'very great fair for cloth at Twelf-tyde' (i.e. Epiphany), and this fair, as well as a second fair devoted to cattle and woollen cloth, was still flourishing at the end of the 18th century. A real recovery in the textile trade had come with the introduction of new types of cloth, especially fine fancy cloths, and the removal of French competition after the outbreak of the Revolutionary wars.[72] This and the city's other industries were jealously protected by a policy aimed at the exclusion of outside competition. The corporation agreed to prevent 'foreigners' from setting up shops. Various trade companies, incorporated in the 17th century, now organized their members and maintained standards, as the craft guilds had done before them. Among them the clothworkers remained dominant, but textiles were also represented by silk-workers and lacemakers.[73] The cutlers had risen in status for the city was famous in this period for the fine quality of its cutlery. Tanning, bell-founding, malting and brewing, and paper-making flourished in a modest way. A local guide of 1773 declared that the city's booksellers were equal to most in London and that the Salisbury Journal was 'one of the most useful as well as numerous and respectable country papers in the kingdom'.

As a market and distribution centre, the city remained the focus of the southern half of the county; the administration of the diocese, the assizes, and one quarter-session brought visitors from further afield, although the geography of Wiltshire ensured that Devizes in many ways shared its position as a county centre. Salisbury's communications with distant towns, however, were superior: there were daily coaches to London, Bath, Bristol, and Southampton, and it was said that in 1773 twenty-four coaches and twenty-eight stage chaises from London to Exeter passed through the town each week. Its eighteen 'principal' inns and many taverns can hardly have lacked custom. It made enterprising attempts to improve trade in the late 17th century by planning to make the Avon navigable to Christchurch Harbour and to make a canal to Southampton a century later, but both schemes proved abortive.[74]

It has been suggested that the early 16th-century population of Salisbury may have approached 8,000; 17th-century sources suggest that it may have decreased somewhat; it was still under 8,000 in 1801, if Fisherton and East Harnham, which were virtually though not officially suburbs are excluded.[75] The city was then mainly contained within its medieval boundaries and the suburban developments, mentioned by Leland in the early 16th century, were perhaps no greater than those shown on Speed's map of 1611. It was said that only one house on a new site had been added for many years. This was stagnation and so comparative decline, yet some if not all of the city's citizens were affluent. Their christian piety, their comfortable standards of family life, and their wealth had transformed the medieval city.

[68] For a detailed account of the disputes see ibid. 101 sqq.
[69] Hatcher, Salisbury, 71.
[70] Tropenell Cart. i. 189-98.
[71] Hatcher, Salisbury, 773-83.
[72] V.C.H. Wilts. vi. 128-30.
[73] Ibid. 132-37.
[74] Hatcher, Salisbury, 460, 529, 548; Guide Bks. 1773, 1797. In 1661 John Ivie stated that there were 'above fifty Innes and Alehouses at least fourscore': A Declaration (London, 1661).
[75] V.C.H. Wilts. vi. 72.

A number of religious properties, for instance, after the Reformation were used for private purposes. In the course of time all trace of the Dominican and Franciscan Friaries and of the College of de Vaux was lost, but some parts of the College of St. Edmund and its 15th-century church survived. The fine nave and central tower collapsed in 1653, and the choir was adapted for use as the nave of a new church.[76]

Other religious establishments on new sites took the place of some of the old ones. Many of the leading clothiers were Nonconformists and were outstanding among the contributors to the funds needed for building the city's chapels. Their connexions with Amsterdam very probably led to Salisbury's being in the forefront of the Baptist movement and a group was meeting by 1626. After the Restoration there were groups of Presbyterians and Independents, and by 1719 the Particular Baptist congregation had built a chapel in Brown Street. Other sects followed suit: the Presbyterians put up one in Salt Lane, but this, perhaps because of the greater attractions of Congregationalism with its chapel in Scots Lane, no longer existed at the end of the century. The Quakers had been active since the 17th century, but in the early period they had used a meeting-house outside the city and their Salisbury one was a comparatively late arrival. The Methodists also throve, and John Wesley, a frequent visitor, described their chapel 'as the most complete in England'.[77]

Solicitude for the old and infirm found practical expression in the foundation of almshouses by the wealthier citizens. The ones in Culver Street seem to have been an Elizabethan foundation, but Eyre's, Blechynden's, the College of Matrons, Taylor's and Sutton's were all founded between 1617 and 1699. Frowd's and Hussey's were added in the 18th century. The importance of good schooling was also fully realized and a city Grammar School, distinct from the Cathedral Grammar School, was supported in the 17th century in various buildings before it was settled in Castle Street at the end of the century. Private day and boarding schools for young ladies and gentlemen were many and of surpassing gentility.[78]

Much rebuilding of public buildings and general improvements were undertaken, particularly in the more prosperous second half of the 18th century. The stone gates were removed as they obstructed the entry of loaded carriages; a subscription was raised to purchase the houses on the left-hand side of the way leading from the High Street, so as to make the entrance by Fisherton Bridge more spacious and convenient.[79] The destruction of the Council House by fire in 1780 led to radical alterations to the Market Place. Seventeenth-century visitors, who recorded their impressions, were unanimous in their praise of its capaciousness and its buildings. Cosmo de Medici, for one, bracketed it with the cathedral as bearing 'away the palm amongst the most remarkable things' in the town.[80] Its public buildings then consisted of St. Thomas's church, by then largely a 15th-century structure; the Bishop's late 13th-century Guildhall and gaol, erected by Bishop Simon of Ghent; and the city's 16th-century Council House. Eighteenth-century pictures show that the Guildhall was an imposing stone building of two stories and that the Council House was a fine timber-framed structure of three stories with a central square turret and cupola. Its upper storey was gabled and the lower part, designed for a market-house, had an open colonnade. The rows with their tradesmen's shops had been largely rebuilt in the 16th century and, judging from houses which have survived into modern times and from 18th-century prints, were often three-storied buildings with projecting upper floors or gabled houses with dormer attics. Some were narrow and tall like the merchant houses of Amsterdam. After some discussion a new Council House was completed in 1795. The Bishop agreed to the demolition of his Guildhall so that the new building, made possible by the liberality of the Earl of Radnor, the city's Recorder, might be erected on its site. Of cream brick, with stone dressings, it had a Doric colonnade, recessed between two wings on the north front, and a projecting portico at the west end.[81] Evelyn, who had found the public buildings 'despicable', would have been impressed.

The Close, the city's other great focal point, preserved many substantial medieval houses, such as the King's House, Hemyngsby, the Deanery, and the Wardrobe, but they were modernized and brought up to date. Their timber-frames, here and elsewhere in the city, were disguised by thin facades of plain red brick or by 'mathematical tiling'. The Close was in the forefront of fashion and much of the work was done in the reign of Queen Anne and the early Georges. Most notable architecturally of all the new buildings was the College of Matrons (1682), possibly designed by Bishop Seth Ward's friend, Sir Christopher Wren. One of the greatest changes took place in the late 18th century when Bishop Shute Barrington and his architect James Wyatt, in the face of much opposition, drastically remodelled the interior of the cathedral, removed the 15th-century Hungerford and Beauchamp chapels which flanked the Lady Chapel, and took down the detached belfry, the spire of which had already been demolished in 1768.[82]

Throughout other parts of the city re-modelling and rebuilding went on during the whole post-Reformation period. Red brick was used for the larger houses in the 17th century and later a cream brick, probably made at Fisherton. There was great activity in the 18th century and many streets have a predominantly Georgian character. The home of the Wyndham family on the site of the college of St. Edmund is a good example of a building which was frequently altered and brought up to date; the Priory in Brown Street, the former 'Three Cups' in Winchester Street, the 'White Hart', an unusually imposing building of the late 18th century, and the rebuilt Trinity Hospital and Frowd's Hospital are other typical examples of the period.[83]

Fisherton, closely connected with the city since the development of its cloth industry in the late 14th century, also underwent many changes in this period. The sheriff had long found it a convenient base, and had had an office there in the 15th century close to the king's gaol. This gaol had been rebuilt in 1578 and in 1631 a House of Correction or

[76] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 87, 591. Hatcher's calculations that the nave was 78 ft. long and the choir 76 ft. have been followed on the main plan.
[77] V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi. 156-61.
[78] Ibid. 143, 168-71; *Guide Bks*. passim.
[79] Hatcher, *Salisbury*, 535, 525.
[80] Ibid. 470.
[81] Ibid. 534-6, 539; Prints etc. in Salisbury Museum and reproductions in *City of Salisbury*, ed. H. Shortt, and other works.
[82] V.C.H. *Wilts*. vi. 74-5, 78.
[83] Ibid. vi. 79-87; *Salisbury*, ed. Shortt, 79-82, 87.

Bridewell was added. Much reconstruction work was carried out in the late 18th century, but the gaol remained over-crowded and inconvenient until it was entirely rebuilt on a new site between 1818 and 1822. Executions appear to have been still carried out in this suburb: Speed depicted a gallows and so did Naish in 1751, but whether Green Croft was also used for this purpose, as it was in the 16th century, is not known. The enlightenment of the age is demonstrated by the new General Infirmary. It was erected in 1771, by private subscription, to the designs of one of the leading architects of the day, John Wood of Bath, the younger.[84]

A major change in the aspect of the city's streets was made in 1737 when the city authorities decided to make brick channels for the 'rivulets' and place them at the side rather than in the middle of the road. Traffic was thus allowed to move more freely and bridges were made for the convenience of foot-passengers. Admirable though this old system of streams had been in its day, rising standards of sanitation and appreciation of an orderly beauty had long provoked criticism. Celia Fiennes thought the 'little rivulets of water' made the streets 'not so clean or so easye to passe in', and considered that they detracted from the beauty of the streets. Much evidently depended on the efficiency of the Council. In 1625 the mayor and commonalty were themselves complaining of the dilapidated and ruinous condition of the streets and water-courses; John Evelyn found them still dirty and negligently kept, on a visit in 1654, though at small charge Salisbury could be made 'one of the sweetest towns', and towards the end of the century Defoe complained of dirty streets, full of wet, filth, and weeds, even in summer.[85] Many watercolours and prints depict the new aspect of the streets and fanciful writers were led to call Salisbury the English Venice. A local guide book with justifiable pride wrote that the constant streams of running-water kept the streets and houses clean and rendered the city remarkably healthy. Writers also noted a characteristic of the city's houses, which was in fact connected with the medieval planning of the town. They observed that houses were below the street level and were approached by descending steps. This lowering of the ground level of the built-up areas, relative to the street levels, was caused by the contraction and the compaction of the soil—the result of the draining of the original marshy site and the sustained weight of the buildings, with their domestic fires, over the course of time. The roads, because of their water channels, remained at a higher level.[86]

Salisbury was no longer a leading manufacturing and mercantile centre at the end of the century, but as a beautiful and pleasant town to live in it had few equals. Visitors, royalty included, flocked to see its cathedral, as pilgrims had done throughout the Middle Ages, and visitors and inhabitants alike enjoyed the civilized life of the city. Its musical festivals and subscription concerts, its theatre, Literary Society, assemblies, and races offered many attractions. There were also its newspapers, its coffee-houses, schools, its shops, and splendid coaching inns.[87]

In truth, Salisbury's history strikingly justified the action of Bishop Richard Poore in moving the city and providing for it a better site. His contemporary, Henry of Avranches, thought Adam would have preferred it to paradise had he come there on his expulsion from Eden.[88]

[84] V.C.H. Wilts. vi. 182-3.
[85] Ibid. 89; Hatcher, Salisbury, 467.
[86] Ex inf. Col. W. H. Johns.
[87] V.C.H. Wilts. vi. 141-4; Guide Bks. passim.
[88] W.A.M. lvii. 245, 246.

In compiling the maps and plans reference has been made to documentary sources, to archaeological and other printed articles, to 18th and 19th century prints, and to the following map sources:—Map of Salisbury by John Speed, The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine, 1611; City of Salisbury, with adjacent Close, Church, and River by W. Naish, 1751; Plan of the City of Salisbury with adjacent Close by B. Donn, 1781; New and Correct English Atlas by John Cary, London, 1793; Plan of the City of Salisbury with Boundaries of the Borough as laid down by the Reform Act, by G. O. Lucas, 1833; Plan of the Borough of Salisbury from the Block Plan belonging to the local Board of Health with corrections and additions, prepared by J. C. Bothans, City Surveyor, printed by Brown & Co. Salisbury, 1860; Ordnance Survey Plan of the City of Salisbury, scale 1:500, Southampton, 1880-1; Ordnance Survey, Roman Britain series 1 inch to 16 miles scale.