Keywords: medieval Winchelsea urban design ports natural disasters rental property holding topography town planning streets market churches hospitals commerce naval service war damage depopulation urban decline

Subject: **Planning a new town: personnel, process, and product**

Original source: **1. Public Record Office, Patent Roll, 11 Edward I, m.7; 2. Charter of inspeximus and confirmation (1404) of original Letters Patent; 3. Public Record Office, Rentals and Surveys, SC11/674.**

Transcription in: **1. H.C. Maxwell Lyte, ed. *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office ... Edward I. 1281-1292*. London: PRO, 1893, pp.81-82; 2. William Durrant Cooper, *The History of Winchelsea, one of the ancient towns added to the Cinque Ports*, London: John Russell Smith, 1850, p.32; 3. F.A. Inderwick, *The Story of King Edward and New Winchelsea: The Edification of a Mediaeval Town*. London: Sampson, Low,Marston and Co., 1892, pp.153-219.**

Original language: **Latin (1. translated by J.G. Black)**

Location: **Winchelsea**

Date: **late 13th century**

TRANSLATION

[1. Royal commission to the planners, 13 October 1283]

Appointment of Stephen de Penecestre, Henry le Waleys and Gregory de Rokesle to plan and assess the new town of Yhamme, which the king is ordering to be built there, for the barons of the town and port of Wynchelsea, which is already in great part submerged by inundations of the sea and in danger of total submersion; to plan and give directions for streets and lanes necessary for the said new town, for places suitable for a market, and for two churches, one to St. Thomas, and the other to St. Giles, as there are in the aforesaid town of Wynchelsea, to assign and deliver to the said barons competent places according to the requirements of their state, and to provide and give directions concerning harbours and all other things necessary for the said town.

[2. Charter of liberties to the new town, 13 October 1283]

Edward, by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to all those to whose attention this document shall come, greetings. Whereas, on behalf of our town of Winchelsea, of which the greater part is already submerged by inundations of the sea and whose total submersion is expected daily, we have made provision for a certain new town at Yham, for the allocation of lands and tenements there to the barons of the town and port of Winchelsea, and for them to be enfeoffed thereof, for building on and living in, we wish and grant, for ourself and our heirs, that once those barons have taken possession and begun to build on their plots at Yham, they, together with all their goods and possessions, thereafter shall be as free in that new town (and everywhere else) as they previously were in the town of Winchelsea (and in any other places whatsoever). And they may have the same liberties and customs, which they have by the charters of kings of England who have preceded us, and may use and enjoy the same liberties and customs that were rightly used in times past.

[3. Rental of the burgage plots, 1292]

The following are the plots allocated, handed over, and rented out in the newly-built town of Winchelsea by the mayor and the **24 jurats**, and by John de Kirkeby, Lord Bishop of Ely, acting on behalf of the king in allocating, delivering, and renting out those plots. They state, in regard to the fundamental arrangements, that the king holds of the land once of Sir John Tresgoz on the hill where the new town has been founded, as indicated in a survey carried out by Sir Stephen de Penecestre and Gregory de Rokesle, sixty-five and a half acres; of which, an acre (more or less) has generally been valued at £8.5s.1d.

They also state that the heirs of John de Langherst **held** on that hill, as indicated in the survey, 35¼ acres and 18 **perches** of land, of which one acre (more or less) has been valued at 52s.¼d.

They also state that John Bone held on that hill, as indicated in the survey, 34½ acres and 31½ **virgae**, of which one acre (more or less) has been valued at 39s.½d.

They also state that Gilbert de Cruce held on the hill, as indicated in the survey, 10¼ acres and 23 perches. Value [per acre?] 20s.9d.

They also say that John Moris held on the hill, as indicated in the survey, 2 acres. Value 32d.

They also say that William and Richard, sons of Tristram, held on the hill, as

indicated in the survey, one acre with a house built thereon. Value 5s.

They also say that John Moris held on the hill, as indicated in the survey, three-quarters of an acre. Value 12d.

They also say that the heirs of Bartholomew Wymund and of his **partner** held on the hill, as indicated in the survey, one and a half acres. Value 2s.6d.

They also say that John, the son of Reginald Alard, held in a certain location known as **Trecherie**, as indicated in the survey, one acre. Value 3s.

They also say that the heirs of John Batan held on the hill, as indicated in the survey, one and three-quarter acres and 16 perches of land. Value 3s.1d.

Those same heirs also held a certain mill and its site, comprising 8 perches of land. Which mill with its site still belongs to them, **not being needed** either by the king or by the town.

They also say that John Moris and his partner held on the hill, as indicated in the survey, 2 acres. Value 40d.

They also say that the heirs of John Batan and his partner held **at the foot of the hill**, as indicated in the survey, 2 acres. Value 20d.

Total value: **£14.11s.5¾d**

Total of the aforesaid acreage: 149¾ acres and 8 virgae.
From which amount of land the Bishop of Ely has excluded [from being rented out] 12 acres which have been reserved for the use of the king.
Also excluded from that total are 5 acres for the churchyards of St. Thomas and St. Giles, because the patronage of those churches belongs to the king.

Total of those excluded lands: 17 acres.

There remains from that total, for building the town, 132¾ acres and 8 virgae.

The mayor and jurats also state that of those 132¾ acres and 8 perches land, 87½ acres, one-eighth of an acre, and 7¼ perches of land have been allocated for building on.

And there remain empty 45 acres, one-eighth of an acre, and 45¾ perches, some as the marketplace, some as streets, and some as the cliffs (which cannot be built upon).

Which 87½ acres, one-eighth of an acre, and 7¼ perches of land and the empty

land are subject to [payment] of the ">£14.11s.5¾d

They also declare the [following] details of the plots already rented out to tenants in the new town on the hill.

Viz. that in the **first quarter** Simon le Machon holds	18 virgae	4½d.
Stephen Blauncpain	10 virgae	2½d.
Robert, called Burnel	9 virgae	2¼d.
Walter Boscoe	10 virgae	2½d.
Thomas de Pesemerse	10¾ virgae	2¾d.
Robert le Meleward	5½ virgae	1¼d.
Alan de Ferne	5 virgae	1¼d.
Walter Salerne	8¾ virgae	2¼d.
Henry Dagard	6 virgae	1½d.
Renger Wyliam	10 virgae	2½d.
Adam Schewere	7½ virgae	2d.
Roger Averil	6¼ virgae	1½d.
heirs of Adam le Meleward	5 virgae	1¼d.
Stephen Ryngemere	3½ virgae	1d.
Robert Colyn	3½ virgae	1d.
Nicholas Codelawe	3½ virgae	1d.
Peter Genevide	4 virgae	1d.
Gervase Mot	9¾ virgae	2½d.
Renger Robert	10½ virgae	2¾d.
Stephen de Cantuaria	14 virgae	3½d.

Walter Johan	9 virgae	2¼d.
Peter de Portesmue	10 virgae	2½d.
Reginald Alard jun.	8 virgae	2d.
	sub-total	**3s.¾d.**
Total land in this quarter, one-eighth of an acre and 13 virgae		
In the **second quarter** John Madour	10 virgae	2½d.
Clement Donning	7½ virgae	1¾d.
John Sneke	5 virgae	1¼d.
Thomas Wertere	7½virgae	2d.
Nicholas Ricard	6¼ virgae	1½d.
William Pret	12½d virgae	3d.
heirs of Alan Buchard	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Richard de Dovoria	10 virgae	2½d.
Clement Langters	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
John Folke	19 virgae	4¾d.
Andrew Passelewe	19 virgae	4¾d.
William Blancpayn	7 virgae	1¾d.
Gervase Coleman Paul	7 virgae	1¾d.
Laurence Ferbras	3½ virgae	1d.
Gervase Frost	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
John Galp	3½ virgae	¾d.
Petronilla, widow of Cok Stelard	5¼ virgae	1¼d.

Richard Witloc	3½ virgae	1d.
Walter le Botre	3½ virgae	1d.
Geoffrey Roberd	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Sampson Seli de Puncto	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Godard Petit	3½ virgae	¾d.
Andrew de Monasterio	3½ virgae	1d.
Nicholas Fimelote	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Nicholas de Apeltre	3½ virgae	1d.
Philip Matip	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Gervase Hambuc Richard Hambuc Beatrice Hambuc	32½ virgae	8¼d.
	sub-total	4s.11¼d.
Total land in this quarter, one and three-eighths acres and 16¼ virgae		
In the **third quarter** John, son of **John Roger**	eighth of an acre	5d.
Justin Alard	17½ virgae	4¼d.
William Beaufrount	10 virgae	2½d
John Large	7½ virgae	2d.
Stephen de Bidindenne	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
John de Scotenye	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
Andrew de Folkestane	eighth of an acre and ¾ virga	5¼d.
William Batayle	eighth of an acre and 5	6¼d.

	virgae	
John Austin	6¼ virgae	1½d.
John Liteman	6¼ virgae	1½d.
Stephen Russel	5 virgae	1¼d.
William Hamer	5 virgae	1¼d.
Maurice Cocus	6¼ virgae	
Petronilla Queynte	5 virgae	1¼d.
Henry Clement	eighth of an acre	5d.
Richard de Pesemerse	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
	sub-total	4s.8¾d.
Total land in this quarter, one and three-eighths acres and 8½ virgae		
In the **fourth quarter** Richard Cely	eighth of an acre and 9 virgae	6½d.
Goda pore Voghel	15¾ virgae	3¾d.
John Treygeu	14 virgae	3½d.
Simon de Scoteneye	three-eighths of an acre and 8 virgae	17d.
James, son of Thomas Barber	quarter of an acre and 19 virgae	14¾d.
John, son of Thomas Barber	eighth of an acre and 14 virgae	8½d.
Cole Alard On the north side of John, son of Thomas le Barber	7 virgae	1¾d.
Thomas Alard	7 virgae	1¾d.
Gervase Alard jun.	7 virgae	1¾d.

Walter de Rackele	eighth of an acre and 14 virgae	8½d.
	sub-total	5s.8¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 1½ acres and 35¾ virgae		
In the **fifth quarter** Henry le Palmere	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Joseph de Hastinges	5½ virgae	1½d
John Orpedeman	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Walter Sand	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Ralph Harding	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Luke Beneyt	5¼ virgae	1½d.
Andrew Hardi	6 virgae	1½d.
John Hardi	5 virgae	1¼d.
William de Orewelle	4 virgae	1d.
Thomas, son of ThomasWeterledere	5 virgae	1¼d.
Simon Hughet	5 virgae	1¼d.
Margery, widow of Peter Austin	5 virgae	1¼d.
William Halfhering	6 virgae	1½d.
William ate Velde	6 virgae	1½d.
Nicholas Bosce	6 virgae	1½d.
William Mot Large	8 virgae	2d.
John de Farlegh	eighth of an acre and 8 virgae	7d.
Poteman Bod	eighth of an acre and 6	6½d.

	virgae	
John Bod	eighth of an acre and 3 virgae	6d.
William Romening	18 virgae	4½d.
	sub-total	3s.10d.

Total land in this quarter, one and an eighth acres and 3½ virgae

[above] Second Street

In the **sixth quarter** Gervase le Coupre	10 virgae	2½d.
Gervase Skele	10 virgae	2½d.
Robert ate Carte	11¼ virgae	2¾d.
John Craske	15 virgae	3¾d.
Peter Torold	12 virgae	3d.
John Jacob	11 virgae	2¾d.
Little Geoffrey	11 virgae	2¾d.
Thomas Large	11 virgae	2¾d.
James de Lidehame	19 virgae	4¾d.
	sub-total	2s.3½d.

Total land in this quarter, five-eighths of an acre and 10¼ virgae

In the **seventh quarter** heirs of Stephen Dinder	12½ virgae	3d.
John de Herewyco	12½ virgae	3d.¼d.
Richard Fino	12½ virgae	3d.¼d.
Roger Toneman	11¼ virgae	1¾d.

William Wade	12½ virgae	3¼d.
John Dawe	11½	2¾d.
John Batayle	12½ virgae	3d.
John, son of John Bochard	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6½d.
John Iue	eighth of an acre and half a virga	5d.
William Mancap	eighth of an acre and half a virga	5¼d.
William Mazote	16 virgae	4d.
Robert Scalle	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	5¾d.
widow of Gabriel Gudloc	12½virgae	3d.
John Romening	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Philip le Seltere	10 virgae	2½d.
Sampson atte Crouche	7½ virgae	2d.
Standanore	10 virgae	2½d.
Peter Faber	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Elias Lambin	12 virgae	3d.
Juliana Nightyngale	eighth of an acre and half a virga	5d.
heirs of Richard de Hethe	eighth of an acre	5d.
Alice Bush	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6¼d.
	sub-total	6s.10d.
Total land in this quarter, 2 acres and 8¼ virgae		

In the **eighth quarter** Henry Yue	12½d virgae	3¼d.
Petronilla Clobbere	12½ virgae	3d.
Alice, widow of Robert Gerveys	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Nicholas Alard	10 virgae	2½d.
Gervase Alard jun.	quarter of an acre and 5 virgae	11¼d.
Nicholas Alard	quarter of an acre and 11 virgae	12¾d.
Reginald Alard sen.	three-eighths of an acre and 14 virgae	18½d.
Gervase Alard sen.	three-eighths of an acre and 6½ virgae	16½d.
Thomas Alard	quarter of an acre and 7½ virgae	22d.
William Seman	eighth of an acre	5d.
William Mot de Hastinges	12½ virgae	3d.
Adam Pistor	13¾ virgae	3&!89;d.
	sub-total	7s.10½d.
Total land in this quarter, 2¼ acres and 17¾ virgae		
In the **ninth quarter** John de Ihamme **clerk**	15 virgae	3¾d.
Robert le Barebour	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Ralph Cocus	7½ virgae	2d.
Adam de Wyncestria, called Cok	10 virgae	2½d.
Pote, called Chepman	6¼ virgae	1½d.

Henry le Bakere, son of Benedict	10 virgae	2½d.
Roger Scappe	10 virgae	2½d.
Thomas Colram	12½ virgae	3d.
heirs of Richard Batayle	quarter of an acre and 18¾ virgae	14¾ d.
Henry Jacob	quarter of an acre and 18¾ virgae	14¾d.
Vincent Herberd	quarter of an acre and 18¾ virgae	14¾d.
John Witegrom baker	12½ virgae	3d.
Walter de Dertemue	15 virgae	3¾d.
John Witegrom baker	15 virgae	3¾d.
William Pistel	6¼ virgae	1½d.
Godfrey the clerk	15 virgae	3¾d.
Stephen Germeyn	15 virgae	3¾d.
	sub-total	6s.11¼d.
Total land in this quarter, 2 acres and 13¾ virgae		
In the **tenth quarter** John Takesnaw	13¾ virgae	3½d.
Stephen de Wintonia	7½ virgae	2d.
Stephen Wyncard	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Adam Pope	7½ virgae	2d.
Stephen Holt	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Ralph Bertelot	7½ virgae	2d.

Laurence Arniz	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Richard Steuening	7½ virgae	2d.
Stephen Wither	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Eustace Holt	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Hugh Wymund	eighth of an acre and 1¾ virgae	5¼d.
heirs of John Adrian	17 virgae	4¼d.
Ralph de Gillingham	17 virgae	4¼d.
Christiana Weldisse	eighth of an acre and 1¾ virgae	5½d.
William Quiliere	17 virgae	4¼d.
William de Maghefeld	15 virgae	3¾d.
William le Palmer the elder	4 virgae	1¼d.
Maurice Ingelard	7½ virgae	2d.
Matilda, widow of John Carite	10 virgae	2½d.
Adam Stamer	12½ virgae	3d.
Hamo Campion	12½ virgae	3¼d.
William Hanuile	10 virgae	2½d.
Bartholomew Bone	12½ virgae	3d.
Adam Faber	12 virgae	4¼d.
Symon Burne	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
William Bakere	12¾ virgae	3d.
heirs of Gervase Turepin	eighth of an acre and 1¾ virgae	5½d.
Adam Cheke	17 virgae	4¼d.

	sub-total	7s.6d.
Total land in this quarter, two and one-eighth acres and 19¾ virgae		
In the **eleventh quarter** Batecok le Passur	8 virgae	2d.
Thomas Alard	three-eighths of an acre and 4 virgae	16d.
Roger Mortumer	6 virgae	1½d.
Gervase Hughet	6 virgae	1½d.
John Ledeloue	4 virgae	1d.
John Nowynd	6 virgae	1½d.
Adam Waterledere	10 virgae	2½d.
Gabriel Tristram	7 virgae	1¾d.
Hamo Blakeman	7 virgae	1¾d.
Matilda Steuening	7½d virgae	1½d.
Millicent Piggesteil	8¼ virgae	2d.
Wymarc Piggesteyl	7½ virgae	2d.
Alan Goman	2¾ virgae	1¾d.
Henry Sauveney	5½ virgae	1½d.
Reyner le Palmer	5 virgae	1¼d.
Motting Blobbere	4½ virgae	1d.
Richard le Coggre	9 virgae	2¼d.
Broumeng Cristyn	4½d virgae	1¼d.
#160;	sub-total	3s.8d
Total land in this quarter, 1 acre and 15½ virgae		

Third Street

In the **twelfth quarter** **William Burgeys**	eighth of an acre and 19¾ virgae	9¾d.
John the clerk	eighth of an acre and 12¾ virgae	8¼d.
John Yevegod	eighth of an acre and 9¾ virgae	7½d.
John Gascoign	eighth of an acre and 3½ virgae	5¾d.
Robert Codelaw del ord	eighth of an acre and 1&!90; virgae	5½d.
John Nase	eighth of an acre and five-eighths of a virga	5¼d.
John Yve, son of Henry	14 and three-eighths virgae	3½d.
Richard le Vetre	14 and three-eighths virgae	3¾d.
Charles Faber	8¾ virgae	2¼d.
	sub-total	4s.3½d.

Total land in this quarter, 1¼ acres and 15 and five-eighths virgae

In the **thirteenth quarter** Henry de Ecclesia	12½ virgae	3d.
Richard Inthelepe	10 virgae	1½d.
John Colekyn le Paumer	12½ virgae	1¾d
Richard Trace	7½ virgae	2d.
William Thursteyn	7½ virgae	1¾d.

Walter Scolloc	7½ virgae	2d.
William Gerveys	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Alan Brounetesone	12½ virgae	3d.
Richard Scot del ord	13 virgae	3¼d.
Herbert, called Brouning, clerk	17 virgae	4¼d.
Petronilla Ingelberd	eighth of an acre and 1¼ virgae	5¼d.
Laurence clerk	eighth of an acre and 1¼ virgae	5¼d.
John Tailleur	17 virgae	4¼d.
Petronilla, widow of John Purveaunce	17 virgae	4¼d.
Joan de Stoke	12½ virgae	3d.
Petronilla de Hertepole	12½ virgae	3d.
Richard Pace	12½ virgae	3¼d.
heirs of Stephen Cornman	12½ virgae	3d.
John, son of John Pace	12½ virgae	3d.
John Stroyl	10 virgae	2½d.
John, son of Ralph Pace	12½ virgae	3d.
John Seman	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6½d.
Walter Songere	eighth of an acre and 1¼ virgae	5¼d.
Laurence Haskard	17 virgae	4¼d.
William Skorefeyn	17 virgae	4¼d.

Magnus William	17 virgae	4¼d.
	sub-total	7s.6d
Total land in this quarter, 2¼ acres and 1¾ virgae		
In the **fourteenth quarter** Robert, son of Ralph Cocus	12½ virgae	3d.
Elecot Adam	7½ virgae.	2d.
John Palmere, son of John Palmere	10 virgae	2½d.
Elias Hamer	10 virgae	2½d.
John Pollard	10 virgae	2½d.
Joan and Petronilla, daughters of Geoffrey Russell	15 virgae	3¾d.
Robert Taunay	13¾ virgae	3½d.
Henry Bacun	eighth of an acre and 12 virgae	8d.
Robert le Gric	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
John de Maghefeld	16 virgae	4d.
William de Brokexe	16 virgae	4d.
Stephen Colram	15 virgae	3¾d.
Nicholas Carpenter	10 virgae	2½d.
Alan Maynard	10 virgae	2½d.
John Manekyn	13¾ virgae	3½d.
William le Alblaster	10 virgae	2½d.
Geoffrey Ponderous	17½ virgae	4¼d.

John le Dore sen.	17 virgae	4¼d.
Benedict Penyfader	eighth of an acre and 3 virgae	5¾d.
John, son of Gervase Alard	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
heirs of Cotewif de Ihamme	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
	sub-total	6s.10¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 2 acres and 11 virgae		
In the **fifteenth quarter** Stephen Moriz	eighth of an acre and ¾ of a virga	5¼d.
Richard le Ropere	10¾ virgae	2¾d.
Roger de Eldinge	10¼virgae	2½d.
Roger Godard	11¼ virgae	2¾d.
Richard Adam	11¼ virgae	2¾d.
William Belde	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
John Chiprian	17 virgae	4¼d.
Henry Heved	17 virgae	4¼d.
Vincent Goldive	eighth of an acre and 1¼ virgae	5¼d.
Geoffrey de Tened	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
Robert Germeyn sen., son of Richard Germeyn	17 virgae	4¼d.
John Crabbere	14¾ virgae	3¾d.
Stephen de Cruce	12½ virgae	3d.

William Hoghelyn	7½ virgae	2d.
Benedict le Botere	8 virgae	2d.
Ralph Fauel	7½ virgae	1¾d.
William de Burne	8¾ virgae	2¼d.
Richard Blobbere	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Adam Kenting	10 virgae	2½d.
Robert Broke, next to the mill of the heirs of John **Bazan**	14½ virgae	3¾d.
William Suift	17 virgae	4¼d.
Richard Neam	17 virgae	4¼d.
Roger Cotesone	10¾ virgae	2¾d.
John Lamb	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6¼d.
William Neel	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6½d.
	sub-total	7s.6¼d.
Total land in this quarter, 2¼ acres and 1¾ virgae		
In the **sixteenth quarter** Geoffrey Banek	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
John Brouning	8 virgae	2d.
Bonne Botertoke	8 virgae	2d.
John Ancel	9 virgae	1¼d.
John de Dovre	5 virgae	1¼d.
John Hanuile	10 virgae	1½d.

William Bredeware	15 virgae	3¾d.
John de Ihamme	quarter of an acre and 14½ virgae	13¼d.
William Pace	quarter of an acre and 13½ virgae	13¼d.
John Gerveys de Pesemerse	8¾ virgae	2d.
William Godinogh	7½ virgae	2d.
Gervase Scopeheved	7½ virgae	1¾d.
William Scopeheved	7½ virgae	2d.
Walter Spitewymbel	7½ virgae	1¾d.
John Remys	7½ virgae	2d.
Richard Albard	10 virgae	2½d.
Hugh Page	10 virgae	2½d.
Richard Rucke	15 virgae	3¾d.
Gervase Aldwyne	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
Stephen Wytyng	eighth of an acre and 3½ virgae	5¾d.
Henry Felipe	19 virgae	4¾d.
Robert Isoude	17½ virgae	4½d.
Adam Stonhard	eighth of an acre and one virga	5¼d.
Beside this quarter Gervase Alard jun. holds one acre		40d.
	sub-total	11s.1½d.
Total land in this quarter, 4¼ acres and 13¼ virgae		

Fourth Street		
In the **seventeenth quarter** John Dada	10½ virgae	2½d.
John Ripecherl	7 virgae	1¾d.
Nicholas Whif	3½ virgae	1d.
Walter Stoket	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
John Bateman	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Adam Lokyere	5¼ virgae	1½d.
Laurence Yon	10½ virgae	2½d.
Sir Roger de Leukenore	quarter of an acre and 14 virgae	13½d.
Sir William de Echingeham	quarter of an acre and 14 virgae	13½d.
Simon de Echingeham	quarter of an acre and 14 virgae	13½d.
Nicholas Pistor forester	quarter of an acre and 14 virgae	13½d.
Henry Seman	eighth of an acre and 17¼ virgae	9¼d.
Rose Picard	eighth of an acre and ½ virga	5¼d.
John Bakere, son of Benedict	13 virgae	4d¼d.
Robert Aubyn	6 and seven-eighths virgae	1¾d.
Henry Doriual	6 and seven-eighths virgae	1¾d.
Laurence Burgeys	10 virgae	2½d.
John Boghiere	10 virgae	2½d.

Matilda Beneyt	10 virgae	2½d.
Robert Lef	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Roger Mite Wlle	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Renger Wylekyn	113 virgae	3¼d.
	sub-total	8s.½d.
Total land in this quarter, 2¾ acres and 5¾ virgae		
In the **eighteenth quarter** Henry Heved	10½ virgae	2½d.
Robert Londoneys	7½ virgae	2d.
Geoffrey Trippe	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Godfrey Langters	10 virgae	2½d.
Adam Aleman, butcher	8½ virgae	2¼d.
Isabella Machon	7½ virgae	1¾d.
John, son of William Alard	10 virgae	2½d.
William de Cantuaria	7½ virgae	2d.
Richard Wibelot	7½ virgae	2d.
William de Sandherst, butcher	10 virgae	3¾d.
Simon de Helme	eighth of an acre and ¼ virga	5d.
Robert le Hane	eighth of an acre and ¼ virga	5d.
Adam Eufemme	eighth of an acre and 1¼ virgae	5¼d.
Joan, widow of Alan Godefrey	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6½d.

John Panifader	eighth of an acre and ¼ virga	5¼d.
Gerald, called Batecok, ate Welle	17 virgae	4¼d.
Henry, son of John Aurifaber	eighth of an acre and 5½ virgae	6½d.
Salerna, widow of **William Maynard**	eighth of an acre and 5¼ virgae	6½d.
Gervase Pechun	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	5¾d.
Matilda Bakestere	7½ virgae	1¾d.
William Trottesmale	7½ virgae	2d.
Richard Cocus	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Henry Cornman	10 virgae	2½d.
Henry Port	6¼ virgae	1¼d.
John Vetere	5 virgae	1¼d.
Robert Reyner	6¼ virgae	1¾d.
Robert le Botere	12½ virgae	3d.
Alexander de Ecclesia	17 virgae	4¼d.
Ralph Yring	17 virgae	4¼d.
Geoffrey Dali	17 virgae	4¼d.
heirs of Nicholas Quic	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
John Martin	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
Henry Monning	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
Robert Jolivet	17 virgae	4¼d.

John Large	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
John, his son	12¾ virgae	3d.
Reginald Carpenter	12¾ virgae	3¼d.
William de la Carette	17 virgae	4¼d.
	sub-total	10s.8¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 3¾ acres and 9¾ virgae		
In the **nineteenth quarter** Henry de Strode	7½ virgae	3d.
William de Appletre, cobbler	7½ virgae	3d.
Hamo Sutor de Rya	7½ virgae	3d.
Henry de Moningeham	7½ virgae	3d.
John, his brother	7½ virgae	3d.
John de Sandwyco	7½ virgae	3d.
Gervase le Cordwaner	7½ virgae	3d.
William le Barebour	7½ virgae	3d.
Richard Scot, cutler	7½ virgae	3d.
William Aurifaber	7½ virgae	3d.
Stephen Aurifaber	15¼ virgae	5¾d.
Henry Bron	three-eighths of an acre and 17¼ virgae	19d.
Walter Scappe	three-eighths of an acre and 17¼ virgae	19d.
Reginald Alard jun.	three-eighths of an acre and 17¼ virgae	19d.
Paul de Horne	three-eighths of an acre	19d.

	and 17¼ virgae	
Thomas Godefrey	three-eighths of an acre and 17¼ virgae	19d.
John Andreu	quarter of an acre and 6¼ virgae	11½d.
John le Dore	15 virgae	3½d.
Richard Godefray	eighth of an acre and 10 virgae	7½d.
	sub-total	12s.9¼d.
Total land in this quarter, 3½ acres and 7¾ virgae		
In the **twentieth quarter** **William Pate**	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	9¼d.
Walter de Scotenie	13¾ virgae	3½d.
Andrew Godard	13¾ virgae	3¼d.
Matthew Godard	12½ virgae	3d.
William Toly	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Henry, son of John Alard	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
John Pontre	16 virgae	4d.
Henry Bakere	eighth of an acre	5d.
John Wallere	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
Simon Salerne, [with his] brothers Roger and John, co-tenants	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
Adam de Bidindenne	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.

Robert, son of Roger de Bidindenne	12½ virgae	4¼d.
John Sqachard	15 virgae	3¾d.
William Aurifaber, brother of Stephen	12½ virgae	3¼d.
heirs of Matthew le Machon	15 virgae	3¾d.
Godard Cocus	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
John Alard	quarter of an acre and 15¼ virgae	13¾d.
Robert Paulyn	quarter of an acre and 15¼ virgae	13¾d.
James Paulyn	half an acre and 14 virgae	23½d.
John Godefrey	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
	sub-total	11s.1d
Total land in this quarter, 3¼ acres and 17 virgae		
In the **twenty-first quarter** Agnes Panifader	eighth of an acre and 16½ virgae	9¼d.
The rector of the church of St. Giles	eighth of an acre and 16½ virgae	9d.
Roger Paumer	eighth of an acre, 2¼ virgae	5½d.
Sampson Heved	18¼ virgae	4½d.
William de Ihamme	eighth of an acre and 2¾ virgae	5½d.
John Sperke	14 and five-eighths virgae	3¼d.

Robert Salerne	12½ virgae	3d.
Margery, daughter of Stephen Roberd	15 virgae	3¾d.
Roger Soutere, fisherman	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Robert Yevegod	10 virgae	2½d.
William Kenting	15 virgae	3¾d.
Henry Goldive	15 virgae	3¾d
Sander de Brokexe, the long	17½ virgae	3½d.
Peter Goldive	eighth of an acre and 7¼ virgae	6¾d.
Robert de Cantuaria	eighth of an acre and 2 and five-eighths virgae	2¾d.
	sub-total	6s.
Total land in this quarter, 1¾ acres and 1¼ virgae		
In the **twenty-second quarter** Bartholomew Roberd	eighth of an acre and 8 virgae	7d.
William de Pulham	20 virgae	5d.
Paul de Horne	quarter of an acre and 32 virgae	18d.
Walter Scappe	half an acre	20d.
John Alard and his brother Justin, co-tenants	half an acre	20d.
John Buchard Ingulf	14 virgae	3½d.
Thomas Pannoc	14 virgae	3½d.
Cok Badding	17½ virgae	4¼d.

Hamo de Marisco	14 virgae	3½d.
Muriel Scrith	14 virgae	3½d.
John Roteline	17½ virgae	4½d.
Alexander Pistor de Westune	14 virgae	3½d.
William Grubbe	14 virgae	3½d.
John Norreys, baker	17½ virgae	3¼d.
Brouning Paumer	14 virgae	3½d.
Richard Quiliere	14 virgae	3½d.
Gervase Popelote	17½ virgae	4½d.
Jordan the clerk	8¾ virgae	2d.
Stephen Specer	10½d.	2¾d.
William Passelewe	10½d.	2¾d.
John Jonesone	12¼ virgae	4d.
	sub-total	10s6d.
Total land in this quarter, 3 acres and 23 virgae		
Beside the above quarter John de Rackele [holds]	one-eighth part of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
Walter de Marisco	a quarter acre	10d.
William and Richard, sons of Tristram le Frere, with a house	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
	sub-total	22½d.
Total of this land, half an acre and 10 virgae		

Fifth Street

In the **twenty-third quarter** Richard Digon, **trumpeter**	16½ virgae	4d.
John Scheylard, baker	16½ virgae	4¼d.
Peter Maynard	eighth of an acre and 2¾ virgae	5½d.
John Alard, son of John Alard	eighth of an acre and 2¾ virgae	5¾d.
Hamo Cotiler	11 and five-eighths virgae	4¼d.
Henry de la Haye	14 and five-eighths virgae	10½d.
Geoffrey Draueke	12¾ virgae	4¾d.
William Frost	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
John de Brede	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
Peter Blosme	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
Robert Russel	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
Roger Machon, butcher	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
John Beneyt	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
Adam Vader	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
Adam Erl	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
Beneyt Bocher	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.

William Dod	12 and three-eighths virgae	4¾d.
	sub-total	6s.9½d.
Total land in this quarter, 1 acre and ¾ virgae		
In the **twenty-fourth quarter** John le Palmere of Upredinge	16 virgae	6d.
William Heved	10 virgae	2½d.
Robert Germeyn jun.	10 virgae	2½d.
Stephen de Brokexe	18¾ virgae	4¾d.
Petronilla de Brokexe, his mother	11¾ virgae	2¾d.
Richard Germeyn, son of Richard	17¼ virgae	4½d.
Richard Germeyn, his father	15½ virgae	3¾d.
Robert Crips, baker		
Stephen Withon	eighth of an acre and 1 virga	5¼d.
Bartholomew Campion	12½ virgae	4d.
Henry ate Merse	7½ virgae	2d.
Thomas Malherbe	12½ virgae	4½d.
John Valer	12½ virgae	4½d.
Walter de Marisco	12½ virgae	4½d.
William de Marisco	12½ virgae	4½d.
Guy Cissor	12½ virgae	4½d.
Robert Specer, called Jolif	12½ virgae	4½d.

Joan Dore	12½ virgae	4½d.
Henry Louecok	12½ virgae	4½d.
William Citeuest	12½ virgae	4½d.
Walter ate Walle	12½ virgae	4½d.
John Deth	10 virgae	3¾d.
	sub-total	7s.5¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 1 and one-eighth acre and 5¾ virgae		
In the **twenty-fifth quarter** Richard de Bilesham	15 virgae	3¾d.
William Deryng	10 virgae	2½d.
Sampson Cok Moris	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Nicholas Albard, son of Richard Albard	7½ virgae	2d.
Jonas, son of William Burgeys	20 virgae	5d.
Ralph le Buf	20 virgae	5d.
John Picard	12½ virgae	3d.
John de Iwherst	eighth of an acre and 13½ virgae	8½d.
Petronilla de Iwherst	eighth of an acre and 13½ virgae	8¼d.
John, son of Robert Paulyn	eighth of an acre	5d.
Hamo Roberd	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
Richard Bonenfant, clerk	10 virgae	2½d.
William Griffin	7½ virgae	2d.

Robert Gotobedde	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Laurence Cupere	10 virgae	1½d.
Alexander de Brokexe, the short	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Thomas Roger, baker	eighth of an acre and 8½ virgae	7d.
Henry Jordan	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
Golding Pistor	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
Total land in this quarter, 2 acres and 8½ virgae		
	sub-total	6s.10d.
In the **twenty-sixth quarter** John, son of Godrey Buchard	eighth of an acre	5d.
Adam Palmere	10 virgae	2½d.
Denis, son of Henry Paumer	10 virgae	2½d.
Mathew Songer	10 virgae	2½d.
Thomas Cissor	15 virgae	3¾d.
Benedict Carite	quarter of an acre and 2 virgae	10½d.
John Grik	three-eighths of an acre and 12 virgae	18d.
Robert, son of Stephen Aurifaber	15 virgae	3¾d.
Robert Scalle	35 virgae	8¾d.
William de Canterbire, cobbler	10 virgae	2½d.
Henry Stronge	10 virgae	2½d.

Richard le Cannere	10 virgae	2½d.
	sub-total	5s.4¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 1½ acres and 19 virgae		
Sixth Street		
In the **twenty-seventh quarter** Gervase Alard sen.	half an acre	20d.
Philip, son of Laurence clerk	eighth of an acre and 7 virgae	6¾d.
Robert, son of Robert le Hane	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	5½d.
Richard Bene	13½ virgae	3½d.
Alan Dagard	13½ virgae	3¼d.
Walter Coting	13½ virgae	3½d.
Stephen Fachel	13½ virgae	3¼d.
Nicholas Dodlef	13½ virgae	3½d.
Thomas Dodlef, his brother	13½ virgae	3¼d.
John Forester, baker	eighth of an acre and 5 virgae	6¼d.
Henry Jacob	half an acre	20d.
the mayor of Winchelsea, whoever is in office	one acre	40d.
	sub-total	9s.10¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 2 and seventh-eighths acres and 15½ virgae		
In the **twenty-eighth quarter** Thomas le Machon	12½ virgae	3¼d.

Robert, son of John Valer	15 virgae	3¾d.
Alice Coggere	8¾d virgae	2¼d.
Mable Coggere	5 virgae	1¾d.
Juliana Gotobedde	5 virgae	1¾d.
Denis Whitloc	5 virgae	1¾d.
John Calot	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Alan Grindelof	7½ virgae	2d.
Adam Randulf	12½ virgae	3d.
Mable Lynleggestre	11 and seven-eighths virgae	3d,
Reginald Cok Alayn	19¾ virgae	5d.
Goda Charles	11 and seven-eighths virgae	3d,
Alexander, called Louecok, Redegrom	16 virgae	4d.
Richard Aleyn	12 virgae	3d.
Walter Long	eighth of an acre and 4 virgae	6d.
John le Visch'	eighth of an acre and 7 virgae	6¾d.
William de Salcote	16 virgae	4d.
Gilbert Ledzetre	12 virgae	3d.
Roger Bulloc	eighth of an acre	5d.
John ate Merse	8 virgae	3d.
John Specer	6¼ virgae	2½d.

Henry de Leycestria	7½ virgae	3d.
Robert Chauri	5 virgae	1¾d.
Richard Deth	6¼ virgae	2½d.
Robert Bertelot	5 virgae	1¾d.
John de Arundel	7½ virgae	3d.
William, his brother	10 virgae	3¾d.
Peter de Arundel	10 virgae	3¾d.
Robert Codelawe	7½ virgae	3d.
William de Pulham	12½ virgae	4½d.
Robert Withon	19¾ virgae	5d.
William de Romene, baker	15¾ virgae	4d.
Henry Bocher	17¾ virgae	4¼d.
Henry Atenende	12 virgae	3d.
James, son of Thomas Godefrey	eighth of an acre and 8 virgae	7d.
Lucy, called Douce, Martin	16 virgae	4d.
Theobald Pistor	eighth of an acre	5d.
Alice, daughter of Hamo de Colecestria	16 virgae	4d.
John de Lindherst	16 virgae	4d.
Mable Pollard	16 virgae	4d.
John de Portesmue	16 virgae	4d.
William Cupar de Apeltre	14 virgae	3½d.
	sub-total	12s.2¾d.

Total land in this quarter, 3 and three-eighths acres and 2 virgae		
In the **twenty-ninth quarter** Robert le Hore	16¼ virgae	4¼d.
Robert Prest	11¼ virgae	2¾d.
Simon Lineter	8¾ virgae	2d.
Walter le Frye	8¾ virgae	2¼d.
Cronnok, widow of Wileman	7½ virgae	2d.
Ancel Candelar	7½virgae	1¾d.
Spakeman Cocus	7½ virgae	2d.
Alexander Hugheman	8 virgae	2d.
Andrew Rape	16¼ virgae	2¾d.
John Faber	15 virgae	3¾d.
Ralph de Oclynge	11¼ virgae	2¾d.
Robert de Glynde	15 virgae	3¾d.
Stephen, son of William Pate	15 virgae	3¾d.
Denise, widow of Simon de Hydene	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	5¾d.
Philip de Bernehorne	18¾ virgae	4½d.
William de Odimere	15¼ virgae	3¾d.
Thomas Bone	17½ virgae	4½d.
Alan Kenting	10 virgae	2½d.
John Crutel	7½ virgae	1¾d.
Corald Taverner	7½ virgae	2d.
Thomas Suift	7½ virgae	1¾d.

John Heuer	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Robert de Promhell	15 virgae	5¾d.
Simon Aurifaber	15 virgae	3¾d.
John, son of John de Carecta	15 virgae	3¾d.
Bartholomew, his brother	15 virgae	3¾d.
Henry ate Carte	15 virgae	3¾d.
Walter Prinkel	15 virgae	3¾d.
Henry Visch'	15 virgae	3¾d.
Gilbert Coggere	15 virgae	3¾d.
Ralph Modi	11 virgae	2¾d.
John Thomas	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	5½d.
Thomas de Green	15 virgae	3¾d.
	sub-total	9s.1¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 2 and five-eighths acres and 10½ virgae		
In the **thirtieth quarter** Laurence Cuppere	12½ virgae	3¼d.
John de Ho	10 virgae	2½d.
Thomas Teppe, cobbler	7½ virgae	1¾d.
John, son of Reginald Alard	eighth of an acre	5d.
Henry Horne	10 virgae	2½d.
Peter, son of William Kenting	15 virgae	3¾d.
Vincent, son of Robert Cyteueste	eighth of an acre	5d.
Agnes Panifader	quarter of an acre	10d.

John Alard	half an acre	20d.
Henry Jacob	quarter of an acre	10d.
Robert de Lodeleghe, baker	26 virgae	6½d.
John Hewe	12½ virgae	3d.
John Pollard	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Petronilla Brokexe	12½ virgae	3d.
Walter, her son	12½ virgae	3¼d.
Nicholas Beilwerghte	9¼ virgae	2¼d.
Alexander Ropere	9 virgae	2¼d.
Ralph Porter	9 virgae	2¼d.
Roger Pote	9 virgae	2¼d.
John Treneri	9 virgae	2¼d.
John Schenchere	13½ virgae	3¼d.
William son of Sampson, called Guillot	13½ virgae	3¼d.
	sub-total	8s.4¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 2¾ acres and 5¼ virgae		
In the **thirty-first quarter** Reginald Alard sen. holds in a place outside the town	half an acre and 17 virgae	2s.¼d.
Robert Stoket	8¾ virgae	2¼d.
Bate Pelliparius	10 virgae	2½d.
Alan Yonge, skinner	10 virgae	2½d.
John Audemer, skinner	10 virgae	2½d.
Philip Cardinel, skinner	10 virgae	2½d.

Joan, widow of John Michel	15 virgae	3¾d.
	sub-total	3s.4¼d.
Total land in this quarter, 1 acre and ¾ virga		
Seventh Street		
In the **thirty-second quarter** John, son of Walter Scappe	eighth of an acre and 6 virgae	5¾d.
William Burgeys	quarter of an acre	9d.
John, son of Ralph Pate	quarter of an acre	9d.
Nicholas Alard	half an acre	18d.
Thomas Godefrey	half an acre	18d.
	sub-total	4s.11¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 1½ acres and 26 virgae		
In the **thirty-third quarter** Thomas, son of Godfrey Bochard	15 virgae	3¼d.
John le Cupere	10 virgae	2¼d.
John le Baker, schipwerghte	10 virgae	2¼d.
William Scot	10 virgae	2¼d.
Robert Wlward	7½ virgae	1½d.
Robert, son of Adam de Wyntonia	10 virgae	2¼d.
Gervase Andrea	13¾ virgae	3d.
Stephen Osebarn	18¾ virgae	3¾d.
Thomas Albus, baker	15 virgae	3¼d.

Adam Erl	11¼ virgae	s2½d.
Roger Fikeys	13¼ virgae	2¾d.
Anger Dinder	13¼ virgae	2¾d.
John le Beilwerghte	12½ virgae	2¾d.
John Barete	5 virgae	1d.
Agnes Pilchere	5½ virgae	1¼d.
Payn Coggere	6¼ virgae	1¼d.
Thomas, called Boun, Mounyer	6¼ virgae	1¼d.
Robert Balloc	11¼ virgae	2½d.
Gervase Scot	12½ virgae	2¾d.
Thomas de Meydenstane	15 virgae	3¼d.
Gervase Toneman	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	5d.
John Terri	18¾ virgae	3¾d.
William Denote	18¾ virgae	4¾d.
Walter Schyue	18¾ virgae	4¾d.
	sub-total	5s.5d.
Total land in this quarter, one and seven-eighths acres and 5¾ virgae		
In the **thirty-fourth quarter** Adam Faber	13 virgae	1½d.
Theobald Walterman	6 virgae	1d.
William de Chelintone	6 virgae	1d.
John, son of Benedict le Bocher	6 virgae	1d.
John Kemesse	9 virgae	1¾d.

The **House of St. John** holds	one and one-eighth acres and 7 virgae	3s.5½d.
Petronilla, widow of Maurice Jacob, and her daughter Petronilla	eighth of an acre and 2½ virgae	4¾d.
Richard de Pulham	18 virgae	3½d.
Joce Tigelere	9 virgae	1¾d.
John Eue	13½ virgae	3d.
	sub-total	5s.¾d.
Total land in this quarter, 1¾ acres and 5 virgae		
In the **thirty-fifth quarter** John and Bartholomew de Carett'	half an acre	18d.
Adam Stonhard	quarter of an acre and 3 virgae	9d.
Henry de Carett'	quarter of an acre	9d.
Walter le Granger, called Mite Steue	15 virgae	3d.
Isabelle, daughter of Morekyn Jacob	15 virgae	3d/
	sub-total	3s.6d.
Total land in this quarter, one and one-eighth acres and 13 virgae		
Eighth Street		
In the **thirty-sixth quarter** Gervase Alard sen.	quarter of an acre and three and five-eighths virgae	9½d.
Vincent Herberd	quarter of an acre and	9½d.

	three and five-eighths virgae	
Stephen de Bindenne and John de Ihamme, clerk	quarter of an acre and three and five-eighths virgae	9½d.
Thomas Colram	quarter of an acre and three and five-eighths virgae	9½d.
	sub-total	3s.2d.
Total land in this quarter,1 acre and 14½ virgae		
In the **thirty-seventh quarter** Vincent Herberd	half an acre	18d.
Stephen Germeyn	half an acre	18d.
Joan, daughter of Maynard Cornhethe	15½ virgae	3¼d.
Robert Ricard	15½ virgae	3¼d.
William Russel	15½ virgae	3¼d.
William de Esche	15½ virgae	3¼d.
heirs of Ralph Chol	eighth of an acre and 3¼ virgae	5d.
Denis Mareys	15½ virgae	3¼d.
William le Lung	19¼ virgae	4¼d.
Sampson Heved	19¼ virgae	4¼d.
John, son of Martin de Ecclesia	7 virgae	1¼d.
Thomas Boltan	7 virgae	1¼d.
Ralph Skele	10 virgae	2¼d.
Stacey, his mother	8 virgae	1½d.

Matilda Beauchef	11 virgae	1¼d.
William Page	10 virgae	2¼d.
Stephen Ropere	7 virgae	1¼d.
Thomas le Mas	7 virgae	1¼d.
Laurence clerk	eighth of an acre	4½d.
James, son of Thomas de Meydestane	19 virgae	4¼d.
John Seman	quarter of an acre	9d.
William Seman	quarter of an acre	9d.
	sub-total	8s.8¾d.
Total land in this quarter,3¼ acres		
In the **thirty-eighth quarter** Thomas ate Curt, butcher	10 virgae	2¼d.
Dyn chaper	10 virgae	2¼d.
William de Morile, butcher	8¾ virgae	1¾d.
William de Potesterne, carpenter	10 virgae	2¼d.
John Machon	10 virgae	2¼d.
William de Schettele	12½ virgae	2½d.
William de Brede	eighth of an acre and 7 virgae	5¾d.
Thomas Haldan	eighth of an acre and 7 virgae	5¾d.
William Lamb	eighth of an acre and 7 virgae	5¾d.
Gilbert de Cruce	quarter of an acre	9d.

Richard Guillot de Kyngestone	eighth of an acre and 6 virgae	5¾d.
John Godefrey	quarter of an acre and 12 virgae	11½d.
Alexander de Brokexe, the short	eighth of an acre and 15 virgae	7¾d.
Henry Yue	quarter of an acre	9d.
John, son of Reginald Alard	quarter of an acre	9d.
James Paulyn	one acre	3s.
	sub-total	9s.11¼d.
Total land in this quarter,3¼ acres and 19¼ virgae		
In the **thirty-ninth quarter** Robert Clerk	half an acre, on which he has built	18d.
House of St. Bartholomew	2 acres	6s.
House of Holy Cross	1 acre	3s.
	sub-total	10s.6d
Total land in this quarter, 3½ acres		
The following are the plots handed over for building upon, and rented out, at the foot of the hill, on its north side, on land next to the salt water, **vulnerable to the tides**.		
Firstly, Stephen Aurifaber holds in the first quarter	3 virgae	1d.
Nicholas Alard	12 virgae	3½d.
Henry Jacob	12 virgae	3½d.
Stephen Colram	7 virgae	3¼d.
John de Maghefelde	7 virgae	2¼d.

Justin Alard	7 virgae	2¼d.
John Seman	7 virgae	2¼d.
Alexander de Brokexe, the short	7 virgae	2¼d.
James Paulyn	12 virgae	3½d.
James Paulyn de Upredinge	6 virgae	1¾d.
John Takesnau	6 virgae	1¾d.
John le Visch	5¼ virgae	1½d.
William Seman	4¼ virgae	1¼d.
Henry, son of John Aurifaber	4¼virgae	1¼d.
John de Scotenie	4¼virgae	1¼d.
Henry Bakere	4¼virgae	1¼d.
Adam de Bidindenne	5¼ virgae	1½d.
Stephen Withon	5¼ virgae	1½d.
Simon de Scotenye	5¼ virgae	1½d.
Vincent Herberd	6 virgae	1¾d.
John Grik'	7 virgae	2¼d.
Reginald Alard jun.	14 virgae	4d.
John Alard	13 virgae	4¼d.
Gervase Alard jun.	14 virgae	4¼d.
Thomas Godefrey	14 virgae	4¼d.
John Andreu	14 virgae	4d.
William Neel	6 virgae	1¾d.
Stephen Moris	6 virgae	1¾d.

Peter Goldive	9 virgae	2¾d.
William Pate	7½ virgae	2¼d.
Henry Bacun	6¼ virgae	1¾d.
Richard Baytaile	7½ virgae	2¼d.
William Batayle	6¼ virgae	1¾d.
Matthew de Horne	10 virgae	3d.
James, son of Thomas Barbatoris	6¼ virgae	1¾d.
Walter de Rackele	6¼ virgae	1¾d.
John Lamb	5½ virgae	1¼d.
Robert de Carett'	7 virgae	2¼d.
Thomas Alard	12 virgae	3½d.
Godard Cocus	9 virgae	2¾d.
John Godefrey	10 virgae	3d.
John Thomas	10 virgae	3d.
Stephen de Brokexe	10 virgae	3d.
Paul de Horne	14 virgae	4¼d.
William de Salcote	4 virgae	1¼d.
Richard de Pesemerse	4 virgae	1¼d.
Reginald Cok Aleyn	4 virgae	1¼d.
John, son of John the baker	4 virgae	1¼d.
Robert ate Merse	4 virgae	1¼d.
heirs of John Batan	eighth of an acre and 13 virgae	10d.

Geoffrey Banek	4½ virgae	1½d.
Adam Stonhard	3¾ virgae	1d.
William de Brokexe	3¾ virgae	1d.
Reginald Alard sen.	7 virgae	1¾d.
Walter Scappe	4¼ virgae	
John Pate, son of John Pate	4½ virgae	1¼d.
John Batayle	4½ virgae	1¼d.
Copyn de Lydehame	6 virgae	1¾d.
Robert Hane	4½ virgae	1¼d.
John Yue	4½ virgae	1¼d.
John, son of Henry Yue	4½ virgae	1¼d.
Henry Yue	4½ virgae	1¼d.
Stephen Germeyn	4½ virgae	1¼d.
Thomas Bone and his son Bartholomew	6 virgae	1¾d.
Stephen de Bindenne	6 virgae	1¾d.
John Bochard, son of Godfrey	4½ virgae	1¼d.
Henry ate Carte	6 virgae	1¾d.
William de Poleham	6 virgae	1¾d.
William Maucap	6 virgae	1¾d.
John Folke	4½ virgae	1¼d.
Richard Pate	4½ virgae	1¼d.
John Pate, his brother	5¼ virgae	1¼d.
Henry Broun	6 virgae	1¾d.

John de Ihamme, clerk	7 virgae	2d.
William Burgeys	7 virgae	2d.
Thomas Colram	7 virgae	2d.
Gervase Alard sen.	10½ virgae	3d.
Robert Scalle	6 virgae	1¾d.
John, son of Gervase Alard	6 virgae	1¾d.
:	sub-total	13s.¾d.
Total land at the foot of the hill, 3½ acres and 20¼ virgae		
Grand total of all rents £14.11s.5¾d.		
Grand total in land 87¾ acres and 7¼ virgae		

The mayor and jurats also state that in the 16th year of the reign of King Edward, around the festival of St. James the Apostle [25 July 1288], dom. John de Kirkeby, then Bishop of Ely, on behalf of our lord the king, in the presence of the sheriff of Sussex and other nobles, both knights and many others of that sounty, **delivered seisin** to the community of Winchelsea of all lands contained in this roll, on behalf of the king and the community. He reconfirmed that it would be exempt from paying rent for seven years from the above date. Thus because of that assurance nothing has been paid from the foundation and renting-out up to the present. Regarding which guarantee, the wishes of the king are to be carried out in all things. And to better [assure the integrity of this data] the mayor and jurats, with the consent of the whole community, have set the common seal to this document. Dated at Winchelsea, 27 September 1292.

DISCUSSION

The village status and modest appearance of modern Winchelsea disguise the fact that for part of the Middles Ages it was quite a bit larger and a south coast port town of some significance. It provides a rare example of the relocation of a town (another instance being Salisbury), but more important it has left us with documentation unique

for England, giving us a snapshot of a town – fabric and community – at a specific date and illustrating the planning involved in founding what was in some, but not all, respects a '**new town**'.

How typical this planning was in England may be open to question, for New Winchelsea, the successor to Old Winchelsea, was a relatively late town foundation, undertaken at royal initiative in a period after the Crown had already gained much experience with establishing defended towns in Gascony and Wales; Edward and his supporters and officials continued to be active with urban development in France – in 1284/85, for example, he authorized the foundation of the bastide of **Monpazier**, built as a perfect rectangle, divided into quarters by the grid pattern of streets, and focused around a market square, its medieval layout still largely unaltered today. The same acquired expertise would later be applied to the resettlement of Berwick and Calais after they were captured from the enemy. The New Winchelsea project may have been a more elaborate procedure than normal; certainly it took longer to complete than was the case with other new towns. But the process illustrated at Winchelsea would likely have been similar in its broad strokes to that undertaken elsewhere in the realm, whether in the creation of entire new towns or the expansion of the fabric of existing ones, if not on so grand a scale.

Project background

Not a great deal is known about Old Winchelsea, whose physical fabric has been entirely lost to us, and even its precise location (probably somewhere in the present Rye Bay) is uncertain. A reference in the early eleventh century to *Wincenesel* and one in Domesday Book to a new town founded pre-Conquest on the manor of Rameslie, covering that part of Sussex, are both inconclusive. The first clear mention of Winchelsea comes in the Pipe Roll of 1130/31, while Richard I's charter grant of 1191 confirmed existing liberties granted by Henry II and was in turn reconfirmed by John in 1205. By 1191 Winchelsea and Rye had joined the Cinque Ports confederation, as affiliates of Hastings; and the chartered liberties are mostly exemptions from various tolls, in return for naval service. Several port towns had emerged along the south coast as the Channel took on greater importance, from the eleventh century, as a route for trade and highway between the two parts of the Norman realm, and then as a naval frontier during hostilities with France. The stretch of coast near Winchelsea and Rye was a large bank of shingle, providing a barrier to the tide, yet with one or more channels offering a safe haven for ships to anchor. Not only was the site's Dieppe-Winchelsea route one of the shortest Channel crossings, but its harbour could also serve as a base for warships operating in the Channel or transporting expeditions to France. Edward I on several occasions used Winchelsea as his point of departure overseas.

Old Winchelsea must have been established upon the shingle bank, perhaps by continental fishermen or settlers; one possible origin of its name would be a personal appellation appended to an early medieval term used for a land-mass largely

surrounded (at least at times) by water, similar to the sandbank foundation of **Yarmouth**. By the end of the twelfth century, its convenient coastal situation had brought it prosperity, not least because London merchants found it a useful port. In the early thirteenth century it had some importance not only as home port of a fishing fleet and as a centre for cross-Channel commerce, particularly in exporting wool and importing wine, but as one of the leading providers of ships and sailors for military expeditions, a base for ship-building, the assembly of fleets, and (in the 1230s) docking of a squadron of royal galleys. This would continue to be the case – as late as 1350 Winchelsea's anchorage was used by an English squadron before setting out to intercept a French fleet – but there were problems on the horizon.

During the decades around the middle of the thireenth century a series of **severe storms** enhanced the normal, and recoverable, erosive effects of tide on the shingle barrier. Alarmed, the king made repeated grants of **murage**, from 1244 into the 1260s, so that the men of Winchelsea could bolster its seaward defences. The effort was not enough; at some point in the 1250s the barrier was irreparably breached and incoming tides reached the once marshy area behind, so that a long dyke had to be built across the land that had been reclaimed from the marshes. The shingle bank continued to be eaten away; in 1250 it had been claimed that some three hundred houses were damaged by flooding, Matthew Paris chronicled another inundation in 1252, and in 1271 part of the parish church and a nearby quay were lost to floods. Not surprisingly, the town's economy was being adversely affected. Winchelsea was not the only port town jeopardized: in 1258 Romney was said to be perishing because of the effects of flooding, from Winchelsea's direction, on the course of the river serving the port; cutting a new course for the river was contemplated.

Process

In the early years of his reign, Edward I, having barely pulled through the period of drastic social division during his father's reign, intended to take a very hands-on approach to urban affairs (and indeed most aspects of social and economic development) in his realm, and to more closely integrate towns into a system of national government. Having himself **visited Winchelsea** in 1276, he realized that a longer-term solution was necessary. In 1280 he initiated the process to relocate the residents of Old Winchelsea, which he noted was then largely underwater, to a site about three miles away from their flooded town: a hill with a fairly flat top, situated near the estuary of the River Brede, whose connection to the sea would still enable Winchelsea to function as a port. The prospective town was initially referred to as New Iham, after the nearby village of Iham, part of a manor belonging to the Abbey of Fécamp, which had earlier also held (by gift of Canute) the lordship of Rameslie, and consequently Winchelsea, until Henry III decided (1247) the town was too valuable and revoked that part of the gift. But not long into the redevelopment the new town had become known, doubtless at the will of the relocated burgesses, as New Winchelsea.

The first necessary step was for the king to secure title to the land chosen as the site. Part of this was located on the demesne of the manor of Iham, onto which some of the displaced residents of Winchelsea had already relocated, while other parcels of land were owned by several individuals and religious houses. The acquisition process was also to incorporate the manor of Iham, which included marshland (south of the hill) where too some Winchelsea residents had resettled, but leaving he village of Iham largely untouched. The manor of Iden (to the north of Rye) was also involved in the overall acquisition plan.

Negotiations for buying these lands, or exchanging them for other royal properties, was a task assigned in November 1280 to **Ralph de Sandwyco**; as steward of the royal demesne lands in southern England, he had expertise in assessing the value of properties and may also have decided precisely what tracts of land on the site would be desirable for the intended purpose. Transfer to the king of these lands appears in some cases an expropriation, while in others negotiations must have been more protracted, although the final outcome cannot have been in much doubt. That part of the process, which required not simply an exchange of one piece of land for another, but also calculation of their relative values, so that financial compensation could be provided for any gap, may have taken some time to complete – **not so unusual** in the acquisition of large tracts of land under multiple ownership; for it was not until October of 1283 that Edward issued the formal commission (above) for the production of a final site plan and, implicitly, the work to bring it to realization. Such a plan had to make sufficient provision not only for residential plots but also for the infrastructure supporting commerce, transportation, worship, and charitable care – a necessary basis to attract the resettlement which would in turn bring revenues into the royal coffers.

In the interim, however, Stephen de Penecestre, **Iter de Engolisma**, and Henry le Waleys had been commissioned (November 1281) to examine the site at Iham and make arrangements for selected plots to be rented out to Winchelsea men for building, according to what they assessed as the value of those plots. Negotiations with the lord of Iham manor had just been completed, and Sandwyco may have had some provisional recommendations on how best to divide up the site, allowing the king, either as a stop-gap measure or as a first phase of layout out the new town, to accommodate some of the burgesses of Old Winchelsea who had already lost their homes to the sea. A new commission to the same effect was issued in March 1283 to Penecestre and Waleys, this time (and perhaps at the suggestion of Penecestre) in association with **John de Cobeham**, a high-ranking Exchequer official; it suggests further progress in land negotiations.

In February 1286 work was still underway on completing the plan; alone of the planning commissioners, Penecestre remained active, the renewal of his commission directing him to lay out plots on a specific part of the site. Furthermore, for the first time we have direct confirmation of resettlement, for Penecestre was instructed to provide the Exchequer with a list of the plots (presumably identifying location and

size), names of those to whom he rented them out, and the amounts of the rents payable. It **has been argued** that this was a new phase of planning, undertaken as an extension at the southern end of the originally intended site; in that area are the highest of the quarter numbers. However, the name given in the commission to this part of the site, "le Kenel", may rather indicate riverside properties; a delay in settlement there could reflect the slow progress of land acquisition, need to construct port facilities, or lingering concerns of the Old Winchelsea townsmen over the narrowness of the river channel, whose navigability at low tide they thought inadequate. The introduction to the section of the rental dealing with the quayside reads as though that section could have been copied from an independent earlier document, such as that Penecestre was tasked with compiling. If Kenel means channel, then the final commission to Penecestre suggests that a communal quay was by now in place.

Once all acquisitions had been completed, the **total area** allocated to the new town was about 151 acres and was almost 1.5 km. long, by about 0.75 km. at its widest point. This made it the largest new town founded during the reign of Edward I. As already noted, planning the new town had not waited for the **completion of acquisitions**. As parts of the site were acquired, work may have got underway to clear trees and those few buildings of the manor and of a small settlement that already existed on the hilltop. Cleared areas could then be surveyed in order to divide up the space between building plots and streets of sufficient width to serve a flourishing port (ancient laws, compiled as the *Leges Henrici Primi*, specifying that highways should be wide enough for two carts to pass each other).

For the production of the official site plan, two commissioners had, as indicated above, already been selected; Penecestre and Waleys were joined, in the commission of October 1283 by Gregory de Rokesle. In the selection of commissioners, the king was, in the absence of professional urban planners, seeking men with appropriate expertise and a proven record of service to the Crown. As **David Martin notes**, this choice of personnel shows the determination of Edward I not to lose a valuable port that provided a link with his duchy of Aquitaine (which included Gascony) and furnished ships and sailors for naval expeditions. Ralph de Sandwyco was the obvious officer to carry out the acquisitions; the members of the planning committee may seem at first glance less straightforward choices, but a closer look at the individuals will show how sound the choices were.

Personnel

Stephen de Pencester (as his name is more commonly rendered today) was a Kent man who had an early connection with London, for as an orphaned minor his guardian was an uncle who was a canon of St. Paul's. From a military family (a namesake having helped fight off a French assault on Dover Castle in 1216), by the time of the civil war, he had apparently already caught the eye of Prince Edward, and for a few months in 1263 was entrusted with the defence of Kent and Sussex. In 1265, following the restoration of royal authority, the Prince, who had been assigned responsibility for the

recently formalized confederation of the Cinque Ports and for Dover Castle, made Pencester his deputy in the Ports, which (as the Winchelsea project showed) Edward considered of much importance to the realm, but which had been troublesome during the civil war, between **piratic acts and support of the rebels**, and now needed a firm hand. In early 1268, Edward added Dover Castle to Pencester's charges. Later in the year he was appointed sheriff of Kent for the usual year's term. As Henry III declined and Edward faced an enhancement of his own status, he upgraded that of Pencester, who from 1271 is no longer referred to as a deputy, but as Warden of the Cinque Ports and constable of Dover Castle in his own right. By that time he had already been knighted.

These twin posts remained his primary role up to his death. His wardenship must have brought considerable familiarity with urban affairs, not simply through his presidency of the confederation's court, but through hands-on involvement in a range of matters; for instance, soon after 1290 he led borough officials on a perambulation of the boundaries of Sandwich (whose overlordship had just been transferred to the king) and ensured a proper record of them was drawn up. But he also served the Crown in other ways: on numerous judicial and other commissions – some consequent to his responsibilities as warden/constable, but others stemming from his social responsibilities as a prominent land-owner in Kent, where he held several manors; on what appear to be diplomatic missions – suggestive of negotiating skills – to Gascony in 1276 and Wales the following year; and as an arbitrator in disputes between men of Yarmouth and Bayonne (1276). It is therefore likely that, before his selection for the Winchelsea committee, he was acquainted with a number of planned towns, as well as with Winchelsea itself. That Pencester held the wardenship and constableship (even though deputies occasionally carried out his duties) up to his death indicates that the demanding Edward was well satisfied with the performance of his duties. His annual salary increased from about £28 in 1272 to £300 in 1283, when he was reconfirmed in his posts. However, this amount had to cover the costs of Pencester's own staff, which doubtless grew somewhat over time. That staff may have included engineers and masons, whether permanent or occasional employees – men Pencester might have been able to call upon for the Winchelsea project.

Besides this remuneration, he received various favours from Edward, as prince and king. For instance, in January 1271, he received licence to crenellate his home in Kent, which in consequence became Hever Castle; here he lived with his first wife, co-heiress of a tenant-in-chief of the Crown. A second marriage (to a descendant of Hubert de Burgh, by whose side Pencester's namesake had fought at Dover) appears to have been shortly followed by a move to a new home, on the banks of the Medway; for in May 1281, a second licence to crenellate was issued to him and his new wife, and the result was **Allington Castle**, where he is later seen owning a flock of swans large enough to warrant employing a swanherd. By October 1290 the couple had relocated to an estate that had long been in Pencester hands and had the family name, also near the Medway and furnished with a deer park; today we know the property as

Penshurst Place. Stephen de Pencester must be a rare example from medieval England of a non-noble for whom we have three surviving (albeit altered) examples of his homes.

Penshurst was his last residence, and his **tomb monument** can still be seen in the parish church. In March 1297 he arranged for Robert de Burghersh to be appointed his deputy as warden (Burghersh would succeed Pencester in the wardenship), and in September a royal writ was uncertainly addressed to him or to whomever was taking his place in the constableship. We can interpret these as signs of declining health, given that in April 1298, his widow Margaret took over his wardship of a mentally handicapped boy in the Pencester household.

In 1285 Henry le Waleys and Gregory de Rokesle were considered, by the Cinque Portsmen at least, to be the leading wine merchants in England; as such they had a vested interest in ensuring not only the survival, but the continued utility of Winchelsea as one of the key points through which Gascon wine was imported. They were also the most prominent leaders of the London community during the early part of Edward I's reign, taking turns at monopolizing the mayoralty for over a decade. Both quickly won the new king's trust and favour, in part because – although quite different in their social origins – they were allies in **suppressing the populist movement** which had previously controlled the city, supported the Montfortian rebels, and even after Evesham had maintained a strong strain of indépendantisme, jeopardizing Edward's succession. The two men are seen working together in several matters, in the service of London and of the king, and may even have been friends.

Gregory de Rokesle was the leading member of his generation of a landed Kentish family, lord of the manors of Rokesley and Lullingstone in that county; but, with several other members of his family, he moved to the greener pastures of London sometime in the 1250s. He took with him traditionalist-patrician attitudes and, before his death in 1291, acquired further estates in Kent, Sussex, and Surrey, as well as houses in Canterbury and Rochester, not to mention extensive real estate in London. Although technically speaking (in terms of gild affiliation) a goldsmith, his business was, like that of most wealthy townsmen, diversified and he also dealt in such products as wool (he being one of England's major wool exporters), cloth, grain, fish, and wax, as well as in very large volumes of wine. The royal household was among the customers of his private business by 1258. By 1266 he had been commissioned as one of its official purveyors of wine shipped to Southampton, and in 1275 this duty was expanded to the entire country when he was appointed the king's butler. In both his private and public involvement in the wine trade, he doubtless was acquainted with Winchelsea and some of its leading merchants.

Rokesle left that post in 1278 but his background as a goldsmith was then put to work as Master of the King's Exchange in London, which gave him responsibility for administering aspects of the king's foreign loans (in addition to making more modest loans himself) and the work of royal mints throughout England, a post he held up to

his death. In that role he came to know Iter de Engolisma when in 1283 the pair audited the accounts of the Exchange in Ireland. Many other less permanent roles in the king's service followed. Meanwhile, his service to London was considerable: as a ward alderman; as one of the sheriffs of 1263/64, then again for part of 1270/71 (partnering with Waleys) when the king replaced the chief administrators of a rebellious city with his own supporters; and finally as mayor for an extraordinary seven consecutive terms of office between 1274 and 1281, and a final eighth term in 1284/85. Edward preferred his cities to be governed by men he could rely on to do his bidding.

Henry le Waleys was of a similar age to Rokesle and, like him, an immigrant to London, **possibly from Gascony**, or possibly from the neighbourhood of Chepstow, a small town and port on the Welsh border, which the Normans developed into a frontier defence by first building a castle and then importing colonists and surrounding their settlement with a wall. If the latter, Waleys might be said to have had an early experience of a successful planned town. After coming to London he is first seen making a small wine sale to the king's household in 1252; for two decades, from 1259, he was a regular supplier of substantial amounts of wine to the household. Political ambitions were at first hindered by suspicion he was a Montfortian sympathizer, but he worked his way past that by acquiring considerable property in the city and in Kent and by marrying the daughter of former mayor Adam de Basing and thus associating himself with one of the city's patrician families. He became an alderman in 1269, partnered with Rokesle in the shrievalty the following year, and was elected to his first mayoral term in 1273 to displace a champion of the populist movement. He acted quickly to reverse or undermine the reforms of his predecessor favouring the lesser gilds, and particularly to bring the victualling trades under stricter controls.

A self-made man, Waleys was energetic, strong-willed and authoritarian; where Rokesle was more low-key and conciliatory, content to restore and preserve London traditions, with minor improvements, Waleys was prepared to impose more drastic changes and to take the offensive against perceived problems. Both men were among a handful of London representatives summoned to Paris in 1274 to consult with Edward I concerning arrangements for his return to London for his coronation; Edward wanted to be sure things would go smoothly. In advance of Edward's arrival, Waleys cleared out the smelly and messy butcher and fishmonger stalls cluttering Cheap, down which the royal procession would pass, and then decisively quelled the consequent popular protest led by the previous mayor. This appears to have created, or confirmed, the king's favourable impression of him, and – given his familiarity with Gascony through his wine trade or perhaps even his origins – he was very soon employed by Edward on a diplomatic mission to disturbed Bordeaux. This was followed by the king appointing him as mayor of Bordeaux in 1275, a trouble-shooting job. Waleys' wine business must have benefited from the **programme of town-founding** directed by Edward, as Duke of Gascony during his father's reign. He would later (1284) acquire further experience of turning these

bastides into profitable operations by acquiring from the king a 10-year farm of the revenues of six of them, most of which were recent foundations and one perhaps still in process of completion. Michael Prestwich [*Edward I*, University of California Press, 1988, p.310] has pointed out that this linkage helps reinforce that the Gason bastides, although part of a larger trend of urban foundation in France, were at the same time a facet of the Edward I's policy in consolidating control over and exploiting financially his French territories. Waleys would also be employed by the king on further missions to France in 1286, 1288, 1291, and 1296.

But he had to divide his time attending to interests and duties in Gascony with those in London. The legacy of factionalism, partly from the civil war and partly from socio-economic divisions, remained alive in London during Rokesle's extended stint as mayor. Edward was dissatisfied with the level of crime in London and the inefficiencies of its judicial administration; the growing number of royal supporters within city government helped return hard-liner Waleys to the mayoralty in 1281. With an explicit mandate from the king to restore order to London, Waleys, during his three consecutive terms as mayor, introduced **measures** to improve policing and social control, allow tighter regulation of the craft gilds, and reform aspects of financial administration. These measures included building a new covered market (to house the butchers and fishmongers ejected from Cheap), constructing at Cornhill a new combined **gaol** and **conduit** house, into which spring water from Tyburn was channelled, setting up new weigh-beams for weighing corn (and extracting associated fees) en route to city mills, and designing a new housing project at St. Paul's; rental income from the housing project and the market were to support the high costs of **maintaining London Bridge**. Clearly Waleys had the mentality of an urban planner.

Further evidence of that is his inclusion not only on the Winchelsea planning committee, but in a subsequent project of the king to restore the town of **Berwick-on-Tweed** where, during the English army's storming and sacking of it in March 1296, there had been much damage and loss of life. To consolidate his hold on the town, Edward needed to re-establish it as a border garrison, port, and market centre; this would entail rebuilding and colonization by settlers loyal to him. At the Parliament held in autumn 1296 at Bury St. Edmunds, he instructed two dozen towns to nominate **representatives to advise him** on the matter. This broad consultation apparently proving unsatisfactory, Edward then sent summonses to specific individuals from **21 towns** to come and discuss the project with him at a Great Council. This colloquium, which took place at Harwich later in 1296, has been characterized as "a little Parliament of town planners" by **Beresford**, and he notes it as the sole occasion when Edward assembled a council of townsmen solely to address issues of town planning. Waleys, newly returned from a mission to Gascony for the king, was one of the Londoners summoned by name. The meeting appears to have given Edward what he wanted, for at the beginning of the following year he commissioned a slightly smaller working group with the task of going north and assisting the king's leading officials there with specific arrangements for reviving

Berwick, including assessing rents and drawing up rental agreements with merchants, craftsmen and other colonists. Again Waleys was one of those chosen.

Waleys not only supported this project through his expertise, he also put his money where his mouth was and sought to capitalize on the new opportunity by taking up plots at Berwick, building houses on them, and acquiring a private quay there. By this time in his life he had amassed, through his own acquisitions and through his marriage, substantial properties across London – one of his mansions there being sufficiently grand that a Great Council actually convened there in 1299 – and in several counties around the city. With a large and steady income from his properties and from favours received from a grateful monarch, he was able to reduce his mercantile activities in the later part of his life (he died in about 1301). His leadership in London had also been curtailed. Tiring of his aggressive programme of innovations, several of which had given rise to controversy and public discontent, the London aldermen reverted to Rokesle in the mayoral election of 1284; but he did not last out a full term. In June 1285 King Edward, frustrated with his the mayors' inability to restore law and order in unruly London, suspended the city liberties (and Rokesle's final mayoralty with it) and placed his own warden in charge of the city. That warden was Ralph de Sandwyco, and he was to remain in charge of London for most of the next eight years. When the king was finally prevailed upon, in 1298, to restore local government, it was felt advisable to give his favourite, Henry Waleys, another mayoralty, even though technically inappropriate since Waleys had retired from his aldermanry some years before. But once the city aldermen, many of them new men, had regained confidence, Waleys was not re-elected thereafter.

We should not think that these men – Sandwyco, Pencester, Waleys, Rokesle, and Cobeham were strangers to each other when the king brought them together in the planning of New Winchelsea. Their membership in the community of Kent's landlord class could have occasioned them coming in contact, as could their roles in royal service. The businesses of Waleys and Rokesle relied primarily on the ports for which Pencester had responsibility. Pencester and Sandwyco sat on several judicial commissions together between 1281 and 1283. In 1279 Pencester presided in London's Guildhall over a trial which resulted in a large number of offenders being hung for clipping the king's coin – a matter in which Rokesle, as the newly-appointed Keeper of the Exchange, must have had some involvement. Sandwyco, Rokesle, and Waleys would become even more closely associated once the first had become warden of London and took up residence there; Sandwyco subsequently sat with one or other of them on several judicial commissions. Cobeham's connection with Pencester has already been indicated (in a **foot-note**); in 1282 he was assigned to audit the accounts of Rokesle pertaining to repairs of London Bridge carried out during the latter's mayoralty, and Cobeham would work again with Waleys on a judicial commission in 1284.

This planning committee apparently reported to John de Kirkeby, a very senior official

in the Chancery and evidently high in the king's favour, as he was about to be made Treasurer of England (1284-90); it was likely he who kept the king informed on progress. According to a complaint made in 1303, after Kirkeby's death, he may have been involved in initial negotiations for acquisition of land at Iham. Ironically, it was standing up to Kirkeby in 1285 that led to Rokesle being removed from London's mayoralty. We can hardly imagine that with their other responsibilities, the commissioners were present in New Winchelsea throughout the course of the work required there to make the plan a reality. Presumably they all met with leading townsmen of Old Winchelsea early on in the process, to ascertain the needs and concerns of those who would likely be leaders in the new town. And one of more of them would have needed to be on-site periodically, to give instruction to surveyors, to oversee the progress of workmen and of subordinates tasked with assigning lots to settlers and drawing up interim rental agreements, and to address any problems that may have arisen, in consultation with town representatives. As warden of the Cinque Ports, Pencester (who had sat on a judicial commission with Kirkeby in 1279) may have been the most involved in the process.

With which of the townsmen the planning commissioners consulted we do not know. The membership of the council of jurats is unknown at that period. It seems probable it would have included at least some of those who could afford to rent multiple plots in the new town, many of whom were merchants and/or ship-owners and some of whom – like the Alards, Paulyns, and perhaps Vincent Herberd – were branches of land-holding families in the lower ranks of county gentry: men who well understood the linkage between land, wealth, and power.

The Alards are the family that particularly stand out, numerically and in terms of their wealth and local importance. Sometimes described as an ancient Saxon family (on the dubious assumption the surname derives from Aethelwald) with branches, by the thirteenth century, in Sussex and Kent, it is hard to know if the many men with this surname – sometimes rendered as Athelard or Adelard – were necessarily kin or simply descended from different men with the Christian name of Alard (which was not uncommon in Flanders and parts of France). But the family appears to have been prominent in Winchelsea for some time. James, son of Alard, is evidenced holding property in the vicinity in 1196. In 1225 Winchelsea's William son of Alard twice received royal letters of protection in the context of planned sea voyages, one of them to accompany a force led to Gascony by the king's brother, while in 1229 Stephen Alard of Winchelsea was one of several merchants licensed to sail to Gascony. This Stephen may have been the same who, with Henry and John Alard and others, were in 1235 ordered to restore ships and cargoes they had illegally captured off the Brittany coast. In 1242 William Alard of Winchelsea held, by one-quarter knight's service, the manor of Snargate (near Romney), among whose appurtenances were the **lastage** of Winchelsea and customs of its port.

Between their various members, the Alard family held 36 of the plots listed in the

1292 rental. Another reflection of the family's local status is that the main parish church housed monumental tombs of some of its leading members (at least one tomb memorial having been transferred from Old Winchelsea before its church succumbed to flooding) and chantries were founded there **by Stephen Alard** (1312) and by the executors of Henry Alard (1319); in each case an agreement was reached with an abbey in the region to provide an operating budget for chantry maintenance, from the revenues of properties in the southern counties which the founders transferred to the abbeys.

The Alards were able to use the allocation of plots at Iham, where at least one family member held land prior to the site's selection for the new town, to create what is almost a clan compound covering the entire western half, and a good chunk of the remainder, of **Quarter 8**. We may suspect they were in a position to pick the cream of the crop, either because the family's prominence accorded it precedence, or because one or more of them were closely involved in the planning process. The leading members of the family likely resided on the large plots they held in that quarter, which had access directly onto the town's widest street, leading past the marketplace, and close to Third Street, which ran down to the harbour; two of the Alards opted for corner plots, while three others chose long, narrow plots with street access at both ends. Remains of the fabric of medieval houses on Quarter 8 plots originally owned by Reginald Alard sen. and Gervase Alard sen. indicate multi-room hall-houses with large vaulted cellars.

Reginald sen. was one of the Winchelsea captains commissioned in 1267 to patrol the English Channel in on the lookout for the piratic squadron of **Henry le Pessuner**, king's enemies, and distinguished himself in some way during Edward I's conquest of Wales. Either Reginald sen. or Reginald jun. (no distinction being made in the record, nor can we be certain of the precise relationship between the two men) was given a royal safe-conduct in 1285 to go on a trading voyage in his ship called *La Vache*. Perhaps this was Reginald jun., who, with fellow Winchelsea man William de Bourne, was arrested for some unspecified offence by the seneschal of Ponthieu; they managed to escape from prison, obliging the king to pay a large sum to compensate and smooth over the matter (although the king pardoned them in 1289). By contrast, **Gervase Alard jun.** was in better favour with Edward, to whom he gave particularly distinguished naval service as an admiral. Stephen Alard would also hold the post as Admiral of the Western Fleet, in 1324, and in 1335 undertook repairs to one of the king's ships; he was also deputy butler at Winchelsea ca.1309-16 and is seen importing wine and victuals from Gascony in 1320. Nicholas Alard was another sea-faring member of the family; in 1298 he purchased from the Exchequer a ship, *La Nau Dieu*, which the Crown had acquired through forfeit, and in 1307 was licensed to export corn and victuals to Gascony and bring back wine. In 1292 he held plots in Quarter 8 and others and on the quayside, and acquired further plots in later years. He was identified as a jurat in 1306.

It is, however, Thomas Alard whom Beresford singled out as the local man who may have proved most helpful to the planning committee. The primary grounds for this suspicion are that Thomas, like Henry le Waleys, was later summoned by name to participate in the Harwich colloquium on the rehabilitation of Berwick, and was also a member of the working group which saw plans through to realization. Thomas was more a man of business than a sailor; his known naval service went no further than assisting a royal clerk (1295) in arresting ships along the south coast and sending them to a fleet assembly point; he also readied the ship *La Nicolette* (perhaps his own?) to transport the king's daughter to Brabant in 1294 or 1295. But as one of the town's leading merchants, he would have had definite ideas on how the new town could best be configured to fulfill its functions as port and redistribution centre. He is seen in the role of king's bailiff for Winchelsea, Rye and Iham manor in 1296/97 and again in1303 and 1305, and may possibly have held it throughout that period, up to his death, with Gervase Alard jun. succeeding him in 1306.

In addition to local consultants, the planning committee would have required technical assistance. There were in medieval England no professional architects or surveyors as we understand them today, although there were full-time practitioners of some of the techniques that came to be associated with those professions. There is no reason to imagine that any members of the planning committee possessed such skills, nor is it very likely that Winchelsea had such practitioners among its residents, even though the surname Machon, recorded for several individuals in the rental, may at some time in the past have derived from the occupation of mason.

If master masons, whose practical experience (individually and communally) of construction with stone and wood brought them an understanding of the structural and aesthetic design implications in building, were the precursors of architects, then surveyors also had forerunners in 'measurers'. In the twelfth century, universities were including geometry in the fields of study they offered, and during the first half of the thirteenth there were appearing texts on practical geometry – that is, the **application of geometry** to solve engineering and surveying problems. In addition to someone who was tasked with drafting a concept design for the layout atop Iham hill, applying geometric forms that were considered symbols for elements of Christian cosmology, there must have been one or more measurers who, perhaps using poles and/or ropes of fixed lengths, marked out on the landscape the positions of streets, quarters, and plots; this was a task on which a mason might have been employed. Whether these fixed lengths were determined in virgae, or whether that measure was simply used to calculate areas once plots were laid out, is unknown. There have not survived the financial accounts of the planning committee, which would reveal the employment of such men and the purchase of their equipment, but in the case of Edward I's foundation of the bastide of Baa (1287) a large rope is recorded as having been bought, probably for such a purpose.

Product

The layout of streets, plots, and facilities at New Winchelsea, presumably verbally described or (less likely) cartographically depicted in some document for the king's review and approval, can be reconstructed with a fair degree of confidence thanks to the survival of the original rental of the burgage plots; from it we gain insight into medieval understanding of urban planning principles. It was a **classic layout** using a grid pattern of streets to create largely rectangular blocks, known at that time and for centuries later as **quarters**; each of the 39 quarters was **systematically** assigned a number, a designation which survived down to the eighteenth century. Together with the 79 harbourside properties (which were not included in the numbering system), the quarters on top and sides of the hill encompassed 802 plots. That the streets were also sequentially numbered may or may not have been a standard practice, but was a rational approach when the town was new and (most) streets had yet to establish any role, character, or association. As was common in medieval towns, these streets would acquire more **meaningful names** over time.

In addition to the numbered quarters, slightly larger blocks of land were assigned for the marketplace, which was placed on the central part of the hill in alignment with the principal **road into town** from the hinterland villages to the west and southwest (the connection with Rye, to the north, necessarily being by water), and for the principal parish church and its cemetery. Four acres on the east side of the site were given (1285) by one of the landowners to the Franciscans for a **friary**, and the king must have preferred not to interfere with this (particularly if the friars had already begun to build there); Sandwyco's negotiations may have been complicated by this development, and any preliminary street layout adjusted to circumvent that area. Around the periphery of the residential area were a few other open spaces: some not fitting into the grid pattern layout, others outside the boundaries of the acquired properties, while ten acres at the southern tip of the roughly triangular site had been reserved by the king, for **uses unspecified**. the north-western corner of the area later enclosed by defensive fortifications was the remains of the village of Iham, including its church dedicated to St. Leonard, which remained a parish and liberty jurisdictionally outside the borough, though (neighbouring a settlement whose residents had chartered privileges) it became increasingly depopulated and impoverished.

The streets anticipated as being the **main thoroughfares** – those running north-south along the eastern and western sides of marketplace and churchyard – were made wider than the others. North-south streets paralleled each other, with the east-west streets crossing them roughly at right-angles, but **not unvaryingly** so. At the east end of the beach-like river frontage was to be built **a quay** where ships could load and unload (with the nearby estuary providing sheltered anchorage), while at the west end was a dock for the ferry to Rye, on the far side of the estuary. It is possible that the plan included provision for a couple of public wells, but such are unlikely to have received notice in a rental and are only known from a document of the next generation; however, it is probable that Ralph de Sandwyco had learned of the existence of

springs emanating from the hillside, and some of the more prosperous of the new town's residents would likely have tried digging wells soon after settling in. This seeming inattention to water-supply was not through any lack of foresight, but due to limited options given the hill-top character of the site, and perhaps limited mandate. The case of **Winchester**, refounded ca. the 880s as part of the Wessex burh programme, shows that the authorities were quite capable of including the incorporation of a **complex of water-channels** within an urban planning process, and the **expansion of Lynn** ca.1100 evidences something similar.

In July 1288, perhaps spurred on by floods following several major storms during the previous year (credited with finishing off what still remained of Old Winchelsea), the new town was formally handed off to the townsmen by Kirkeby, now not only Treasurer but also Bishop of Ely, as the king's representative. He had also been authorized by the king to appoint, in anticipation of future elections, the new town's **council and first mayor** – an officer requested by the townsmen and at first refused, then conceded, by the king, who blunted the effect by leaving in **superior authority** the bailiff answerable to him and over whose appointment he had control. This administration would be responsible for continuing the process of allocating plots not yet taken. We must assume the vast majority of plots were taken by former residents of Old Winchelsea and residents of Iham, including those of the few houses incorporated or demolished, there – the house of the sons of Tristram le Frere, beside **Quarter 22**, being one apparent instance of incorporation; a number of Iham residents are evidenced among those renting (by their surnames and from a survey of Iham lands made as part of the foundation process), but we cannot know for certain which of these were refugees from Old Winchelsea, or whether they now relocated into New Winchelsea or simply took plots there as a source of income and/or burgage privileges. Nor can we be certain whether, or how many, new settlers were attracted from further afield.

The rental we have was not drawn up until four years after the hand-over of the new town; the dozen properties in the hands of unnamed heirs are indicative of deaths of original tenants during the interim. It was common for town-founders to allow a grace period in which new settlers would not be subject to rents or taxes, to give them a chance to erect dwellings and start earning a living; this may help explain the delay with the rental, although, as noted above, it was preceded by the interim draft requested from Pencester (see **above**), and conceivably by a subsequent provisional draft compiled by the borough authorities after hand-over of the town (perhaps no more than a running list of tenants and properties) for those parts of the town in which plots had already been allocated. The king granted a grace period of **seven years**, beginning from the hand-over. Compilation of the final draft – the fair copy we have today – and perhaps the precise calculations of ground rents, must also have been waiting for mechanisms of local government to have been re-established, for it would likely have been the mayor and council who had to apportion out the rents in a manner that was equitable, on per-acre rates already identified, yet produced a specific total

payable, through the bailiff, to the Exchequer. The rental was produced not as a report, but as a working document that continued to be used to as late as 1363, when the names of original tenants were copied over onto a new listing, identifying properties whose value had declined following damage by enemy raids.

Though the plots varied in value, by far the most common valuation was at a farthing per virga (or 40d per acre) per year; where plots sizes involved a fraction of a virga, rents were rounded up or down to (as a general rule) the nearest farthing or sometimes to the nearest penny, though with minor variations perhaps **decisions in the field** by knowledgeable assessors. This may have been an ancient estimator, perhaps stretching back to the planning of the Anglo-Saxon **burhs**, or even back to the Roman Empire (where the *gnomon* was a similar measure used in laying out *colonia*). We should not imagine that these rents represented the potential value of the properties once built on; the king aimed merely to recoup the traditional revenue that the land acquired for the project would have generated, and any profit would come to the royal coffers from the business that an urban settlement would generate and from the tax base (burgesses being taxed at a higher rate than rural residents). The challenge for the planners was to apportion the value of the land fairly amongst the various lots into which it was divided.

Although it is very risky to generalize on the subject of **burgage tenement** sizes, layouts and rents, we know it was often the practice, at least in town centres where space was limited, to lay them out in a form whose narrower dimension represented street frontage (this enabling a greater number of residents to have convenient street access) while the bulk of the property stretched back into the block bounded by streets. Insofar as it has proven possible to **reconstruct tenement layout** in New Winchelsea, this is the predominant pattern we see, although widths and depths vary – partly a response to the topography and partly an intent to create properties of varying sizes that would meet the differing needs and means of the prospective tenants (or "requirements of their state" as the king's commission puts it). Historians have suspected the perch as a likely standard for a burgage street frontage, and this appears applicable to many of the New Winchelsea plots. The run-of-the-mill townsman of modest, if not meagre, means might thus have rented a property one to one-and-a-half perches wide by four to six perches deep. In this context it seems worth noting that early examples of **burgage rents**, notably from towns with Anglo-Saxon origins, are often 1d. or 2d. per year; for places acquiring borough status in the Angevin period, higher assessments, such as 6d. or (particularly) 1s., tend to be found. If we apply the farthing estimator to the earliest rents, it would suggest a size of 4 to 8 virgae. However, this extended hypothesis becomes rather tenuous. Urban tenements whose width was about a perch and whose depth several multiples of width, remained common into twentieth century England (I myself grew up in a suburban terrace house of such dimensions). More germane, archaeological evidence from Winchester suggests a perch was a characteristic width of twelfth and thirteenth century wood-framed houses there, whereas at Sandwich, further along the coast from

Winchelsea, early fourteenth century properties whose gable end fronted onto the street ranged from about 1.5 perch to a little over two perches in width.

The valuation of land changes abruptly when the rental reaches the quarters which had sides facing onto the marketplace (quarters 19, 23, 34, and 28). To maximize the number of such plots, these facing properties all had relatively narrow frontages; the planners evidently expected them to be taken mainly by artisans/shop-keepers, whose businesses would benefit financially from the location. The groups of plots on each side have the appearance of terraced rows, whose buildings would either be fronted by shop windows or perhaps by removable benches from which residents would sell their wares or services. Identifications of the tenants support this interpretation, showing them to include **leather-workers**, metal-workers producing goods for personal and domestic use (cutlers and goldsmith), food services (butchers and a baker) and others providing a mix of goods and services (tailor, apothecary, and barber). Although we do not know the occupations of the majority of the residents looking out on the marketplace, virtually all held no other properties in town, which further supports the notion that many, if not most, were of the artisan class. Thus the surrounds of the marketplace, together perhaps with the initial stretches of streets leading off it, formed what was essentially the **shopping district** of the town.

The tenants of these combined commercial and residential properties were charged higher rents (60d per acre). Although the number of **female tenants** of New Winchelsea plots seems quite high, it is not surprising that none of the possible artisan/shop-keepers gathered around the marketplace are women; there is an unusually high proportion of unmarried women tenants in **Quarter 28**, on the south side of the marketplace, but **no clear reason** for this. Just off the marketplace we find others, in properties of the lower rent level, who probably also chose their plots for its proximity to the market and its clientele: more butchers and bakers, and a possible fishmonger; the seeming scarcity of fishmongers in a town where fishing was a major industry is probably explicable by intent to use the quayside as a fish market, as was certainly done later. In an earlier age marketplaces often evolved in the shadow of the parish church, so that fair trading could take place with Divine oversight; but by the late thirteenth century commerce was far more regulated by secular authority and the New Winchelsea planners clearly saw no need to reduce the high-yield properties bounding the marketplace by consuming that land with a church.

It does not seem that the socio-economic elite of the town were interested in properties facing directly onto the noisy and very public marketplace; their preference was for homes situated between marketplace and port, and in close proximity to the principal parish church of St. Thomas. Apart from Quarter 8, where the Alards were dominant, Quarter 19 just north of the marketplace attracted some of the wealthier townsmen. The few businesses we can identify as gathered around the marketplace suggest artisan-retailers of small items or high-turnover items (as with foodstuffs). Large numbers of **vaulted cellars** (many still existing) in the more northerly part of town,

where lived the wealthier townsmen, are indicative not simply of the higher level of investment they could make in their houses, but of a different type of commerce. This commerce required suitable (cool and secure) storage for imported goods, primarily wine, but perhaps also preserved fish or merchandize for which a quick sale was expected. Warehouses at harbourside would have been used for storage of many mercantile cargoes, particularly in the case of goods intended for transhipment to other English markets, but are unlikely to have been suitable for long-term storage of wine. Furthermore, this type of commerce involved the local sale of such items, requiring not only a measure of storage but also space for retail. Cellars located on corner plots may in particular have served such a commercial purpose, some as taverns (which would also have stored and served locally brewed ale), accessed by patrons descending from street level. These subterranean shops could have been operated by the tenant of the house above, or rented out to other operators on a long-term basis or (in the case of visiting merchants) for brief periods.

The harbour was another part of town where rent values were raised. The river approached from the west and, where it passed by the site on its northern side, became a marshy estuary beneath a steep slope that separated harbourside from the main body of the town. The narrow strip of ground between cliff and river was not worth dividing up into quarters; it seems the planners initially toyed with the idea, but quickly abandoned it. At 48d per acre the plots there were not as expensive as those around the marketplace, but still reflective of a commercial zoning. Although several townsmen appear to have had their homes here (some perhaps being fishermen or **ships' masters**), other plots were taken by burgesses who held property elsewhere, and might in those cases have been used for mercantile warehouses and/or sheds for fishing-nets and ship's equipment. Nor should we ignore the possibility of the presence of at least one inn or tavern. Conspicuous by their absence are female tenants of port properties.

Apart from the four skinners who held adjacent plots in **Quarter 31**, perhaps grouped there on the edge of town to be near waste land where they conducted their messy and smelly occupation, and away from most other residents, there is little indication of occupational clustering in neighbourhoods; but this may simply be because the occupations of most tenants are not identified (and neighbours with the same occupational surname could have been relatives, rather than practitioners of that occupation).

Seventh Street was the dividing line, below which plots were rented at a lower rate (36d. per acre). This was perhaps no more than a reflection of the fact that they were near neither harbour nor marketplace; in addition residents would have further to fetch water from the river – although the hill was ringed with springs, there is no evidence of an communal well at this time. It was on this cheaper land that the hospitals were located, their inmates having less need for access to market or port. The western and eastern sides of this part of town were sparsely occupied, in part because religious

institutions took up some of the land, and because a few townsmen took on large secondary properties there, probably as arable or pasture. The small central section, on the other hand, was relatively densely populated, but still with a range of plot sizes. It may be seen as the 'poorer' part of town; when hard times fell on the borough in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, it was the tenants here who tended to abandon their homes.

690 property-holders **have been identified** from the rental, the great majority holding just one plot and in most cases presumably living on those properties; we cannot be certain how many of these were Old Winchelsea residents, and how many migrants attracted from elsewhere by the refoundation. A few non-local tenants would not have been permanently resident: in **Quarter 17**, fairly close to both the marketplace and the route down to harbourside, two or three members of the gentry took plots on which they likely built town houses for the use of themselves and/or their manorial officials (of which the neighbouring forester may perhaps be one); produce from **estates they held** in the vicinity would have been sold in New Winchelsea's market (perhaps even exported), and necessaries for their household use purchased there or in nearby shops, and being borough house-holders would likely have exempted them from most local tolls on such goods, as well as giving them access to the borough court in the event of trade disputes. Much more in evidence than these outsiders is a predilection on the part of some families to rent adjacent properties; to what extent this may reflect blocks of family holdings in Old Winchelsea, and to what extent parents keeping an eye on newly independent children (or, in some cases, aging parents living close to adult offspring), we cannot say, of course. The Alard family grouping in Quarter 8 is the most conspicuous of these, but Alards also held properties in many other parts of the town. Some of these were personal residences, others may have been for ancillary uses (such as gardens, orchards, keeping livestock, or storage), but many were surely investments: properties that could, once demand for real estate exceeded supply, be rented out to others at a higher rent than the **rent of assize**, bringing in modest but relatively reliable annual revenues, in contrast to the less certain profits of commercial ventures. Rents for developed properties may well have grown substantially higher than the amounts due the king.

The refoundation of Winchelsea was the largest and most complex such project undertaken by Edward I and took longer to complete than the new towns founded in Wales or Gascony. Nor was it quite the same speculative investment as were many new town foundations of an earlier period. In the latter type of project a founder's focus was on identifying an advantageous site on land he already owned, then providing incentives to attract settlers who were capable of developing it into a commercially competitive centre. With Winchelsea it was a case of protecting an existing fiscal and naval asset, already furnished with townspeople, by acquiring lands where its established success as regional market centre (although its interland was modest), international entrepot, and maritime port could be revived and even enhanced. There was provision in the plan for growth, with more plots than strictly

necessary to support the Old Winchelsea populace, and the more well-to-do townsmen themselves gambled on attracting new settlers, by taking on properties excess to their personal needs, with a view to renting them out to newcomers at a tidy profit.

Ensuring that the new town had a viable future is why the king, at about the same time as he formally commissioned the planners, granted to those barons of Old Winchelsea who chose to relocate in the new town at Iham that once they had begun to re-establish themselves in their new homes, the new town would be accorded the same chartered liberties and local customs as possessed by Old Winchelsea. In April 1288, with the official opening of the new town, he reiterated the transfer of liberties and specified that the townsmen could hold them by **fee farm** and be governed by a bailiff, as in the old town. Perhaps by separate provision, the new town was licensed to hold a market three days a week (again as in the old town) and two fairs during the year, also to be held in the **marketplace**. Thus a dedicated marketplace (as opposed to a market held in a wide area of a street) was seen as an important element of the planned town, and it was assigned a large area independent of the numbered quarters.

Much work would have been left to the resettled townsmen, in terms of building homes and (in a few cases) private wharves, digging cesspits and wells, erecting **parish churches**, and perhaps raising a structure to serve **local administration**. Around Winchelsea, stone was relatively plentiful, and the **homes of the wealthier townsmen** appear to have incorporated more of it than was commonly found in southern towns of fourteenth century England. Quarries in the vicinity of Hastings seem to have been the major source of stone. There was already a quarry on the rocky hillside when the king acquired the Iham site, while excavation of the numerous cellars may have provided some of the construction materials for the above-ground portion of houses. However, we should not imagine that there was an abundance of stone-built houses in New Winchelsea; even those with stone vaulted cellars probably had, in most cases, above-ground structures that were timber-framed or some mix of timber and stone. Houses of pure masonry were not common in any medieval English towns, although timber support posts were, from the late twelfth century, generally set atop a stone plinth, to remove them from the rotting effects of being set in the ground.

Two churches were specified in the king's instructions to the planning commissioners because Old Winchelsea had been served by that number. In the master-plan, St.Thomas' – the primary church, whose parishioners would have included most of the leading merchants, living between marketplace and quayside – was assigned its own area not far north of the marketplace, between Quarters 13 and 14, and bordered by streets on all sides. The scale on which St. Thomas' was rebuilt – and perhaps was intended to be from the first, given the large area of land assigned to it, allowing unobstructed views – suggests that the wealthy townsmen, who would have been its sponsors, had been far from impoverished by the loss of their old homes, and wanted a monument to their wealth, status, and piety located in the centre of their neighbourhood rather than immediately overlooking the marketplace. St. Giles', whose

parish incorporated the poorer parts of town, was allocated another large area occupying what would otherwise have been the southern half of **Quarter 21**, a similar distance from the marketplace, but to its north-west; its rectory was adjacent. The site plan also provided for **three hospitals** (at least two of which had existed in Old Winchelsea): two offering a home for deserving townsmen and townswomen who had fallen on hard times, while the third possibly for care of lepers. It presumably fell to the townspeople to fund the rebuilding of churches and hospitals, during the years of grace.

Success or failure?

The most current study of New Winchelsea **argues** that "all the available indications suggest that for the first 50 years following its foundation **the town flourished**." For the most part the place performed as expected. The townspeople settled into their new homes, the wealthy weathering the crisis well enough, and the poorer struggling to overcome the setback and doubtless hoping to improve the flimsy, hastily-built houses they must have had to erect. As would happen anywhere, some families prospered and multiplied, others declined and disappeared. Plots were sub-divided or amalgamated to meet changing needs; some plots around the edges of town may never have been built on. In the years at the end of the first decade after its relaunch, Winchelsea accounts of revenues show an increased number of rents received, and **borough revenues** increased generally. Yet if the men of Winchelsea were grateful for the king's initiative to save their community, it did not prevent them, when late in Edward I's reign a royal official came to arrest ships for royal service, from objecting that the hardship they had suffered left them unable to contribute, or from complaining that the king still owed them for the costs of ships and crews impressed in the past.

Certainly Winchelsea fared better than the contemporary initiative to create a Villa Nova on the Isle of Purbeck (Dorset), near the southern shore of what is today Poole Harbour, perhaps with the intent of competing for a share of the commerce frequenting other ports of that area (Poole and Weymouth being **mesne boroughs** that had acquired market rights mid-century). The **commission** (January 1286) to lay out streets and plots for a new town at Gotowre, on land purchased for that purpose within the parish of Studland, was phrased in very similar terms to that issued for New Winchelsea. and was quickly followed up (May) with a royal charter modelling Villa Nova's privileges on those of Melcombe Regis, itself modelled after London, and with a separate grant of market and fair. Such advantages failed to do the job at Gotowre. The **commissioners** were both royal servants, but had no evident experience or expertise in town planning, and the foundation is unlikely to have started with a base of existing commerce or a mercantile resource. Neither the town nor its church (if one was even built) are much evidenced thereafter. By 1326 the town and its meagre revenues had been assigned to Corfe Castle, which held warren over much of the Isle of Purbeck; that burgesses were living there indicates that a few of the burgage plots had found tenants, but the town did not have its own court. The impression is that it

had not prospered, and it later disappeared without trace, ignored by county maps when they were drawn up from the late sixteenth century. By that time the settlement appears to have contracted to no more than a farmstead with the name Newton. Although the town's precise site remains to be identified, having been given over to farmland and/or woodland, the name Newton also persisted in conjunction with other topographic features; what is today referred to as **Newton Studland** is suspected as having been situated at one end of Newton Bay, near the Goathorn peninsula (a name that may be a corruption of Gotowre).

The sea had managed to destroy the fabric of Winchelsea, but not its community. But the sea had not yet finished its efforts. The main problem faced initially was with silting of the port (exacerbated by ships dumping ballast and land reclamation elsewhere along the river), a key facility in the local economy, given the high number of residents who were merchants, fishermen, ship-owners, sailors, or those who earned a living servicing ships or sailors. In addition, the sea was pushing more shingle into Rye Bay. Moreover, the king was, through his foreign wars, the cause of damage to the asset he had sought to preserve. In 1295 the French, after capturing much of Gascony, began raids on English ports; Dover suffered badly in August, but an assault on Winchelsea was driven off by a Yarmouth fleet. The following month Edward made a five-year grant of **murage** to Winchelsea. Given Edward's policy with the bastides of Gascony and towns in Wales, it is hard to imagine he did not intend that Winchelsea be fortified; site selection and the compact plan of the hilltop settlement, with marsh and cliffs on the eastern side and a barrier zone of open land on the gentle western slope, look to have had defensibility as one consideration. Yet, in the circumstances of the 1280s, fortification would not have seemed a top priority, but rather an envisaged second phase to commence once the community was back on its feet and local administration was fully re-established. Events outpaced intent.

Initial defences took the form of a ditch and rampart around the site, reinforced over a period of time with a few gateways, perhaps timber, at key access points from the port, and from the south and west. A further grant of murage in 1321 (for seven years) led to more activity, probably in terms of rebuilding one or more **gateways in stone** and topping parts of the rampart with stone wall. It may be noted that Sandwich, which was more heavily involved in the foreign war effort as a launchpad for expeditions and supply ships, also only had little by way of urban defences (although there was a modest castle) until the early fourteenth century, when a rampart/ditch/palisade was constructed; the addition of stone walls and gates at Sandwich was even tardier than at Winchelsea, though there must have been similar pressures to strengthen coastal defences in the context of the war with France – here too it seems to have required an actual **assault** to stimulate upgrades.

The war had other adverse effects on Winchelsea. With the Cinque Ports and their mercantile fleets being so vulnerable to enemy attack – Winchelsea would face at least three more attacks during Edward III's reign – and to the privateering rampant in the

Channel, and with silting making Winchelsea's harbour inaccessible to larger ships, in the second half of the fourteenth century the king tended to look further east and west for places where warships could be built, repaired, or based; international commerce was likewise redirected. Port towns such as Southampton and Bristol would come more to the fore. At the same time, naval demands must also have taken a toll on locally-owned ships and manpower, as was also a factor in the decline of **Yarmouth**.

Disruption of the wine trade and risks to shipping in the war environment, the growing burden of taxation to finance the Edward III's wars, the decaying Yarmouth fishery, and reduction of population by plague (with yet further disruption to commerce) all contributed to making things difficult for Winchelsea residents. This was capped by a devastating **French raid in 1360** – even before which there is evidence of abandonment of quite a few properties – and in the next generation a successful Spanish assault in 1380. The town's fortifications, perhaps still incomplete, not only were unable to keep attackers out, but were seriously damaged by them, while the reduced population meant fewer defenders. These sackings destroyed some houses, killed or injured a number of inhabitants, and scared away many others. In 1384, following a **plea to parliament** from the town, an official enquiry described Winchelsea as desolate and almost destroyed; even allowing for hyperbole, we may suspect that the community had been seriously weakened.

Despite attempts to remedy the situation, by 1414 the populated area of Winchelsea had so greatly contracted – consolidating into the northern half of the site (21 quarters, comprising the commercial core) – that the townsmen petitioned to build a new, **smaller defensive circuit** around it; a royal enquiry the following year concurred that the old defensive circuit was redundant and could not be successfully defended. The king gave permission and, as the remaining community strove (with moderate success) to recover from past setbacks, it did manage to erect part of the second ring of walls; but this circuit too was never completed. Continued deterioration of the harbour, combined with the trend towards larger vessels needing deeper water, eventually persuaded Winchelsea's merchants and mariners to move elsewhere.

The kinds of difficulties faced by New Winchelsea were not so uncommon. To take just one other example, one of a number of new towns founded by the Bishops of Winchester on their estates was Francheville ('free town'), established on the episcopal manor of Swainston on the Isle of Wight, alongside a channel leading into the Solent. In 1256, a year after obtaining royal licence for a market and fair, Bishop-elect Aymer de Valence granted by charter the same liberties as other episcopal urban foundations (such as **Alresford**) and for some years thereafter the See's coffers were modestly swelled by **new rental income** and market tolls. Subsequently known as **Newtown**, it was, as part of the manor, acquired in 1284 by Edward I (who aimed at acquiring the entire island, which he would accomplish in 1293); the king visited the following year, doubtless partly to inspect his new acquisition, and he took the opportunity to confirm the town's chartered liberties. The economy of the place appears originally to have

been based on fishing and salt harvesting, but Newtown's site, on a large sheltered bay on the north-west coast of the island, must have suggested it a potentially good location for maritime commerce, and perhaps (to the king) a naval base for defence of the Solent; if so, there is no evidence it was put to naval purposes or that its residents were ever in a position to contribute ships to the navy.

On the other hand, Newtown's location made it vulnerable to attack, and it may have suffered such on several occasions, from the Viking period up to the Hundred Years War, with the French assault in 1377 causing extensive damage. As with Winchelsea, silting of the harbour and its inability to accommodate larger ships was another problem, while earlier in the century an infestation of rats (according to local legend) and then plague were setbacks. Although taxation records of 1334 show the episcopal manor and town assessed at twice the value of Newport (the principal town of the island), commercial competition from the latter, as well as from Yarmouth – both towns being new foundations of the 1170s – and perhaps Southampton too, may have been a more significant factor in the failure of Newtown to thrive for long. Nonetheless, royal confirmations of the town charter in 1393 and 1413 indicate that the residents were still trying to make a go of it; fatal economic decline and depopulation seem to have waited for the Early Modern period. Although Newtown retained urban status up to the nineteenth century (as a Rotten Borough), it is today barely populous enough to be deemed a village, although the medieval street pattern survives and outlines of many of the medieval burgage plots, laid out by the bishop's officials, remain discernible.

Winchelsea too had its (quite lengthy) moment in the sun and, if it failed – something that did not really set in until the **sixteenth century** – it was not a failure of the planning/transplantation process of the late thirteenth. That process was carried out by capable people, well informed by experience gained in urban planning and plantation elsewhere, with a good understanding of the fundamental needs of urban communities, in consultation with local leaders, and made possible by the resilience of medieval communities in the face of crisis. Rather, the failure was to follow up on the refoundation phase with sustained efforts to combat the clogging up of a harbour that lacked a deep-water channel from the start and to furnish the settlement with adequate defences. This made Winchelsea more vulnerable to the consequences of the foreign policy of the English Crown, in terms of physical insecurity and disruption of international commerce, while its naval obligations as a Cinque Port imposed financial burdens on its ship-owners, who were the lifeblood of the local economy. It was their abandonment of the town that eventually transformed it into a village whose modern appearance belies its importance as a medieval town. Edward I put considerable effort into salvaging Winchelsea because it was valuable to him, and to the realm, as a maritime port; but it was the town's over-dependence on the sea for its livelihood that doomed it.

NOTES

"24 jurats"
This was twice the size of the normal town council of **jurats** and probably represented a special administration created to assess the rents due from each property.

"held"
Inderwick's transcription reads *habet* for each of these items, but I am assuming this an error for *habuit*, as the references are to former owners from whom the king acquired the site.

"perches", "virgae"
A perch is an ancient unit of linear measurement but could also (as in the rental) be used as a measure of area. The name derives from the use of a pole (*pertica*) as a measuring tool. The *virga* was a similar (in the present case, equivalent) measure whose name derives from a term for a pole, or rod, such as that used by a surveyor. The name rod as eventually won favour over perch in most contexts, only for both to become virtually obsolete as the metric system spread. Like many measures, these were **not universally standardized** during the Middle Ages. However, in late thirteenth century England, the perch/virga as a linear measure was 16.5 feet (5 metres), with an area measure squaring that length, which represents one hundred-and-sixtieth of an acre, the proportion which continued into modern times; calculations derived from the site of modern-day Winchelsea, in comparison with the rental statistics, suggest this was about the size of the virga used in the rental (although **Lilley** argues for a 20-foot length). It will be noted that the rood (one-quarter of an acre, Latin *ruda*), although an ancient measure, was not used to describe the size of larger plots, preference being given to the more awkward expression *viij partem unius acre*. For more discussion of the use of this unit in town planning, see Richard Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043-1355*, Woodbridge: Boydell, 2004, pp.44-45, and a **paper by Philip Crummy**

"partner"
Probably referring to a joint tenant (no longer necessary to refer to by name, since the land had passed to the king).

"Trecherie"
This was a local name for marshy land bordering the cliff around the north and east sides of the hill. A lease of 1380 refers to a plot at La Trecherie that lay under the cliff. W. Maclean Homan, ["The Founding of New Winchelsea," *Sussex Archaeological Collections*, vol.88 (1949), 24] notes one ancient use of the term for gambling den; but for this to be plausible one would have to assume (as Homan consequently does) that visiting ships were already regularly penetrating the Brede estuary as far as Iham.

"not being needed"
It presumably made more sense to the survey committee to leave the mill standing and in private operation, rather than acquire the small plot as part of the redevelopment, particularly if the presence of such a relatively permanent structure made the site more valuable to the sellers than to the potential buyers and risked delaying acquisition negotiations. Despite the effort to justify excluding it, the presence of a mill for grinding residents' grain gave some benefit in attracting settlers, albeit at the same time making the task of laying out plots slightly more complicated; but it did not prevent them

from placing residences close around the windmill. The committee's dismissal of the relevance of the mill site to the project would have been more credible had it been a peripheral feature, such as on the edge of the slope where Batan held other land. We do hear (from chronicler Nicholas Trivet) of a windmill situated near the top of the steep slope somewhere around the northern and eastern sides of the site, whose whirling sails frightened Edward I's horse when the king visited in 1297, almost causing a nasty accident. However, the 1292 rental places the mill owned by the heirs of Batan (I am assuming Bazan a transcription error) in Quarter 15, which was located on the gentle western slope. Trivet's account (contemporary to events) claims there were several such mills in the town by this time.

"at the foot of the hill"
On the northern and eastern sides of the site the hill dropped sharply away, presenting what might be considered a cliff; *sub pendente montis* (literally, under the overhang of the hill) appears chosen to contrast with the more usual *super motam* "atop the mound", referring to the crest of the hill. The inhospitable nature of this plot meant it was not worth much.

"£14.11s.5¾d"
As the total assessed value of the land being made available to residents, this was the amount which the king expected to be generated from the rents of the various plots, notwithstanding that the amount of land for rental was being reduced by the exclusions and by space needed for streets and other non-residential uses. This must have been the principle on which the burgage rent portion of borough fee farms were based, and helps explain the interest of civic authorities in developing wastelands so that they could generate new revenues.

"3s.¾d"
By my calculations 3s.11½d. Readers must beware of taking the figures in this version of the rental as gospel, as errors could have occurred in the original, in the transcription, and in course of my translation; I have not attempted to correct sub-totals. There are likewise a number of anomalies in the individual rents (or plot sizes) which do not seem explicable other than as error; Without access to the original document, I have not attempted to correct these, unless I felt the nature of the error to be fairly evident. On the other hand, I have attempted to rationalize a few of the surnames, based on my general knowledge of medieval names. Inderwick's renderings of many surnames is doubtful (and I have compared with Cooper, who had earlier compiled a list of names from his reading the document, to which Inderwick had access, yet is at least equally unsatisfactory); but, again in absence of the original, it is not always evident where errors have resulted from misinterpretations of script or contraction symbols. Homan [*op.cit., 28*], who viewed the original, pronounced that Inderwick's transcription contained only minor omissions and errors, some of which were in surnames, to judge from Homan's own renderings of extracts. He also notes an addition error for the acreage of Quarter 30, which he attributes to clerical omission of one plot during the calculations.

"John Folke"
Just possibly the John de Folk who served as a bailiff to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1327.

"John Roger"
A John, son of Roger was one of the earliest farmers of Old Winchelsea, in 1246, after Henry III reacquired it from the abbey of Fécamp. A namesake was master of a Winchelsea ship in the Cinque Ports fleet in 1335.

"Gervase Alard jun."
One of the multiple plot holders, he was identified as a jurat in 1306; having already served at least one term as Winchelsea's mayor (1294), he is found in that office again in 1308. He had perhaps impressed Edward for service given on royal expeditions to Gascony (1294) and Flanders, for in 1303 the king appointed him admiral of a fleet assembled from south coast ports and bound for Scotland;

this is the first royal commission of an admiral on record. But in fact Gervase had already held an equivalent post in regard to a Cinque Ports fleet participating in an earlier campaign to Scotland in 1300, although it was not until May 1306 that he and his captains (who included Justin Alard and Willam Pate) received wages due themselves and their sailors. That payment has the look of a prelude to his services being called on again, in June 1306; on this occasion his title was Admiral of the Western Fleet. Later that year he was rewarded by being given custody, for life, of the town of New Winchelsea (i.e. king's bailiff), succeeding his deceased kinsman, Thomas Alard, in that role; in 1341 the farm of the town was again in Alard hands, in the persons of another Gervase Alard and a Robert Alard, the latter taking on the same role again in 1317/18. Also in 1306 we find Gervase jun. identified as the holder of Snargate manor, which had been in the family for some time; the widow of a later Gervase Alard died in possession of the manor in 1367. It is commonly held that the tomb monument surviving in St. Thomas' church, with reclining figure in armour (the tomb containing the skeletal remains of a tall man) is Gervase; however, this is not certain and various theories have been put forward as to which member of the Alard family it is.

"John Romening"
Probably the John de Romeney who, at some point in the reign of Edward I, was acting as agent of the Hospital of St. John in collecting rents payable from Yarmouth properties, which suggests John had other business at Yarmouth, presumably in relation to the annual herring fair.

"William Seman"
Identified as a jurat in 1306.

"clerk"
John was perhaps the priest of the church of St. Leonard's, which continued to serve the remaining villagers of Iham, who lived adjacent to the new town. The plot assigned him was on the street leading to that church; it was also in the vicinity of the church of St. Thomas, which may have been coincidental, although John might have assisted the cleric Godfrey (who lived in the same quarter even closer to the new church) in officiating at St. Thomas'.

"Henry Jacob"
One of the multiple plot holders, he was identified as a jurat in 1306. In 1289 he was co-owner, with Matthew Horne, of a ship carrying wine and grain to other English ports, while in 1320 John Jacob was partnering with members of the Alard family in importing wine and victuals from Gascony. A Herbert son of Jacob is heard of in 1225 in a context suggesting him a merchant.

"Vincent Herberd"
One of the multiple plot holders, he was identified as a jurat in 1306. The family, like the Alards (with whom linked by marriage), performed naval service and had rural estates.

"Bartholomew Bone"
Identified as a jurat in 1306.

"William Burgeys"
A multiple plot-holder and one of the owners of land at Iham bought up for the new town. In 1266 he, along with a few other Winchelsea men, received a royal pardon for having opposed the king during the civil war, and letters protecting him from arrest. He served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1289 and 1291. A probable ancestor, William Burgeis of Winchelse, is identified in 1235 as master of a ship transporting a 45 tuns of wine belonging to a Bordeaux merchant.

"John the clerk"
Whether clerk was his occupation or a surname we cannot tell. A John le Clerk served as one of the

Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1294.

"Stephen Colram"
Identified as a jurat in 1306 (when Cooper transcribes the surname as Cobran, having elsewhere rendered it as Cloram).

"Benedict Penyfader"
Served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1291 (in which context Cooper renders his name, dubiously, as Pomsade).

"William de Sandherst", "William Pate"
Their rents were assessed at the commercial rate because their corner plots faced towards the marketplace. William Pate (or Pacy) served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair on several occasions between 1289 and 1310, and captained a ship during one of the king's Scottish campaigns (1300).

"William Maynard"
Served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1285.

"Thomas Godefrey"
A multiple plot-holder, he was probably the Thomas Fitz Godfrey who served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1293. In 1225 a possible ancestor, Thomas son of Godefrey de was one of several Winchelsea men taking ships to Gascony in service of the king's brother.

"John Andreu"
In 1258 he and his father Stephen were identified as owning part-shares in a ship conducting trade at London. In 1251 the king had issued Stephen with a protection for five years, and in 267 gave John – perhaps as a reward for support during the civil war – the manor of Bilsington-Superior (in the vicinity of Romney Marsh), which had escheated after the death of John Mansell, provost of Beverley, one-time Chancellor to Henry III. Later in 1267 John was one of several Winchelsea and Rye men assigned to patrol the English Channel in search of Henry le Pessuner and his pirates.

"Robert Paulyn"
Mayor 1313/14. A multiple plot-holder, he was member of a local family that remained prominent well into the fourteenth century, and was perhaps descended from one Paulinus de Winchelse, a merchant and part-owner of a ship, first mentioned in 1225; he had a son named James, but Robert is more likely to have been a grandson. Having obtained in 1289 for an indefinite period (during the king's pleasure) the farm of the manor of Iden , which included the ballivalty of Rye, Robert petitioned the king, through Parliament of 1290, to grant the farm on a more fixed basis, hoping to obtain grace by pointing out that he had lost his home to flooding; but the king's response was only to refer him to the Exchequer. Persistence, however, paid off and in 1298 the grant was made for life, reserving the deer park and heronry to the king, but allowing Robert to pasture his plough animals in the grounds. Identified in 1299 as owner of the ship *La Lyttel Nanspie de Winchelse*, in 1294 he had served as constable (commander of militia) aboard one of the Winchelsea ships of a Cinque Ports fleet on an expedition to Gascony. At some time before 1320 Robert also served as bailiff of Winchelsea, for in the Parliament of that year he was accused of fraud in that office, having failed (it was alleged) to arrange for the escheat to the king of the properties of the deceased and heirless bastard son of John de Rackele, but instead colluded in a distant relative taking possession of them. A Henry Paulyn had held the mayoralty in 1306 and the ballivalty during the early years of Edward II's reign but his name is absent from the rental, perhaps then being a younger member of a Paulyn household, or resident on property he is known to have held outside Winchelsea during that reign. At his death, Robert was in possession of the manor of Fairfield, in Kent, from which he obtained an income in rents from its

tenants. Robert's son John, independently mentioned in the Winchelsea rental, served as one of Winchelsea's bailiffs at the Yarmouth herring fair in 1299.

"James Paulyn"
As co-owner of a ship, Jacke Paulyn was accused in 1294 that he and his men seized, at Plymouth, a ship of Yarmouth and killed its crew.

"Sampson Heved"
Bailiff 1293-95.

"Peter Goldive"
Possibly the leading representative of the family in this generation, he also held a quayside plot. His almost-neighbour Henry had a namesake (Henry Goldhyve) who was given royal licence in 1230 to take a ship of which he was master on a mercantil voyage. The surname may be a corruption of a personal name: Goditha, Godiva, or even Goldwin (assuming the *v* to be a misreading of *n*).

"trumpeter"
His principal source of employment was likely as a ship's signaller, as illustrated on Winchelsea's common seal, dating from the reign of Edward I (see similar example of **Dover's seal**). The trumpet would be used like a foghorn or megaphone.

"John Scheylard"
Possibly the John Azelard who served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1290 (A Robert Achelard filling the same role in 1309).

"Stephen Withon"
Possibly a multiple plot-holder, if Stephen Wither is a misreading of Stephen Withon. In 1272 Winchelsea merchants Robert Wychum and Stephen Wychum were licensed to export 20 sacks of wool, while in the previous year Robert Withun of Winchelse had been licensed to trade wool abroad.

"Ralph le Buf"
In 1299 Rauf le Boef received a safe-conduct to take a ship, of which he was joint master (with William de Ihamme), overseas on the king's service.

"John de Iwherst"
Served as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1295 and 1307 (and possibly 1296, if mis-transcription of his surname as Ineherst).

"Benedict Carite"
In 1299 he received a safe-conduct to take the *Barge of Wynchelse*, of which he was master, overseas in the king's service; Robert Paulyn was also named in the safe-conduct and may have been the ship's owner. In 1307, 1312, and 1313 Benedict was one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair.

"John Grik", "Matthew de Horne"
: By 1283 they were jointly farming the ballivalty of Winchelsea for the annual sum of £34.6s.8d, and Matthew continued to do so alone in 1284. This amount suggests that, even allowing that the ballivalty covered lands beyond the town itself, Old Winchelsea was continuing to function as a commercial and residential centre. Paul de Horne was a multiple plot-holder. In 1266 Matthew had been one of a handful of Winchelsea men who received a royal pardon for having opposed the king during the civil war, and letters protecting him from arrest. Ten years later the king granted him a plot of land 100 feet by 50 feet, situated between his house in Old Winchelsea and the harbour, so that he could build thereon a quay which he hoped would help protect his house against the encroaching sea.

In 1289 he and John Jacob were co-owners of the ship *La Plente* in which they were transporting wine and victuals to other English ports. Matthew Horne served as a king's purveyor of corn in 1282 and as one of the Winchelsea bailiffs to the Yarmouth herring fair in 1303. In 1267 the bailiff of Winchelsea was ordered to receive John le Grik into the king's peace; his offence was to have been one of the followers of the king's enemy, Henry le Pessuner of Portsmouth, a Montfortian who commanded a squadron that engaged in piracy in the aftermath of the civil war. In 1289 he is seen as co-owner of a ship issued a safe-conduct for a mercantile voyage. An Agnes la Grick of Winchelse was issued in 1253 with a royal protection, although the reason is not given, while a James le Grik or Gryck served as king's purveyor of wine and honey in 1282, and was frequently a Winchelsea bailiff to the herring fair between 1306 and 1322. It seems reasonably clear the surname denoted a foreign nationality (not necessarily Greek) rather than an occupation.

"Philip, son of Laurence"
There are indications that Philip may have been the town clerk at this time. His father was also a clerk who was certainly involved in drafting conveyances, but whether he earlier served as town clerk I cannot say; it was not uncommon for literate fathers to train, or have trained, their sons in literacy skills. It may be that Philip and/or Laurence was the writer of the rental.

"House of St. John"
Believed the oldest of the hospitals, since some of its financial support came from endowments of rents **due from Great Yarmouth properties**, it was (or became) essentially an almshouse. By the close of the Middle Ages the hospital was under the administration of the borough, and it was the mayor and jurats who selected impoverished men and women of good character for admission, and who could evict any troublesome inmates.

"Houses of St. Bartholomew and Holy Cross"
The irregular shape of Quarter 39 (unsuitable for residential plots) and its peripheral location suggest that its allocation to hospitals may have been part of the original plan, not just an afterthought. Holy Cross had existed in the old town; it was subsequently assigned several more acres of waste land. St. Bartholomew's is not known to have existed in Old Winchelsea, but could have been founded to take care of burgesses who had lost all to flooding and were unable to re-establish themselves; it was, like St. John's Hospital, under borough administration (though, as with many hospitals, this may not have come about until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, when the disappearance of the families of private founders necessitated borough corporations stepping in to ensure hospitals' survival).

"vulnerable to the tides"
This may have been a reference to the fact that the estuary was only navigable at high tide, a problem that naturally concerned the townsmen and which they would have wanted to draw to the attention of the king and his officials at any opportunity. Inderwick read the original as *periculosa in omnibus custuosis*, but admitted he had no knowledge of a Latin term *custuosis*; Cooper appears to have read that word as something akin to *estuatio* and translated the phrase as "dangerous at all flowings of the tide" [*op.cit.*, 53], adopted by David and Barbara Martin, *New Winchelsea, Sussex: A Medieval Port Town*, Kings Lynn: Heritage Marketing and Publications Ltd., 2004, 36. This fits with the context, but perhaps misses the compilers' intent. It is conceivable the original might be some variant of *costeris"* (and Inderwick proposed the Latin was a contrived term based on the French *costeaux*), suggesting a translation of "fraught with risk on all sides"; this the context would also support, but there seems no reason for stating the fact.

"visited Winchelsea"
In fact, he had occasion to be there in 1266, making a forceful entry in order to suppress the townsmen's piratic tendencies, which were seen as part of the unsettled aftermath of the recent rebellion, during which Winchelsea had provided support for de Montfort.

">Ralph de Sandwyco"
He had been in the office of steward of royal demesne since at least 1275. **Sir Ralph de Sandwich** was a member of a Kent family and has been tentatively linked (as brother) to a Bishop of London and a Warden of the Cinque Ports, both named Henry de Sandwich. Initially a royalist, he switched to the baronial faction during the civil war and was made, for a few months in 1265, Keeper of the Wardrobe and deputy Chancellor, with a mandate to act as virtual gaoler of the captive Henry III and ensure that de Montfort had access to the Great Seal. Taken prisoner at the battle of Evesham, Ralph was naturally deprived of his office, but Henry issued him a pardon in 1266. His rehabilitation seems to have occurred around the same time as that of Henry, Bishop of London (who had also worked with the Montfortian party and been disgraced); the bishop was restored to his office in 1272 and he, perhaps along with another Montfortian prelate, the Bishop of Worcester (with whom Ralph appears associated, in 1272, in the service of the Countess of Winchester) may have been able to assist with Ralph's return to royal service. When Bishop Henry died in 1273, Ralph was given custody of the temporalities of the see pending a successor being chosen. Another sign of his return to favour is that he was invited to attend Edward I's coronation in 1274, perhaps an indication that he was already Edward's steward. Edward's confidence in him is clearly shown in appointing him warden of London and constable of the Tower, during suspension of its liberties from June 1285 to June 1293. Thereafter he continued to serve the king as constable and on judicial and military commissions. He probably died in 1308, not long after attending the coronation of Edward II who, while prince, had used his influence for Bishop Henry's restoration to favour.

"not so unusual"
See for example the slow process of **building a defensive circuit** at Coventry due to land rights obstacles.

"Iter de Engolisma"
Itier Bochard d'Angoulême,a Gascon, was one of the king's clerks (probably of the Exchequer) at this time, That a Winchelsea family named Bochard is evidenced in the rental is likely just coincidence, and Itier may have been included in the commission to assist with the calculations of plot sizes and rents; but one cannot help wondering if his university education included geometry – considered, as Keith Lilley notes ["Taking measures across the medieval landscape," *Urban Morphology* vol.2, no.2 (1998), 88], a science for reflecting divine order within the material world – and might have been qualified to prepare a concept layout design for the Iham site, based on theoretical principles, which others subsequently adapted to the constraints of the site and particular needs of the townspeople. Later he served Edward I in his French dominions, being in charge of the Gascon treasury at a time when Edward was busy with the foundation of French bastides, and then serving as constable of Bordeaux (1289-93). He may have been the ecclesiastic of that name who, in 1297, is seen purchasing a manor in Ireland, where he was a canon of St. Patricks, Dublin, and parson of Swords (in Dublin diocese).

"John de Cobeham"
Like Penecestre, a prominent Kentish landowner; the pair sat together on several county commissions, and Penecestre married his daughter to Cobham's son Henry, who became Warden of the Cinque Ports in 1307 and was the 1st Baron Cobham.

"has been argued"
Keith Lilley, Chris Lloyd and Steve Trick, 2005, ***Mapping the Medieval Townscape: a digital atlas of the new towns of Edward I***, available at http://ads.ahds.ac.uk/catalogue/specColl/atlas_ahrb_2005 (last accessed 3 January 2011). Their argument is based on the east-west streets in that part of town failing to parallel those further north.

"total area"

On the Archaeology Data Service Web site, as part of the "Mapping Medieval Townscapes" project, can be found an **interactive map** showing the shape of the town site, with layout of the building plots; a more 3-D **rendering of the topography** is also available. Static images showing the layout of streets and quarters can be viewed at **http://www.winchelsea.net/images/routes_planned_L.jpg** and at **http://www.archaeologyse.co.uk/04-projects/east-sussex/Winchelsea-Survey/13thC-Layout.htm**

"completion of acquisitions"
In fact the process proved incomplete when two of the landholders, William Burgeys and Robert son of John de Langherst, complained they had never received the agreed compensation for land they surrendered; so in 1303 the king appointed commissioners (including William de Echingeham and Pencester's successor as warden) to rectify the oversight, which was blamed on John de Kirkeby (whom Burgeys claimed had made him the initial promise of a fair exchange of properties) and the planning commissioners having died before the bureaucratic registration and payment process had been finalized.

"David Martin notes"
op.cit., 194.

"Allington Castle"
Pencester may possibly have toyed with the idea of founding his own town there, for not only did he build a castle on his manor at Allington, he had already (1280) obtained for the village royal grant of a fair and weekly market.

"possibly from Gascony"
Historians are divided in their speculation as to his origins. The surname Waleys was often given to men who came to England from Wales, but it could also be applied to foreigners from parts across the English Channel. Were he a Gascon, this would have given Henry a leg up in building his wine business, and certainly he seems quite at home in Gascony later in his career. For the Chepstow argument, see Gwyn Williams, *Medieval London: from Commune to Capital*, London: Athlone Press, 1963, 334.

"programme of town-founding"
Between 1263 and 1297 over seventy new fortified market towns, or bastides (a term derived from a medieval French verb meaning "to build") were planted in Gascony on lands owing allegiance to the English crown. Most had a grid-pattern plan not dissimilar, in broad strokes, to that of New Winchelsea.

"measures"
Waley's vigorous and feather-ruffling programme is outlined in Williams, *op.cit.*, 252-53, and Caroline Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages*, Oxford: University Press, 2004, 50-51. For his policing reforms, see **here**.

"representatives to advise him"
The towns were to choose those of their burgesses "who best know how to devise, order and array a new town to the greatest profit of Ourselves and of merchants." [[Maurice Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantation in England, Wales and Gascony*, London: Butterworth, 1967, 3]. Beresford interpreted the three key tasks in this mandate as meaning: selection and procurement of a site; organizing the recruitment of townsmen and furnishing them with the privileges and legal protections needed to carry on their businesses; and giving the town the physical facilities needed for its roles. This set of definitions seems to fit Winchelsea better than Berwick, and Edward's intent for Berwick may have been to use reconstruction as an opportunity to see if there were any improvements that might be made to fortifications, harbour, and perhaps the layout of the town, to

reshape the local administrative and legal system more in the English mould, and to encourage English merchants to 'buy into' the revamped town in order to kick-start an England-oriented commerce there. Re-colonization was probably his primary strategic objective.

"21 towns"
Four were Londoners, three from York, two from Winchester, and others from towns such as Northampton, Southampton, Lincoln, Stamford, Bristol, Leicester, Yarmouth, and Winchelsea.

"Beresford"
: *Op.cit.*, 1.

"by Stephen Alard"
For the benefit of the souls of himself, his father Nicholas, mother Isabelle, and wife Alice; to house and support the chantry chaplains, he endowed it with the property listed in the rental as belonging to Robert Jolivet, which Nicholas had purchased from Jolivet, by now said to include multiple houses and other buildings. Homan [*op.cit.*, 38] believed this Stephen Alard to be one and the same as the Stephen Aurifaber listed in the rental; Aurifaber appears to be an established family name in this case, but that does not preclude the family having been a branch of the Alards, although they held no property in Quarter 8, the residential focus of the Alard clan.

"application of geometry"
On this see Malcom Hislop, *Medieval Masons*, Princes Risborough: Shire Publications, 2000, 16-23; Keith Lilley, *Urban Life in the Middle Ages 1000-1450*, Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002, 158-63; Keith Lilley, *City and Cosmos: The Medieval World in Urban Form*, London: Reaktion Books, 2009, 85-94.

"quarters"
At Salisbury a grid system also produced divisions called quarters, but the names that have come down to us refer to some prominent building (such as an inn) or feature in each quarter. In larger towns it seems to have been common to distinguish **neighbourhoods for policing and military functions**, but we have no evidence that this factored into the plan at Winchelsea, despite the issue being contemporary with its refoundation.

"systematically"
Numbering began in the north-east corner of the site and made a series of westward passes (each pass further south than its predecessor) until reaching the south-west corner. The orderliness of the approach reflects on the quality of the planning, but was hardly innovative: a **survey of Winchester properties** ca. 1110, conducted by royal officials working with the burgesses, shows much the same methodical organization, which was continued in **later surveys**. This was more common sense than science.

"meaningful names"
A survey of Winchester carried out ca. 1110 shows streets were named after topographical features, occupations that clustered there (e.g. shoemakers, butchers, tanners), or prominent families or individuals who were, or had once been, residents, and even the main street had become characterized as *Ceap straet* (shopping street). Such namings can be traced back to **towns of Anglo-Saxon and Viking England**, if not earlier.

"friary"
There were two **friaries in Winchelsea**. The king and his commissioners respected a request by the townsmen that no other orders than the Franciscans (who had a house in Old Winchelsea) be accommodated, though this restriction did not long survive, and in 1318 the Dominicans established a monastery, to the chagrin of the townspeople.

"uses unspecified"
It might have served for a modest fortification, but the need for such did not materialize during the reign of Edward I, and part of the space was in 1218 given to the Dominicans for their friary. At the other end of town was an open area anciently known as Castle Field, and Cooper assumed Edward had built a castle there. However, there is no supporting evidence, and this field was outside the new town boundaries and unlikely to be the acreage retained by the king.

"main thoroughfares"
There is evidence of limited paving of some of the streets, particularly around the market area, but it cannot be said whether paving was a feature of the foundation work or later; the latter seems more likely, and in 1321 the king licensed toll collection for murage and pavage in the same grant.

"not unvaryingly"
It has been suggested that the variations may have been designed to draw travellers coming from the west or south more directly to the marketplace. Martin, *op.cit.*, 29.

"superior authority"
The bailiff continued to control fiscal and judicial administration. The mayor would have presided over council deliberations and, insofar as such led to local by-laws, came to acquire limited judicial and fiscal administrative duties. Mayor and council chose community representatives to Cinque Ports assemblies.

"seven years"
Other known examples of this varied between two and ten years. The king may not have shouldered alone the loss from this exemption, since in 1281 he had made a life grant to Reginald Alard sen. (as a reward for military service in a Welsh campaign) of £6.13s.4d from the fee farm, and in 1278 had made a life grant of £10 from the same to the widow of Sir Thomas de Hipgrave. In 1290 she and her second husband complained Winchelsea's bailiffs had been defaulting in paying what was due her, they advising her that due to the flood damage the full amount could not be raised; the couple therefore requested to take over the farm of the town, so they could raise what was due by their own methods, deduct their annuity from the proceeds and pay the remainder to the king. The king was unsympathetic, telling the complainants to be satisfied with whatever they could get, or otherwise try **distraining** on the bailiffs.

"decisions in the field"
Thus for example the quality or placement within a Quarter of the property may have influenced the decision to round up the rents of Joseph Hastinges and Luke Beneyt but round down their neighbours' for plots of (nominally) the same size; while it is tempting to wonder whether the minor under-assessment of Goda pore Voghel might represent pity on a poor spinster or widow – although one neighbour also received a slightly lower rate, we elsewhere find borderline decisions made in favour of the unnamed widow of Gabriel Gudloc and spinsters Juliana Nightingale and Alice Busch, for example, although this discrimination is not consistent and such decisions may have been based on knowledge of individual circumstances.

"reconstruct tenement layout"
On this see Martin, *op.cit.*, 94.

"burgage rents"
The urban version of **rents of assize**, which were originally only one of several types of obligation due from tenant to landlord; these continued to be referred to locally as the "king's rents" down into the 19th century. A penny may have been a nominal, even largely symbolic, amount, or may have been considered a proportion of the value of the land itself (or, perhaps more properly, the value of

annual profit the land might be expected to generate). Although one of several names by which such rents were known, **hawgable**, may at one time have meant a tax on a house, this is uncertain, and it is not evident that rental assessments took into account the value of buildings on a property; indeed most plots, when the rent was initially assessed, were probably not built on – for the great majority of residents, their early dwelling places were modest, ephemeral, and perhaps in some cases moveables, of no great inherent value. A good illustration of how Domesday period rents could increase over the space of only a few generations, as tenements were improved, sub-divided, sub-let and their rents became commoditized (independent of the real estate out of which they arose), creating sometimes complex rental relationships, can be found in a property-holding survey compiled at Winchester in 1148 [Martin Biddle, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976, pp.69-141]. Other references to Winchester in this article are from the same source.

"leather-workers"
Mostly *sutors*, an occupational designation usually given to cobblers (who sewed back up old shoes, and sometimes produced othe leather goods), but also a cordwainer (who made shoes and other items using a higher-quality leather).

"shopping district"
Much the same kind of shopping topography can still be seen today at the French planned (grid-pattern) port town of **Aigues-Mortes**, considered one of the best surviving examples of a bastide, planted just a few decades before Winchelsea; Prince Edward spent a little time there en route to crusade in 1270, giving him a look at how King Louis, whom he admired, designed towns in his realm. Although most artisan shops there have been replaced by restaurants or retailers catering to tourists, as a rule the farther away streets run from the marketplace, the scarcer are the shops. It is not easy to tell, after the changes wrought by intervening centuries (with some streets enclosed and new ones opened up), but looks as though the strictly orthogonal site of Aigues-Mortes may originally have been divided up into some three dozen (6 x 6) rectangular blocks, not all of the same dimensions; an area of land was carved out for the marketplace, set fairly centrally within the western half of the town, flanked by streets communicating between the main entrance gateway and the quayside, and with parish church on a facing corner. As at Winchelsea, during the Middle Ages other religious institutions seem to have established themselves only in the non-market half of the town. The commercial half of Winchelsea falls just short of being a 6x6 grid, because of the irregular shape of the site.

"female tenants"
The majority held smaller plots, but not a few had good-sized properties. A few of the former are likely to have been spinsters: women of any age who, for a variety of reasons, had never married but were (perhaps only barely) able to support themselves. Daughters who had inherited property at an age too old to be wards, but young enough not yet to have married, could account for some of the others. Only a dozen are specifically identified as widows, a category one might expect to be higher, since that status was more likely to allow for independence; of these, half hold modest plots of 12 virgae or less, while a few hold medium-sized plots – and some of the latter were widows of well-to-do townsmen. However, I suspect that the explicit widows represent only the tip of the iceberg, indicative of a need felt to explain discrepancies between identities of tenants in the draft rental and those in the final version; that is, those widowed between about 1282 and 1292; there was no reason to identify as such women who became property-holding widows prior to the relocation of the community. We may note two tenants identified as mothers, who may very well have been widows (although other explanations are of course possible). A similar factor, related to the mechanics of record-keeping, may perhaps help explain the vague references to plots held by "heirs of", although this could also be explained by a joint obligation for a rent. The role, in this proportion of women tenants, of the civil war (albeit a quarter-century earlier) and its aftermath of reprisals as widow-maker, or as cause of a scarcity of young men of marriageable age, can only be conjectural.

"no clear reason"
It could simply be coincidental, but nor can we ignore the possibility that this might have been a red-light district: the neighbouring small properties of three women looks odd and their surnames are Go To Bed and Coggere (a term which could be derived from Anglo-French *coger*, a variant of *coucher*); a fourth female tenant has the nickname "Sweet Lucy"; and Quarter 28 is on the far side of the marketplace from the parish churches. The evidence is flimsy (Coggere is more likely to mean sailor) , but the question is worth asking, particularly in the context of wondering whether urban planning extended to keeping brothels confined to one part of town. It would be surprising not to find numbers of prostitutes in a port town, and deliberately situating known professionals in Quarter 28 would necessarily have drawn a sailor clientele from the harbour past the parish church and marketplace, at both of which places they might be hoped to leave some of their wages, in offerings or purchases, as well as past the taverns posited as being in some of the corner-plot cellars in the north-eastern sector of the town. At a later period the borough authorities ordered that no prostitute have a residence in any of the streets of the town, but pemitted them to live outside the walls and continue operating, for payment of a quarterly fine.[Ruth Mazo Karras, *Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England*, Oxford University Press USA, 1996, 23]

"vaulted cellars"
A detailed description and discussion of the cellars can be found in Martin, *op.cit.*, 105-27, and a brief description at **http://www.winchelsea.net/visiting/winchelsea_history_pt24.htm**.

"ships' masters:"
Of the harbourside tenants, John Pate, Adam Stonhard, Henry Baker, John de Maghefeld, are identified as masters of Winchelsea ships providing royal service in September 1294, while Robert de Carett' (or atte Carte) is so identified in 1306. But of these, only Pate held property exclusively at the harbour.

"have been identified"
Martin, *op.cit.*, 95. The number should only be taken as approximate, given variations in spelling of names and the possibility of multiple individuals with the same name or of an individual being referred to under different surnames.

"estates they held"
Etchingham was about 14 miles from Winchelsea, although William de Echingeham held a manor much closer, at Udimore (the king often stayed there while in the vicinity, and may have made use of Sir William's town-house when visiting Winchelsea). Simon appears to have been his brother. Lewknor was farther afield, in Oxfordshire, but its lord probably also had a manor close to Winchelsea; according to Cooper, the banner flown atop a building depicted on the thirteenth-century borough seal (perhaps representing some aspect of secular administration, or symbolizing Winchelsea's affiliation with the Cinque Ports) bears the arms of Lewknor. While true that a Nicholas de Lewknor served as Henry III's Keeper of the Wardrobe from 1265 to his death in 1268, Inderwick's assertions that he was Roger's father, and that Roger succeeded him in the office, are incorrect. More probable is that he was the Roger de Leukenore who was sheriff of Susex in 1289, occasional royal commissioner in the county (on one occasion working with Stephen de Pencester), and dead by November 1295.

"fee farm"
The value of Winchelsea's **farm** had dropped to £42 by 1278, and in 1283 the king farmed out the town for £26.13s.4d, which looks like the earlier fee farm less the rents component.

"local administration"
A plot specified as assigned in Quarter 27 to the mayoralty, close to the marketplace, is assumed

[Martin, *op.cit.*, 67-68] as intended to serve for open air meetings of the communal assembly of the **hundred**; it had not yet become that common for towns to hold such assemblies indoors, whether in purpose-built halls or in facilities of existing religious houses or gilds. The plot allocated was easily accessed from the marketplace, but on the edge of town and not immediately adjacent to any houses, probably to minimize the disturbance that large assemblies might create. Non-public meetings of the council could have been accommodated in the house of the mayor of the time. Tantalizingly, by the early sixteenth century a house in Quarter 8 whose original owner was Gervase Alard jun. (the earliest mayor whose identity is known, in office in 1294 and conceivably earlier) was being used for municipal administration; this hall-house was demolished in 1666 but an extension survives as the Court Hall Museum. The bailiff and his staff, on the other hand, used rented facilities for a courtroom and gaol.

"argues"
Martin, *op.cit.*, 100.

"borough revenues"
In 1299/1300 a total of £46.15s was raised to pay the fee farm; the rents were the largest source of income within the farm, with tolls paid by fishermen a close second. Perquisites from judicial administration and tolls from market and fair were the next largest items, while a very modest amount was generated from fees for use of the harbourside weigh-beam. Import/export customs and murage would have been accounted for separately, and costs of local administration would have had to be covered from other sources of income, such as local taxation or freeman admissions.

"commission"
"Appointment of Richard de Bosco and Walter de Marisco, parson of the church of Bromesburwe, to lay out, with sufficient streets and lanes and adequate sites for a market and church and plots for merchants and others, a new town with a harbour in a place called Gotowre super Mare, in the parish of Stodlaund and on the king's land, which was late of Robert de Muchegros and contiguous to the said place, the lands and tenements of which said new town the king is prepared to commit to merchants and others willing to take them and to enfeoff them thereof for building and dwelling purposes.
Notification that all merchants and others taking plots in the said land and beginning to build there, shall enjoy the same liberties and customs as the burgesses of Lyme or of Melecumbe, and that a charter to that effect shall be made."
[*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 1281-1292, p.217]

"commissioners"
Walter de Marisco may have held the living of Bromsberrow (Gloucestershire) as a reward for royal service, there being some slight evidence he was earlier a Chancery clerk. That a man of this name was tenant of one of the burgages in New Winchelsea must be treated as a coincidence. Richard de Bosco was a more prominent figure in the southwestern counties, serving frequently on judicial commissions there (and elsewhere), as well as travelling to Scotland and Gascony on king's business. He had been a royalist during the civil war and in 1283 (by which time he had been knighted) was raising and leading troops in support of Edward's Welsh campaign. More significantly, in 1280 he had been appointed constable of Corfe Castle, holding that post up to his death in 1300. It was probably as such that, around 1283, he arranged the king's purchase of the privately-owned land on which Newton would be founded, with the revenues from exploitation of that land being assigned to the support of the castle. It may be that satisfaction with the progress of the Iham project encouraged Edward to continue his town-founding programme with a venture at Gotowre.

"new rental income"
For each of the burgage plots laid out there the rent was set at a shillling a year; several townsmen

held multiple plots. In 1264/65 the income from rents was 42s. and by 1298 there were 66 tenants occupying 70 properties, plus 3 properties held by residents pre-dating the new town. The poll tax of 1377 listed 196 taxpayers (probably including the manorial residents), but by 1674 only 11 houses in the town could be taxed.

main menu

Created: *February 16, 2011*. Last update: *February 24, 2012*