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New Life in Towns, c.800–c.1220

GILLIAN DRAPER

Kent was one of the most densely urbanised counties in late medieval England, with up to forty-five small towns, as well as Tonbridge and the members of the Cinque Ports confederation, and the cities of Canterbury and Rochester.[1] The origins of this later density are to be found in the seventh to eighth centuries, when 'small-scale rural-style occupation' began to be transformed into recognizably urban settlement, starting at Canterbury and Dover. The basis of development from the seventh century was two-fold: firstly the exchange and export of surpluses of grain, livestock, leather, wool and probably slaves, by communities in east Kent using the 'ports' of Dover and Sandwich; and secondly the process of Christian conversion, which saw cathedrals established at Canterbury and Rochester in the very early seventh century.[2]

The extra-mural monastic churches at Canterbury and, from the eighth century, the cathedral provided for the burial of early Kentish kings and their consorts, and members of the clerical elite. They also established a tradition that fostered learning and artistic endeavour in the city. These were important features that enabled the city to flourish again after the Viking raids, for example with the rebuilding of the first cathedral at Canterbury, most probably in the ninth century.[3] Furthermore, the ownership of trading vessels and the right to take tolls on ships, which the minster (*monasterium*) at Reculver possessed in the eighth century, suggest that the Church was also prominent in developing markets and fairs.[4] Indeed the control of trade through Dover and Sarre on Thanet may even have pre-dated the conversion period and be reflected in the prestigious weapons finds in the nearby Anglo-Saxon field

1 S. Sweetinburgh, 'Kentish Towns: Urban Culture and the Church in the Later Middle Ages', in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220–1540*, ed. S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 137–8.

2 M. Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent to AD 800', in *The Archaeology of Kent to AD 800*, ed. J. H. Williams (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 202–3, 230, 246; S. Brookes, 'The Early Anglo-Saxon Framework for Middle Anglo-Saxon Economics: The Case of East Kent', in *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and Productive Sites, 650–850*, ed. T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider (Macclesfield, 2003), pp. 89–90, 93–5, fig. 8.4.

3 Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', pp. 199, 235–45. The city of Rochester may have prospered at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, but not the cathedral; T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Topography and Buildings of Medieval Rochester', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, BAA Conference Transactions 29 (Leeds, 2006), p. 25.

4 S. Kelly, 'Trading Privileges from Eighth-Century England', *Early Medieval Europe* 1 (1992), 3–28.

cemeteries.[5] Such cemeteries were in prominent locations visible from the coast, and should perhaps be regarded as landmarks for mariners crossing the Channel rather than being associated with nearby settlements where trade was controlled.[6] It has been suggested that grave robbery that occurred soon after burial was concentrated in certain cemeteries near the coast, and that this indicated cultural contact or even trade with 'Frisian and Frankish traders attending beach markets at Sarre and elsewhere'.[7] However, a new review of grave-robbing demonstrates that it was spread widely across Kentish cemeteries and that it aimed 'not to obtain artefacts or raw materials for the use of the living, but to deprive the dead of symbolically significant objects'. Few of the goods removed were in a condition to be recirculated, whether through trade or another mechanism.[8]

The gift exchanges and cultural contacts with Francia expressed in the numerous and rich field cemeteries of the period c.600 to 850 were extended and renewed by trade across the Channel and around the North Sea and the coast of Britain from the later ninth century. At this period, evidence of proto-urban development becomes clearer and more extensive with the identification of actual Anglo-Saxon settlements, as opposed to cemeteries, notably at Sarre and Fordwich.[9] For example, it is suggested that between the seventh and ninth centuries a market, *Wyckengemearke*, may have been strung out along the road running north-east of Canterbury as far as the river port of Fordwich.[10] In 2007 Martin Welch regretted that the beach markets and the earliest river harbours in Kent, from which the coastal towns or ports developed in the ninth century, were virtually unassessed, apart from *Sandtun*, near Lympne.[11] Since he wrote, new research from the disciplines of history and archaeology has been published on seven Kentish towns. This chapter reviews this research and also earlier work, taking first the early trading around the Wantsum Channel, the cathedral city of east Kent, and the Cinque Ports and their role. Comparisons are briefly made with the important members of the Cinque Ports confederation in east Sussex: Hastings, Old Winchelsea and Rye. The towns of the confederation must be considered as a whole, even though the eastern ones lay just beyond what became the boundary

5 S. Hawkes, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent c.425–575', in *Archaeology in Kent to AD 1500*, ed. P. Leach, CBA, Research Report 48 (London, 1982), p. 76.

6 Brookes, 'The Case of East Kent', pp. 87–8.

7 Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', p. 223.

8 A. Klevnäs examined published and unpublished excavation reports, including field notes, relating to over two hundred reopened (robbed) graves in *Whodunnit? Grave-robbery in Early Medieval Northern and Western Europe*, BAR, International Series 2582 (Oxford, 2012), pp. 2, 31–6.

9 Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', pp. 198–9, fig. 6.7, 224; S. Brookes and G. Milne, 'Towns and Trade on an Unkind Coast: Rewriting the History and Maritime Archaeology of the Cinque Ports', *The Romney Marsh Irregular* 28 [newsletter of the Romney Marsh Research Trust] (2006), 10–11.

10 Its existence is surmised from finds of Ipswich-ware pottery linked to a later Canterbury charter; Welch 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', p. 237, pointing to the suggestion of D. Hill and R. Cowie, *Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* (Sheffield, 2001), based on parallel finds at *Lundenwic* (modern Covent Garden area) and Fishergate/*Eoforwic* at York. Finds of combs, loom weights and fishhooks at *Lundenwic*, *Eoforwic* and Great Yarmouth from the Middle Saxon (650–850) period have been compared with those from Canterbury, Dover and *Sandtun*; J. Leary with G. Brown, J. Rackham, C. Pickard and R. Hughes, *Tatberht's Lundenwic: Archaeological Excavations in Middle Saxon London*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph 2 (London, 2004), pp. 22, 24, 100, 146.

11 Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', p. 198.

between Kent and Sussex.[12] This is followed by an examination of the cathedral city of west Kent and the towns of the north Kent coast and the Medway valley.

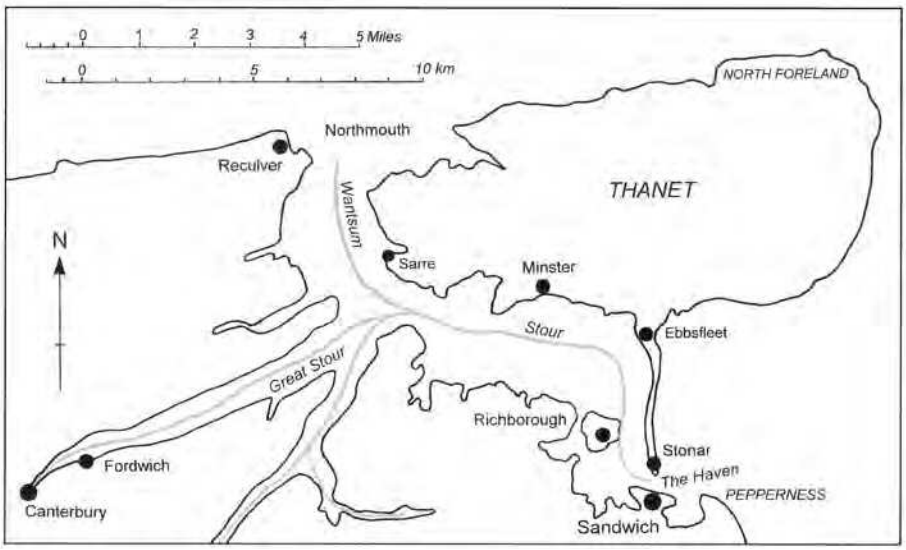
Early Trade and Tolls along the Wantsum Channel: Reculver, Minster-in-Thanet, Sarre and Fordwich

Kent in the eighth century was notable for its wealthy, free (non-monastic) minsters or monasteries, which were ruled by abbots or abbesses, many of them royal: Folkestone, Dover, Lyminge, St Augustine's just outside Canterbury, Minster-in-Thanet, Minster in Sheppey and Hoo. Since all but one were on or near the coast, they did not survive the first wave of Viking attacks, and, apart from St Augustine's, had disappeared by the mid ninth century. St Augustine's was revived as a community of monks in the later tenth century.[13]

The minster at Reculver was in an excellent position on an international trading route, as the finds there of numerous coins, metalwork, glassware and an imported pot indicate, and the community was exploiting this advantage by or before the eighth century. It probably had its own berthing or beaching facilities in a sheltered anchorage at the northern end of the Wantsum Channel. By the 760s an estate at Sarre provided a highly strategic toll station used by agents of the kings of Kent. Sarre lay on the Isle of Thanet on the other side of the Wantsum Channel from Reculver, and farther down it, opposite the confluence with the Great Stour that led up to Fordwich and Canterbury. Sarre itself was linked to Canterbury by a Roman road and ferry or ford from Upstreet. Both Reculver minster and the nunnery of Minster-in-Thanet were exempt from tolls at Sarre and Fordwich, and had their own vessels and probably boatyards. They used their vessels to transport and trade the products of their estates, including sending partly processed iron to Canterbury to be made into implements, and bringing in wine, furs, wax and oil. Reculver minster may even have been involved in commercial trade at London and the other Mercian ports, as well as transporting lay and clerical passengers of all kinds. The privileges of using the Wantsum Channel free of tolls, rather than sending their vessels via the much more dangerous route around the North Foreland, was extremely valuable. The disappearance of Reculver minster and Minster-in-Thanet under Viking attack is a likely reason for the urban development of Fordwich and Sandwich from the late tenth

12 The *Haestware* may have been Kentish folk until 772 when, after defeat by Offa, they were attached to the South Saxon province and bishopric, and the *Haestingas* remained an important group in east Sussex, recorded in 1011; Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', p. 194. Old Winchelsea lay on a shingle bank that was washed away by the sea from the 1220s and replaced by New Winchelsea as a wine-importing town in the 1280s. Rye, like Old Winchelsea, was in the lordship of Fécamp Abbey and was established after the Conquest. Both became known as Ancient Towns of the confederation, as there were already five Head Ports; G. Draper with contributions by D. Martin, B. Martin and A. Tyler, *Rye: A History of a Sussex Cinque Port to 1660* (Chichester, 2009), pp. 2–12.

13 S1438. Lyminge was not right on the coast but by 804 had already found a place to use as a refuge within Canterbury city walls, and perhaps similarly Minster-in-Thanet; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (London and New York, 1984), pp. 201–2, 206.



Map 3.2 The Wantsum Channel and its rivers (by kind permission of Helen Clarke and Oxbow Books)

and eleventh centuries. Reculver was only nine miles from Canterbury by road but was separated from it by the very extensive forest of Blean. This militated against any urban growth there, as did the decreasing navigability of the Wantsum over the course of the Middle Ages. [14]

In 991 two haws (*hagae*) and a meadow at Fordwich were granted for life to the abbot of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. In the mid eleventh century, King Edward the Confessor (1042–66) confirmed land and rights at Fordwich, including exemption from tolls, to St Augustine's itself, and the lordship of the abbey is very clear in Domesday Book in 1086.[15] Fordwich was described as a 'small town' although it had a relatively large number of dwellings, perhaps around a hundred. The entry, as so often with the early towns in Domesday Book, is not entirely clear. Before the Conquest there were ninety-six *masurae terrae*, and after it seventy-three *masurae*; these are probably to be understood as equivalent to the *mansio* described in pre-Conquest charters of Canterbury, that is a dwelling with associated land, and also the *mansurae* of Canterbury in 1086 (below).[16] The nature of the connection

14 Reculver had the estate at Sarre by 949 and probably much earlier, by 679; S. Kelly, 'Reculver Minster and its Early Charters', in *Myths, Rulership, Church and Charters*, ed. J. Barrow and A. Wareham (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 72–80; H. Clarke, S. Pearson, M. Mate and K. Parfitt, *Sandwich, the 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port from its Origins to 1600* (Oxford, 2010), fig. 2.2, pp. 14, 16; G. Moody, *The Isle of Thanet: From Prehistory to the Norman Conquest* (Stroud, 2008), p. 49.

15 S1654; S1092. The nature of haws as urban plots is discussed below.

16 Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, 7:10. In this the ninety-six *masurae terrae* are translated as 'measures of land' but the seventy-three *masurae* immediately following as 'dwellings', which at least reflects the interrelationship of urban and rural holdings.

between such urban holdings and land outside the city of Canterbury is illustrated in the case of Thomas, an officer or minister of the infirmary of Christ Church Priory, who also held four acres at Fordwich.[17] Besides the holders of the *masurae terrae*, there were also six inhabitants specified as burgesses in another part of Fordwich, which consisted of twenty-four acres that the abbey had 'always had'. In addition, Archbishop Lanfranc (1070–89) had acquired seven *masurae terrae* in Fordwich, which were formerly the abbey's. These seven *masurae terrae* had owed service at sea in the time of King Edward but it was no longer performed after the archbishop acquired them, probably because of disputed rights between Lanfranc and the abbey.[18] Fordwich lay on the river Great Stour, between two and three miles below Canterbury. St Augustine's Abbey lay about 150 yards east of the Canterbury city wall along the road to Sandwich, off which branched the road to Fordwich. The abbey's possession of Fordwich and its toll exemptions were especially useful for the import of very large quantities of Caen stone for the rebuilding of the pre-existing Saxon churches in its precinct in the late eleventh century.[19] No church is mentioned at Fordwich itself in Domesday and the present small building dates largely, if not entirely, from the thirteenth century.[20]

Fordwich lay in its own hundred as recorded in Domesday Book, an important feature in the development of the holding of rights from the king by the elite inhabitants of very early towns.[21] The town had a moneyer, Hagemund, who was named in a charter of 1111 in which Hamo the sheriff of Kent granted the *villa* (town or vill)

17 Urry discussed the variations in the versions of the Domesday survey relating to the Canterbury *mansurae* and also reconstructed holdings in the Christ Church rentals of the twelfth century to supplement the material of the late eleventh century; W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings* (London, 1967), pp. 1, 125–6, 160, 221.

18 C. E. Woodruff, *A History of the Town and Port of Fordwich* (Canterbury, 1895), p. 36; D. C. Douglas, ed., *Domesday Monachorum: Domesday Monachorum of Christ Church Canterbury* (London, 1944), p. 32; C. Flight, *The Survey of Kent: Documents Relating to the Survey of the County Conducted in 1086*, BAR, British Series 506 (Oxford, 2010), p. 44 (a detailed study of Domesday Book and part of the *Textus Roffensis*). St Augustine's Abbey had a ship of its own in the early twelfth century. Hamo, the son of Odo's knight Vitalis of Canterbury, was instructed in 1116–18 to investigate matters concerning the ship with some honourable neighbours of Sandwich; Urry, *Angevin Kings*, p. 51. Fordwich was recorded in the 1290s as a member of the Cinque Port Sandwich, together with Deal, Stonar and Sarre, which helped provide Sandwich's five ships; K. Murray, ed., *Register of Daniel Rough: Common Clerk of Romney 1353–1380*, Kent Records 16 (Ashford, 1945), pp. 241–2. A list of ship-service in a fourteenth-century hand gives Reculver rather than Stonar, but such lists are numerous and have many slight variations; MS CCCC 189, fol. 35v.

19 Via the Sandwich road Fordwich was nearly 5.5 miles from Canterbury; M. Lyle, *English Heritage Book of Canterbury* (London, 1994), pp. 51, 59; R. Gem, 'The Significance of the 11th-Century Rebuilding of Christ Church and St Augustine's, Canterbury, in the Development of Romanesque Architecture', *Medieval Art and Architecture at Canterbury before 1220*, BAA Conference Transactions 5 (London, 1982), pp. 1–2, 17.

20 C. E. Woodruff, 'Fordwich Municipal Records', *Arch. Cant.* 18 (1889), 78. Fordwich parish church became a place of pilgrimage to the Holy Cross, perhaps locally, or for those making a longer journey to several cults, documented in the fourteenth century; MS CCAL U/4/4/143.

21 Draper, *Rye*, pp. 17–18. By 1218 the hundred court of Fordwich was recording property conveyances in the town; Woodruff, *History of Fordwich*, p. 52.

of Fordwich to St Augustine's.[22] A charter of Henry II (1154–89) confirmed to the *boni homines* or good men of Fordwich 'all the laws and customs which they more fully had of the Kings Edward, William the first and second and King Henry our grandfather'. They were also granted specific liberties relating to trade and credit: the right to have a guild merchant; freedom from toll throughout the kingdom; and freedom from interference by the king's sheriff or bailiff in matters of debt, or land and tenements that lay within in the town. Merchants and traders from several places were granted exemption from tolls at Fordwich, including all the freemen of the Cinque Ports, the burgesses of Canterbury, the men of the archbishop, and those of the town of Milton Regis, which lay on the north Kent coast and the shipping route to London. The men of the abbots of St Albans and Battle (both major trading towns and the abbeys held land in east Kent) were also exempt from tolls at Fordwich, as were the people of Antwerp, the count of Guînes (Pas-de-Calais) and Sir Ingelram de Fiennes, a descendant of Anglo-Norman lords, and all their freemen. These examples highlight Fordwich's significance as an outport of Canterbury for local, regional and Continental trade. Fordwich, like New Romney, Southampton, Ipswich, Norwich and London, charged taxes (maletotes) on goods bought and sold in the town. Fordwich's undated list of maletotes pre-dates the expulsion of the Jews in 1290, who were noted as being charged 4d, as opposed to others 2d, if they travelled on a passenger ship stopping at Sandwich. The list includes many foodstuffs and spices, equipment for ships, many kinds of hides and skins, and the most valuable fur, sable. The maletotes were paid to St Augustine's Abbey, which over the course of the thirteenth century did its best to prevent cheap and effective use of this outport by its 'rival' Christ Church Priory, although it was eventually obliged to allow it to have a crane house on the quayside.[23] Some industrial activity took place at Fordwich and was another focus of rivalry. Across the Great Stour from Fordwich lay St Augustine's manor of Sturry, where dyers and weavers had set up in competition with those of Canterbury by the early thirteenth century. The Canterbury dyers and weavers had those of Sturry suppressed in 1237, and also those of St Augustine's manor of Littlebourne, four miles away from Canterbury on the Little Stour.[24]

22 Twenty-five of the townsmen, mostly English, were also named; Urry, *Angevin Kings*, p. 1, n. 7. The grant of 1111 and others in MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. F47, 1–10, derive from the abbey's acquisition of Fordwich and its temporary loss to Odo and Hamo the sheriff, and are given by Woodruff, 'Fordwich Municipal Records', 79–80.

23 The charter omitted the reign (and its civil war) of Stephen and Matilda, who in any case favoured Faversham (below). The Fordwich custumal preserves material beginning with this charter of Henry II. It was possibly first written down the late thirteenth century although the copy that survived in the Fordwich archive is in a fifteenth-century hand; Woodruff, 'Fordwich Municipal Records', 79, 92. The exemptions of the Antwerpers, Guînes and Fiennes (?born 1147) were recorded in the Sandwich custumal; Woodruff, *History of Fordwich*, pp. 16, 32–5; Murray, *Register of Daniel Rough*, pp. xvii, xix.

24 Urry, *Angevin Kings*, pp. 121–2. Urry revealed the lives of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century Canterbury inhabitants in his chapters 5 and 8 on their homes, trades and occupations.

Canterbury

A view of Kent in the ninth century that is unparalleled elsewhere in England is provided by several types of evidence: a large number of charters mostly surviving in contemporary copies, and also coins, letters and annals. The evidence concerns the kings Cuthred and Coenwulf, the archbishops of Canterbury, and the community of Christ Church Priory. It opens up a view of the economy and polity across the kingdom of Kent where ecclesiastical landholdings were spread, including of course the city of Canterbury itself. King Coenwulf wished to favour the archbishops Æthelheard (792–805) and Wulfred (805–32) by ensuring they were able to cheaply reclaim estates that had been confiscated by King Offa (757–96) and redistributed to his thegns.[25] The estates reclaimed between 792 and 832 lay mainly on or north of Watling Street, on the north Kent coast, in east Kent near the two principal Roman roads, and in the Darent valley (where the market village of Otford and the town of Sevenoaks later developed).[26] The archbishop's *familia* and the community at Christ Church relied on food renders from their large rural estates, which could easily be delivered by road, or along rivers, or around the coast and up the Great Stour to the port at Fordwich.[27] As well as regaining these large estates, Archbishop Wulfred acquired urban property in Canterbury in the form of one *mansio* with an enclosure, and three and a half *hagae* or 'haws' on the south side of the church of the Saviour (the cathedral). A haw was an enclosed urban plot with associated resources and land outside the city, in this case two water meadows on the east side of the Stour.

This pattern of linked urban and rural landholding itself drew 'important nobles and their retainers to the city on frequent occasions'.[28] In the period c.818 to 822 there were five royal and four archiepiscopal moneyers at Canterbury, reflecting the needs of trade in the city. They minted exceptional coins whose designs very frequently omitted the names of King Coenwulf or Archbishop Wulfred as a result of a bitter

25 There is also an exceptional series of nearly thirty professions of faith by bishops to the archbishop of Canterbury. The community or *hired* at the priory consisted of secular (non-monastic) clerks rather than monks, until the late tenth or early eleventh centuries; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 112–17, 129–31, 257–9.

26 S1619. Greatness (*Gretaniarse* in 821) was a nodal point where the Darent left the major west–east route between the North Downs and the greensand ridge and turned north to Dartford and the Thames. The road from Otford passed Greatness on its way to the developing market town of Sevenoaks, and by 1228 Greatness was the location of the town's leper hospital, on a classic extra-urban route site; R. Clarke, *The Medieval Hospital of St John the Baptist, Sevenoaks* (Sevenoaks, 1971), pp. 2–3. *Seouenaca* and *Greternersce* appear in a pre-Conquest list copied into *Textus Roffensis* of churches paying 9d to Rochester Cathedral for holy chrism oil; MS MALSC DRc/R1, fol. 221; T. Boyle, 'The Development of Churches and Parishes in the Middle Ages', in *Sevenoaks People and Faith: Two Thousand Years of Religious Belief and Practice*, ed. D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), map 3, pp. 13–14. *Stallage* (market dues) was paid in the bailiwick of Otford, where the town of Sevenoaks also lay in 1292–95; F. R. H. Du Boulay, 'The Pipe Roll Account of the See of Canterbury during the Vacancy after the Death of Archbishop Pecham, 1292–5', in *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay, Kent Records 18 (Ashford, 1964), p. 46.

27 Some charters reveal a process of consolidation and fencing of boundaries to facilitate cultivation and administration. A single central *mansio* or manor house was identified at each estate where food rents were to be collected, for example at Graveney near Faversham, Lympne and Eastry; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 138.

28 S168; S1414; Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 28–9, 140.

dispute that developed between them over the monasteries of Reculver and Minster-in-Thanet. Such indications of the nature of urban life in Canterbury then disappear with the West Saxon takeover of the kingdom, since charters and archiepiscopal coins ceased to be produced because of the strained relationship between Archbishop Wulfred and Æthelwulf ,who ruled Kent on behalf of his father, the West Saxon king Egbert (802–39). Much the most serious development was the commencement of Viking raids in the early ninth century and the sacking of the city in 850 or 851, and a further attack in about 893 (see Brookes, this volume). During this period the Canterbury mint, previously the leading one in England, produced few coins, reinforcing the economic setback to the town.[29] When the moneyers were willing or able to recommence minting in c.920, the growth of mints in other boroughs in Kent and beyond was well under way.[30]

The attraction of Canterbury for the Viking raiders lay in its well-established role as a socio-religious centre and its urban development, which were already in evidence by the late 830s.[31] There was a specialised market for cattle and perhaps one for fish, and a valuable urban land market with buildings being extended and subdivided; this was regulated by a court in which the *burhwara*, the townspeople, enforced local customary law. In the mid ninth century Canterbury was exceptional in already having forms of social organisation and even urban self-government, which can be explored through the lists of groups of people witnessing charters relating to the lands of Christ Church Priory. Two groups described as *ingan burgware* and *utan burgware*, in-dwellers and out-dwellers, witnessed charters at this time, and were perhaps magnates living inside the city, or beyond the borough (*burh*) itself but in the surrounding lathe of Canterbury.[32] They formed two of the three *geferscipas* (fellowships or fraternities) that also witnessed charters in the next century.[33] Furthermore they are to be associated with the *boni homines* of the city, some of whom were the portreeves or king's reeves, who collected tolls and had authority over the markets and borough courts (see Bennett and Berg, this volume, for a detailed assessment of Canterbury). Such men were among the wealthy traders and professionals who played important roles in the development of urban societies and their institutions in Europe and England in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Of particular importance was

29 Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 29–31, 133–7.

30 Minting in the *wics* and emporia of south-east England and its relationship with the primary and second phases of trade development, from c.710 and c.920 respectively, are summarised in Draper, *Rye*, pp. 4–5.

31 M. Gardiner, R. Cross, N. Macpherson-Grant, I. Riddler et al., 'Continental Trade and Non-Urban Ports in Mid-Anglo-Saxon England: Excavations at *Sandtun*, West Hythe, Kent', *Archaeological Journal* 158 (2001), 277, noted that Canterbury had a market by the middle of the eighth century. Canterbury had a long-term dependence on trade and socio-religious activities rather than being an important centre of production; C. Andrews, 'Roman Canterbury', in *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. T. Lawson and D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), p. 22.

32 Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 24, 28, 378, n.153. The lathes were the primary divisions of the kingdom of Kent, themselves divided into hundreds, perhaps in the tenth century; Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, note to Index of Places.

33 S1506; S1215.

the freedom to hold and run the town 'at farm' from the king by payment of a rent.[34]

The third fraternity was composed of a large number of people, perhaps two thousand, the *micle gemettan*, headed by one Æthelwine, for whom board and food were provided by the magnates and burgesses. There was also a guild of *cnihtas* in the mid ninth century, probably composed of the agents or retainers of the noble families holding both rural land and urban property. Their role is likely to have been overseeing the marketing of produce and animals in the city, and other trade and business. When the guild next features in documents, in Domesday Book and again between 1093 and 1109, it is as a merchants' or burgesses' guild (*ceapmannegild* or *gilda burgensium*).[35] In possessing such a guild, Canterbury resembled Dover and New Romney, and the Sussex boroughs of Lewes and Chichester (which were respectively the county towns of east and west Sussex) and more distantly Oxford and Burford. A feature of the Canterbury burgesses' guild was that it held rents from property (forty-five *mansurae* outside the city and thirty-three acres of land) and also haws within the city, some of which were exchanged for others with the Christ Church community. A borough guild is also known at the end of the twelfth or in the early thirteenth century, as is a guildhall of the same period, which might be identifiable with a 'handsome stone crypt' in the High Street in St Mary Breadman parish.[36] However, as William Urry noted, the history of the location of guilds and their halls in the medieval period is complex.

The eleventh century brought considerable changes to Canterbury society (see Bennett and Berg, this volume): perhaps most notable were the topographical alterations that took place after the Conquest, especially the building of a new castle and archbishop's palace. This involved some relocation and destruction of properties, and more broadly native lay and religious institutions as well as individuals were replaced by Norman landholders and seldom recovered their properties in later years.[37] Nevertheless, Norman and Angevin Canterbury witnessed considerable growth during the period between the Conquest and the translation of St Thomas in 1220 (see Weekes

34 The formal grant was made to the citizens in 1234 but its origins can be traced back to Domesday Book, Urry, *Angevin Kings*, pp. 40–3, 82, 87, 211, 443–4. The late (post-Conquest) foundation of Rye and its early records make visible the activities of such men, there called *prudhommes*; that is law-worthy men, householders and freeholders. They negotiated with the lord, Fécamp Abbey, the 'farm' of the town (a payment of 33s 4d annually from urban rents), the division of the profits of the main economic activity (fishing), and the establishment of the leper hospital, as well as confirmation of the town's rights as a member of the Cinque Ports confederation, Draper, *Rye*, pp. 16–18, 66, 91.

35 The other Canterbury guild in Domesday Book was in the house of St Gregory and its 'clerks', secular (non-monastic) canons; Urry, *Angevin Kings*, p. 125.

36 The early Canterbury and Dover guilds and guildhalls were of the 'alms of the king', perhaps confirming individual gifts. The purpose of twelfth-century guilds was to hold property, but later they controlled the right to trade by freemen; Urry, *Angevin Kings*, pp. 88, 125–30, 341. Sandwich's guildhall is recorded by the mid twelfth century but its nature is unknown, Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, p. 41.

37 W. Urry, *The Normans in Canterbury* (Canterbury, 1959), pp. 1, 3–4, 6, 8, 11. Urry drew on the *Gesta Guillelmi* of William of Poitiers, who wrote as 'a member of the conquering side'; N. Webber, 'England and the Norman Myth', in *Myths, Rulership, Church and Charters*, ed. J. Barrow and A. Wareham (Aldershot, 2008), p. 220.

and Heath, this volume), a prime marker of the city's prosperity being the magnificent cathedral.[38]

Dover

At Dover there was some settlement within the area of the former Roman fort in the seventh century.[39] By 928 the existence of a mint indicates a sizeable community and Dover had a burgesses' guildhall recorded in Domesday Book.[40] Since King Edward's time, the burgesses had provided twenty ships once a year to the king for fifteen days and in return had received *sacca et socca*, the jurisdictional rights and financial customs that other Cinque Ports did not receive until the second half of the twelfth century.[41] The burgesses also provided money towards the transport of the king's messengers and their horses, and most importantly, a steersman and an assistant, undoubtedly to act as pilots across the Channel or up the Thames.[42] The number of burgesses at Dover in 1086 is not given, although twenty-nine *mansurae* whose dues the king had lost were recorded; the term *domus* is also used of them. Of these twenty-nine *mansurae*, twenty-six were held by eleven men from Odo, the bishop of Bayeux, their 'giver, protector and deliverer'. The burgesses' guildhall was among the twenty-nine *mansurae*. There was also a tide mill at the entrance of the port (*in introitu portus*) that caused a 'great disturbance of the sea'.[43] It was presumably located where the river Dour flowed into the sea, but the entry reveals nothing else of the nature of any harbour here at this time.

On the hilltop to the eastern side of the town there were simple timber and earth

38 The cathedral itself was rebuilt after a fire of 1070, and pilgrims from far and near made regular donations at the tomb of St Thomas Becket even while it remained in the crypt before its translation to the Trinity Chapel in 1220; M. Berg, 'Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Charters containing Pledges naming Thomas Becket', *Arch. Cant.* 125 (2005) 299–305. The transformation of the cathedral from 'a cult- to a pilgrimage-centred building' is set out in P. Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England, 1170–1300* (New Haven and London, 2004), p. 18. Important works on Canterbury Cathedral to the eleventh century are noted in J. Barrow's introduction to *Myths*, ed. Barrow and Wareham, pp. 4–8.

39 Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', p. 203, interpreted timber buildings there as two successive great halls, although their excavator, Brian Philp, and Keith Parfitt interpreted the structure as a church (below).

40 Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, D:8. Dover's population cannot be estimated from Domesday Book (below) but its ship-service indicates that 420 mariners were made available when required, implying that there were about 2000 people in mariner households.

41 Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, D:2. The townsfolk were also exempt from toll throughout England; ibid., D:3, D:5. Later rights granted to other Cinque Ports and towns were more specific and did not entail, as at Dover, the transfer of full jurisdiction.

42 The liberty and manor of Grange, a small settlement on the lower Medway estuary near Gillingham and member of Hastings, similarly provided a pilot for the portsmen of Hastings when they were summoned to sail to Westminster on ceremonial duties. By c.1120 Robert de Hastings, son of Godwin *frenesna*, held 1.25 sulungs in Grange; MS BL Cotton Claudius C. iv, fols 154–5, cited in C. Flight, 'A List of the Holders of Land in Kent, c.1120', *Arch. Cant.* 125 (2005), 374; F. Meddens and G. Draper, 'Out on a Limb: Insights into Grange, a Small Member of the Cinque Ports Confederation', *Arch. Cant.* 135 (2014), 19–32.

43 Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, D:8, D:10.

defences where William the Conqueror undertook further works, although the stone castle was not erected until between the 1180s and 1256.[44] The castle replaced the hilltop stronghold, which had a church of the late tenth or early eleventh century, but the major part of the Norman town was in the valley to the west of the castle and separated from it by the river Dour. On the eastern seaward flank of the town, below the castle and about 330 yards (300m) from central medieval Dover, was the beachfront, which lay on a sand and shingle ridge. Here basic timber houses and other buildings dated between 1150 and 1250 have been excavated. Some of them belonged to seafaring families, probably including some Dover Portsmen, who provided ship service, while others were occupied by workers on the castle and those who supplied them with food, drink and materials. One building was a small brewery or even a tavern; similar taverns existed in Rye, including one on the strand, and they were focal points for the making of trading deals by the town elite involving the shipping of goods and credit.[45] The Dover beachfront provided a sizeable area for fishing and related activities, and the earliest buildings may have been only seasonally occupied. From c.1175 there was an intensification of settlement in this part of Dover, which occupied land either previously not required for permanent habitation or that became available due to coastal change. Another building may have been a smoke-house for curing fish, of which herring was most important, as at New Romney and Rye.[46] However, this fishing area began to decline by the early thirteenth century as new technologies emerged, including the vessels called cogs that required deep water, and Folkestone grew in significance at the expense of Dover. Little is known about any harbour even in 1216 when William le Breton said there was none, and it may be that vessels were only hauled up on the beach.

The central part of medieval Dover, to the west of the beachfront and castle area, was protected by several gates and a wall. It appears that walls of some kind ran between the gates of Dover before 1231 when they are mentioned in a charter: all the rents and appurtenances given to St Mary's Hospital by Turgis de Illeye were said to be within the walls. The siege of Dover in 1216–17 may have prompted the building of such a wall.[47] To the south of the beachfront on the eastern side was a sea wall, which may also have been constructed in the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries as

44 For this and what follows see K. Parfitt, B. Corke and J. Cotter, with contributions by E. Allison, S. Sweetinburgh et al., *Townwall Street, Dover: Excavations 1996*, CAT, The Archaeology of Canterbury, new series 3 (Canterbury, 2006), pp. 1, 6–9, 12, 17, 19, 393, 395, 397–8, 417. Their figure 3 is a helpful reconstruction map of medieval Dover.

45 I. Riddler, 'Mediaeval Dover and the North Sea', in *Fishery, Trade and Piracy: Fishermen and Fishermen's Settlements in and around the North Sea Area in the Middle Ages and Later*, ed. M. Pieters, G. Verhaeghe, J. Mees and J. Seys, Vlaams Institut voor de Zee Special Publication 15 (Ostend, 2003), pp. 17–18; Draper, *Rye*, pp. 69–74, 117, 167.

46 Herring formed 81 per cent of fish remains at the beachfront excavation site, but cod was important too at 13 per cent.

47 S. Sweetinburgh, 'Wax, Stone and Iron: Dover's Town Defences in the Late Middle Ages', *Arch. Cant.* 124 (2004), 186. The Rhee Canal (below) had a sluice at Snargate on Romney Marsh; J. Eddison, 'The Purpose, Construction and Operation of a 13th-Century Watercourse', in *Romney Marsh: Coastal and Landscape Change through the Ages*, ed. A. Long, S. Hipkin and H. Clarke, Oxford University School of Archaeology Monograph 56 (Oxford, 2002), pp. 130–1.

part of the defences; however its existence is conjectural. The importance of the town defences and the servicing required in a growing urban settlement are both highlighted by the occupational by-names of two Christ Church tenants in Dover: Thomas le archer and Adam le butcher.

In the mid twelfth century there were ten sets of rents in Dover from land that belonged to Christ Church Priory, Canterbury.[48] Elsewhere, the monks of Dover were tenants of 'the land which was Robert Clobbere's next to the stone bridge', which presumably crossed the river Dour. This river ran southwards between water meadows on the eastern side of central Dover and was crossed by three roads leading to the beachfront area and St James' church, adjacent to Christ Church land. The river was also crossed by a more northerly road running towards 'Upmarket' and the castle. One of these roads would have run across a bridge, which belonged to someone named Godebore, close to which lay a mill, perhaps a tide mill. The land between Godebore's bridge and the mill commanded the highest rent (5s) among the priory's possessions in Dover. A reflection both of its thriving economy at this time and the practice of partible inheritance is the subdivision of pieces of land in Dover between brothers. For example, the heirs of Terric the goldsmith of Canterbury jointly held land next to one of the bridges; while Alekin, son of William and Hegenilde of Canterbury held land next to Alexander, another son of the same couple. Bradestrete or le Brodestrete lay in Balles Ward and Horspole Ward. Its name, meaning 'broad street', and the location of two properties belonging to St Bartholomew's Hospital, which also lay on Brodestrete, suggest it may have been the wide road running in from Cow Gate and leading to the open area, perhaps the shambles, to the south of the market square.[49] At the Cinque Port of Hastings it is postulated that a 'new town' was created in the twelfth century, which was separated from the castle area by a creek, a layout somewhat similar to Dover's. Behind the line of the town wall at Hastings the hundred meeting place, court house, market and the shambles lay close together within a very roughly rectilinear layout of streets.[50] Moreover the Cinque Ports shared a strong tradition of very early civic record-making, literacy and education, often linked to a collegiate church.[51]

48 For this and what follows, see MS CCAL DCc Reg. H, fol. 15v and DCc Reg. K, fol. 47r, which contain two formally undated rentals in the second of which the names of the tenants were updated, probably in the very early thirteenth century. The rents were all described as deriving from land (*terra*) rather than in specific urban terms used in later medieval documents, such as *placia* or *pecia*, probably because they were effectively ground rents. Two of these lands were described as bordered by houses upon them, that of Adam le butcher and of Baldewin Morin and his brothers, suggesting that such land lying along a street either already had, or in time would have, houses upon it also.

49 One property which bounded le Brodestrete to the north-west had a lane on the south-west leading to the sea, thus locating it on the southerly side of the town. Consequently Brodestrete could instead have been the fairly wide lane leading in from Adrian Gate. The streets of medieval Dover seem to have originated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and remained largely unchanged, apart from their names, until the early twentieth century; Parfitt et al., *Townwall*, pp. 2, 6, fig. 3, pp. 9, 18.

50 A 'didactic slate' of c.1180–1200 inscribed with an alphabet, religious phrases and the Lord's Prayer was excavated here; D. Rudling, L. Barber and D. Martin, 'Excavations at the Phoenix Brewery Site, Hastings, 1988', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 131 (1993), fig. 1, fig. 4, 77, 74, 78, 103–4.

51 G. Draper, 'The Education of Children in Kent and Sussex: Interpreting the Medieval and Tudor Ways', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 52 (2008), 213–42.

There was an ancient minster church in Dover, perhaps of the late seventh century, which was dedicated to St Martin and was situated in the former Roman fort where the medieval town later developed. Presumably destroyed by the Vikings at the end of the ninth century, it was apparently refounded on the eastern hilltop (St Mary de Castro) in the early eleventh, before the canons were forced to move again, receiving in 1070 the new Norman collegiate church of St Martin-le-Grand. As well as two 'daughter' churches of St Martin-le-Grand, there were a further three parish churches in Norman Dover.[52] In 1131 Archbishop Corbeil (1123–36) intended that this collegiate church should become an Augustinian priory (see Heath, this volume). However, his plans were defeated by the monks of Christ Church and a new priory was built on the western side of the town, whose monks followed the Benedictine rule.[53] St Martin-le-Grand then became a parish church with its two 'daughter' parishes.

The town also had two hospitals: the first was that of St Bartholomew, which was founded in 1141 by two monks from Dover Priory and endowed with charitable grants of land and houses in various wards and streets of the town. St Bartholomew's was sited at Buckland to the north of the town, close to the road to London. At first it accommodated pilgrims and the poor, but apparently also lepers by 1189.[54] Its location was ideal for the many pilgrims bound for Rome who came to Dover to cross the channel to the port of Wissant, which was the one normally used by Dover vessels in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[55] Dover was also the port used by the heads of religious houses in Normandy when they travelled to England to do homage for their possessions there, and by the heads of English priories travelling to Normandy to defend their landed interests. There was also a large traffic across the Channel by merchants and – at least until 1204 when King John (1199–1216) 'lost' Normandy – by magnates with holdings in both Normandy and England, such as Richard fitz-Walter who was descended from Gilbert de Tonbridge (Gilbert de Clare).[56] Dover's second hospital was the Maison Dieu or St Mary's, founded by 1221 for pilgrims and for the poor and infirm by the justiciar, earl of Kent and constable of Dover castle,

52 T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Churches of Canterbury Diocese in the 11th Century', in *Minsters and Parish Churches. The Local Church in Transition 950–1200*, ed. J. Blair (Oxford, 1988), pp. 106, 110–11.

53 The history of St Martin's Priory from its foundation in 1136 is given in B. Dobson and E. Edwards, 'The Religious Houses of Kent, 1220–1540', in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220–1540*, ed. S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 88, 97–8, and the ongoing conflict over jurisdiction between archbishops and Christ Church in *VCH Kent*, 2, pp. 133–7.

54 Parfitt et al., *Townwall*, pp. 7–9; S. Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England: Gift-giving and the Spiritual Economy* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 136–40, 170–2.

55 The route from Dover provided the shortest crossing; K. Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester, 1935), p. 79.

56 Richard fitzWalter was head of a junior branch of the great Clare family and lord of the barony of Little Dunnow in Essex. He acquired his Norman lands from his marriage to Gunnor de Valognes at the end of the twelfth century; D. Power, 'Cross-Channel Communication and the End of the "Anglo-Norman Realm": Robert fitzWalter and the Valognes Inheritance', *Tabularia* 11 (2011), 1–33. Political and military conditions in the Ports between 1204 and 1247 are reviewed in Draper, *Rye*, pp. 20–4.

Hubert de Burgh.[57] The castle played a strategic role in de Burgh's administrative, political and military career, most notably in the civil war of 1215–17.[58]

Folkestone

New archaeological and historical work on Folkestone points up its significance as an early settlement. It was centred on the Bayle, which was the location of an earlier (fifth- or sixth-century) cremation, and of burials associated with the seventh-century minster church and the eleventh-century Benedictine priory.[59] A castle was built near the Bayle, or castle yard, possibly as early as 1067, and certainly by 1086 or 1095, reflecting Folkestone's importance as an entry port to the kingdom. In 991, Olaf Tryggvason, later king of Norway, 'came with ninety-three ships to Folkestone and ravaged round about it, and from there to Sandwich, and so from there to Ipswich, and overran it all, and so to Maldon'.[60] In 1052, Godwine, earl of Wessex and of Kent, sailed to Romney, Hythe, Folkestone, Dover and Sandwich seizing ships and taking hostages and provisions, and then sailed on to London via the Wantsum Channel. In 1066 Duke William similarly appreciated the significance of the east Kent ports to his Conquest and subdued them before marching onto London. Odo of Bayeux replaced Harold, Godwine's son, as lord of Folkestone, which had a French tenant, William of Arques. The manor was a large, wealthy and dispersed lordship encompassing what became the town and parts of the area around. Evidence of Folkestone's urban nature is found in the existence of burgesses by c.1103 at the latest. They were, in typical Cinque Ports fashion, engaged in shipping and trade, and their rights were subordinate to those of Dover, of which Folkestone became a member or limb. A second castle, on Castle Hill, is suggested to have been the product of the civil war under Stephen (1135–54), with the king granting his men of Folkestone freedom from toll, passage-money and all customs like those of Dover. The priory church on the headland next to the Bayle doubled as the parish church of St Mary and St Eanswythe. The priory, the first castle and the manor dominated this area. The town developed to the south-east of the Pent Stream, which may have been the original harbour, although vessels of this period could simply be beached, and the fishing settlement lay on shingle on its eastern side. A market grant, or perhaps confirmation, was made in 1205; the triangular market place lay at the top of the High Street. Limited documentary evidence and cliff erosion complicate interpretation of the topography of early

57 S. Sweetinburgh, 'Royal Patrons and Local Benefactors: The Experiences of the Hospitals of St Mary at Ospringe and Dover in the Thirteenth Century', in *Religious and Laity in Northern Europe 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation and Power*, ed. E. Jamroziak and J. Burton (Turnhout, 2007), pp. 111–29.

58 Parfitt et al., *Townwall*, p. 6; F. West, 'Burgh, Hubert de, Earl of Kent (c.1170–1243)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), 18, pp. 776–81.

59 I. Coulson, ed., *Folkestone to 1500: A Town Unearthed* (Canterbury, 2013), pp. 61, 72,

60 For this and following; Coulson, *Folkestone to 1500*, pp. 77–107, and citing the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* A version.

medieval Folkestone, but reconstruction maps make clear that it developed organically and was by no means laid out on a grid plan.[61]

Sandwich

By c.1000 Sandwich was 'an incipient medieval town'. It was built on a 'greenfield site', one without a predecessor town, not least because of the changing nature of its location surrounded by the flood plains of the rivers Wantsum and Stour.[62] There were two topographical keys to the success of Sandwich. The first was the network of Roman roads in its hinterlands, which survived in good metalled condition in the early Middle Ages. These gave access to the important places of east Kent: Canterbury, Dover and Eastry, and others such as Richborough (which in the medieval period was a small place with a chapel) and Stonar (which lay on a shingle bank across the Stour to which an early route, causeway and ferry led). The second key was its sheltered anchorage, which, in addition, provided access via the Wantsum Channel for vessels both up the Thames and across the English Channel. The medieval haven of Sandwich included both the anchorage to the east side of the town towards the spit of medieval Pepperness, now Shell Ness, and to the west the navigable part of the river Stour, perhaps as far as Fordwich, which lay on the westernmost boundary of the liberty of Sandwich.[63]

In the early eighth century Sandwich was described as a port (*portum*) when Bishop Wilfred landed safely there, a term that until the eleventh century meant in essence a trading place and/or haven.[64] Helen Clarke et al. reviewed the possible evidence for Sandwich as a *wic* or emporium of international significance and its relationship, if any, to the site of eleventh-century Sandwich. Their working hypothesis envisaged Sandwich as comprising three centres: an ecclesiastical one where the present St Mary's church stands, a royal site linked to Eastry where the castle was later built, and a trading site on the Sandowns to the east of the town. This latter was abandoned in the tenth century and replaced by a commercial area where the present St Clement's church stands and which was built in c.1000.

In the late eleventh century Sandwich was probably one of the twenty largest towns in England, with a mint, and a substantial fishing fleet that formed the basis of its ship-service and future membership of the Cinque Ports confederation. It was

61 Coulson, *Folkestone to 1500*, pp. 73, 107.

62 In contrast, medieval Canterbury and perhaps Dover had Roman predecessors; Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 11–13. A brief summary follows of the archaeological, geological, documentary and buildings evidence for Sandwich, which proposes new, important interpretations.

63 Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 1, 13–18, 61. Compare Old Winchelsea and Rye, which had a similar anchorage between the eleventh century and the late Middle Ages; Draper, *Rye*, pp. 5–6, 30–2, figs 1.4, 2.4.

64 Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, p. 15. Compare Greenwich in Domesday Book where the *portus* is recorded under Lewisham, which was part of the same tenurial and economic unit held by St Peter's Abbey, Ghent; G. Draper, 'Timber and Iron: Natural Resources for the Late Medieval Shipbuilding Industry in Kent', in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220–1540*, ed. S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 63–4.

an important location for the assembling of fleets and remained so throughout the Middle Ages. A reconstruction plan of Sandwich for around 1200 shows the roads leading to the town continued down to the riverside, where wharves were located; they were lined with residential accommodation, and there were two markets, one for fish, and three churches. The Delf watercourse seems to have been diverted round the south side of the town to provide a water supply and came to define the edge of the built-up area. Just as at New Romney and Rye, there is no evidence of the town being laid out on a grid plan in the manner beloved of Maurice Beresford and his followers. The street pattern of Sandwich as it developed in the eleventh century 'depended on the natural topography underlying the inhabited area' and the continuations of routes entering the town, in a similar way to New Romney and Rye.[65]

The lordship of Sandwich was complex and divided in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a result of its regional and national importance. St Augustine's Abbey challenged the rights of the major lord, Christ Church Priory, Canterbury, which may have resulted in the carving out of St Peter's parish from the large and original one of St Clement. St Mary's church may have been built after this, in the late eleventh or mid twelfth centuries.[66] The archbishop of Canterbury held the patronage and advowson of all three churches, although the advowson of St Peter was disputed with St Augustine's Abbey, which acquired some land in the centre of the town either just before or after the Conquest. The townsmen also claimed rights over St Peter's advowson, and a dispute of the late twelfth century exemplifies the suspicious and acrimonious nature of the relationships between the various parties in the town. This dispute was not resolved until 1227, when St Augustine's and the barons of Sandwich agreed to take turns in appointing the rector.[67] Disputes between Christ Church Priory and St Augustine's focused particularly on the Stonar ferry and the waterfront installations in a similar way to those at Fordwich described above. They continued until 1290, when the priory relinquished its rights in Sandwich to the Crown, although it continued to hold property there.[68]

At Sandwich as with the other Cinque Ports and major towns beyond, the relationship that the townsfolk had with their lords was complicated by another factor: the

65 Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 22–5, fig. 3.1, 29, 34–9; G. Draper and F. Meddens, with P. Armitage, G. Egan, C. Jarrett and I. Riddler, *The Sea and the Marsh: The Medieval Cinque Port of New Romney Revealed through Archaeological Excavations and Historical Research*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph 10 (2009), p. 15; Draper, *Rye*, pp. 154–9; M. Beresford, *New Towns of the Middle Ages: Town Plantations in England, Wales and Gascony* (Stroud, 1988).

66 It is suggested that Christ Church Priory 'probably needed an headquarters from which to administer its rights', and that this was in St Mary's parish on the western side of the town; Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 29–32, 40, 48–9, map on endpaper.

67 Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 48. 'Barons' was initially used by the monarch as a convenient term of honour to address men of the Cinque Ports; that is the whole commonalty. Over time it became restricted by members of the elite to themselves and effectively became synonymous with freemen, Draper, *Rye*, pp. 94–5, 99–100. The same diminution of the commonalty's status occurred at Fordwich, Woodruff, *History of Fordwich*, p. 57.

68 Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 8, 41. Cnut's grant of the port of Sandwich to the priory and its rights 'on both sides of the water', and of the houses and dues in the town by Odo, were set out in an *inspeximus* dated between 1235 and 1244, part of the ongoing territorial disputes; MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. R15.

rights that they were able to negotiate with their lord and the king regarding paying the 'fee farm' and being able to run the town themselves. The evidence is very slight, but there was a mayor in the early thirteenth century (1214), although the Sandwich townsmen did not receive the fee farm probably because of the lordship of the monks.[69] In towns where the evidence of early charters, seals and accounts is greater, the process of negotiation between townsmen, lord and king is clearer, as well as the role of the hundred court as the town court in regulating the market and recording property transactions.[70] However a part played by the Sandwich hundred court can be seen in the spring of 1179, when William Bucel of Sandwich took a lease of Eastry mill from Christ Church Priory for a term of twenty-one years.[71] Bucel travelled to the priory to swear his agreement to the arrangement before the monks and 'many laymen', while his wife and heirs went to the hundred court in Sandwich to pledge his houses as security.

Prosperity in twelfth-century Sandwich is reflected not only in the wealth and buildings of men like Bucel, but on a wider scale in the size and quality of the parish churches and perhaps the development of a few extra streets and a third market, Cornmarket. In 1217 St Bartholomew's Hospital was (re)founded after the naval victory by Henry III's supporters, including the Cinque Portsmen, against the followers of Louis the Dauphin.[72] This civic-controlled hospital prospered over the next 150 years, with the erection of fine buildings, including its surviving chapel.[73]

Inland and Coastal Markets and Towns in South-East Kent

The other two towns that became Head Ports of the Cinque Ports confederation in Kent – Hythe and New Romney – were much smaller than Dover and Sandwich. From the difficult evidence of Domesday Book, it has been calculated that Hythe had a population of a thousand, compared with Sandwich's two thousand and Romney's eight hundred.[74] The lower populations of Hythe and Romney were very largely due

69 Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 41, 58–9. An inquisition of 1127 suggested that trade and the levying of tolls on ships at Stonar had only fairly recently become an issue and that the priory's jurisdiction was clearly settled at that time; A. F. Butcher, 'Sandwich in the Thirteenth Century', *Arch. Cant.* 93 (1977), 27. However, Henry II confirmed the rights of the cathedral priory to hold its liberties and customs in Sandwich as it had under Henry I in a writ dated between 1163 and 1172, MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. C71/6.

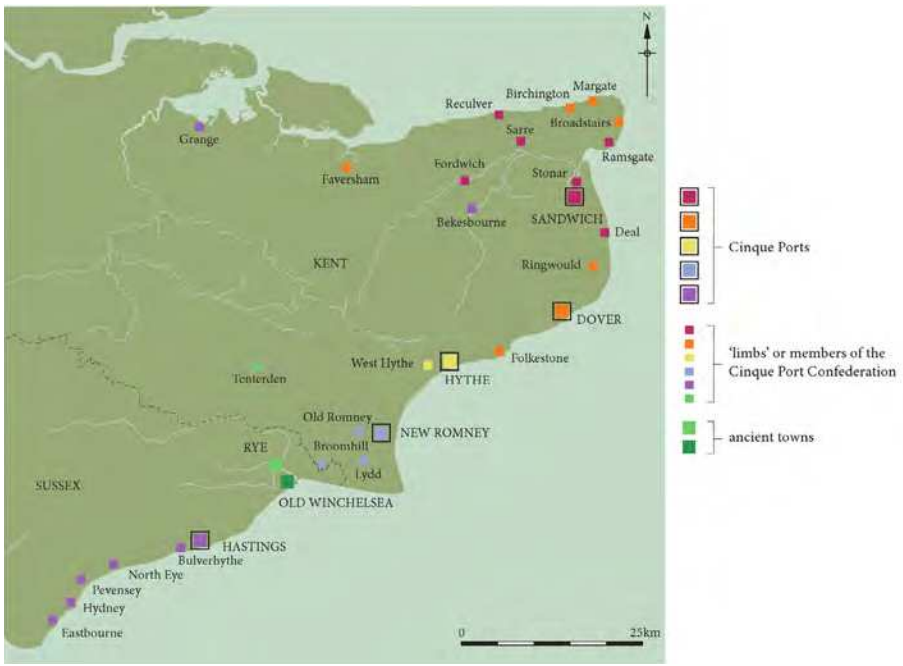
70 Draper, *Rye* pp. 18–25, 91–7. Sandwich was in royal hands when the monks were in exile between 1207 and 1213 in John's reign; Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, p. 58, and in 1229 and repeatedly thereafter; A. Anisimova, 'Mendicants and the Monastic Houses of South-Eastern England', in *The Friars in Britain*, ed. N. Rogers, Harlaxton Medieval Studies (Donington, 2010), p. 322.

71 See Rye for comparison; Draper, *Rye*, pp. 75–6, 165–7.

72 There was also a leper hospital dedicated to St Anthony, although nothing is known about its foundation; Sweetinburgh, *Role of the Hospital*, pp. 187–90, 224–34.

73 Ibid., pp. 201–2, 205–7, 214–17. Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, pp. 41, 48–53, 62, 65, 92, 95.

74 Dover may have been larger than Sandwich and probably second to Canterbury in size. Fordwich, which became a member of Sandwich, had perhaps four hundred people, Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, p. 30, citing H. Darby and E. Campbell, *The Domesday Geography of South-East England* (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 550, 553–4. The survey only recorded the numbers of burgesses, omitting an unknown



Map 3.3 Map of Cinque Ports and their limbs

to their situation and their more remote hinterlands: Hythe lay on the greensand ridge overlooking Romney Marsh near Lympne, and Romney lay on the coast of the Marsh itself.

The area to the south and east of Lympne had an important commercial role from the eighth century (see Draper 'Settlement', this volume). *Sandtun* was a 'non-urban port', a landing place for waterborne trade and a focus for perhaps-seasonal fishing. It functioned between the late seventh or early eighth centuries and the mid ninth, but was not superseded by a formal *wic*.[75] To the west Eastbridge, noted in Domesday Book, apparently possessed one of the early markets of Kent, granted to Hubert de Burgh and from him to the Maison Dieu, Dover.[76] Although neither Eastbridge nor

number of people without this status, and requiring a household multiplier to suggest total population. A further difficulty in Domesday is the description of Seasalter as a 'small borough' like Fordwich, but with a low value of 100s and without any urban characteristics, its inhabitants being described as smallholders (*bordarii*); Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent* 3:16. It provided for 'the archbishop's kitchen' and the 'food of the monks'; F. R. H. Du Boulay, *The Lordship of Canterbury: An Essay on Medieval Society* (London, 1966), p. 21. It may have been a major specialised fish market or supply port for Canterbury rather than a town, T. Lawson, 'Domesday Population, Towns and Landholdings', in *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. T. Lawson and D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), p. 38; Gardiner et al., 'Continental Trade', p. 277.

75 Gardiner et al., 'Continental Trade', pp. 166, 266, 274–7.

76 B. McLain, 'Factors in Market Establishment: The Evidence from Kent 1086–1350', *Arch. Cant.* 117 (1997), 86, 99; Hasted, *History*, 8, pp. 276–80.

Ashford, also mentioned in Domesday, can be categorised as urban at this juncture, the latter would become a significant market town.[77] Eastbridge's market, meanwhile, remained small as the nearby town of Hythe continued to develop.

Hythe seems to have been a settlement from the mid tenth century, when effectively it replaced *Sandtun*. It appears in a 'possible charter' of c.1036 and coins from its mint are recorded from 1044.[78] In 1052, it was one of the ports where Earl Godwine collected ships to attack King Edward.[79] Hythe was recorded as a borough (*burgo*) in Domesday Book together with the manor of Saltwood, which was held by Hugh de Montfort from the archbishop of Canterbury. An important castle at Saltwood was a key part of Montfort's block of territory in south-east Kent with a clear defensive purpose, and the income from Hythe provided a significant boost to the manor's value. The town and its manor of Saltwood were worth only £8 in 1042, but had doubled to £16 by the end of Edward's reign and had more than tripled by 1086. There were 225 burgesses in the borough of Hythe and 6 more there belonging to the archbishop's manor of Lyminge. The church, known in 1086, was probably a two-cell structure and was extended by the addition of tower and aisles in the later twelfth century. This was a typical development around the prosperous east Kent coast, notably in New Romney.[80] It is likely that fishing and coastal trade were much more important in Hythe's economy than overseas commerce. These activities were themselves disrupted by shingle build-up in the harbour by 1230, and no effective action was taken to remedy this for two centuries.

New Romney and Lydd[81]

The earliest origins of Romney can be traced in a charter of 741. In this Æthelberht II, king of Kent, granted to the church of St Mary, Lyminge, a fishery at the mouth of the *Limin aea*, and the land round about on which fishermen's houses or sheds and an oratory dedicated to St Martin were located.[82] There was a mint at Romney in the reigns of Æthelred II (c.978–1016) and Cnut (1016–35), and in 1053 Earl Godwine

77 Both Ashford (Essetesford) and Estefort (identified as South Ashford) appear in Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, 9:3, 9:6. William of Essestesforde was an important witness (the first) to a charter concerning the New Romney leper hospital in c.1220, suggesting that a road between the two was in existence by then; MS Magdalen College Oxford, Romney 53. Ashford's 'Customary Booke' records a market grant of 1248, although it could have been a market village rather than a town at that time; Sweetinburgh, 'Kentish Towns', p. 154, n. 105.

78 Brookes and Harrington, *Kingdom*, p. 135; http://www.redcourt.dsl.pipex.com/gazetteer.pdf [accessed 6 July 2011].

79 For this and what follows see M. Kowaleski, 'The Medieval Cinque Port of Hythe', *The Romney Marsh Irregular* 138 (2011), 4–13; Douglas, *Domesday Monachorum*, p. 67; Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, 2:26, 2:41.

80 M. Berg and H. Jones, *Norman Churches in the Canterbury Diocese* (Stroud, 2009), p. 39.

81 For this and what follows see Draper and Meddens, *New Romney*.

82 Brooks, 'Romney Marsh', pp. 98–9. The name *Limen* was transferred from the *Sandtun*/Hythe inlet to the early estuary of the Rother at Romney, where a church dedicated to St Martin existed later; Gardiner et al., 'Continental Trade', p. 156. The charter, S24, also granted land at nearby Lydd, which became a member of Romney.

and his allies entered the harbour 'and led away all such Ships as they found there'.[83] At the Conquest, Duke William diverted a detachment of men to punish the people of Romney for attacking some of his men who had landed there. However Romney was not on his main route from the site of the battle to Dover, which passed to the north of the Marsh, nor did it have any particular strategic value or defences.[84] At Domesday, Romney was in the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and Robert of Romenal, an Anglo-Norman layman, and there were 156 burgesses. Romney provided men and five ships for service at sea when required by the Crown, for which it later received privileges along with Dover and Sandwich. Fifty burgesses in the borough and twenty-one in Langport, part of the town, had rights in return for service at sea.[85]

The river Rother exited to the sea through the haven of Romney until the late thirteenth century. There is no evidence that what became known as the village of Old Romney was an urban predecessor of New Romney, unless this was the case before the eleventh century; however a 'long port' based on the Rother may have lain between them.[86] The estuary of the Rother was a narrow tidal channel flanked by extensive mud flats. Numerous salterns were located in the slow-flowing water on the sides of the New Romney haven, and temporary fishermen's huts have also been excavated on its eastern side.[87] The early town lay on a shingle bank aligned south-west to north-east, along which ran a sinuous beach track forming the route to Dymchurch.[88] From the late eleventh century New Romney's urban development is clear, with the building of the Romanesque church of St Nicholas. Near the church lay the fish quay and market. The parish church of St Lawrence may have been built a little later; it lay in the crowded commercial quarter, which had a triangular market place where townspeople, including Jews and also French folk, traded at the hemp, butter, poultry and meat markets. Civic and charitable functions were also concentrated in this part of the town.

In 1164 Thomas Becket fled across the Channel from New Romney to Pontigny Abbey, which was rewarded with the advowson and patronage of the churches in the town. Pontigny set up a priory to administer its property there, whose buildings still

83 S. Jeake, *Charters of the Cinque Ports, Two Ancient Towns and Their Members* (London, 1728), p. 108.

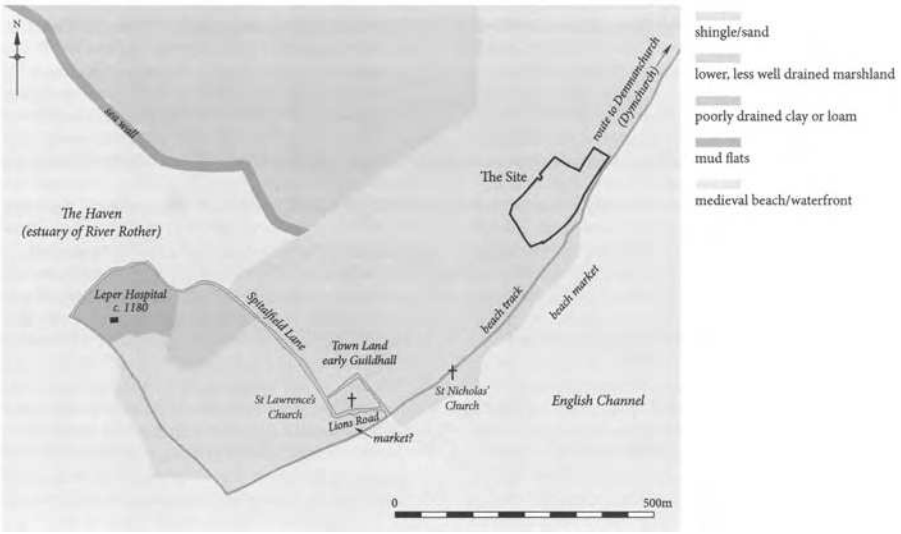
84 T. Forester, trans., *Chronicle of Orderic Vitalis* (1853), http://www.bayeux-tapestry.org.uk/ordericvitalis.htm [accessed 3 July 2011]; G. Banyard, 'Duke William's Conquest of Kent', in *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. T. Lawson and D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), pp. 34–5.

85 The fifty burgesses held from Robert de Romenal to whom Odo had sub-infeudated the borough, although the king had all the service (at sea) from them, in return for which they were exempt from all customary dues except in connection with theft, breach of the peace and highway robbery; similarly at Langport where the twenty-one burgesses held from the same Robert, to whom the archbishop had infeudated the manor. Service was not mentioned in connection with the other eighty-five Romney burgesses who belonged to the manor of Aldington, a more widespread landholding unit. Sandwich paid 'the same service as Dover', which might include ship-service; Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, 2:2, 2:25, 2:43, 5:178.

86 M. Gardiner, 'Old Romney: An Examination of the Evidence for a Lost Saxo-Norman Port', *Arch. Cant.* 114 (1994), 339–45; Draper and Meddens, *New Romney*, pp. 30–2.

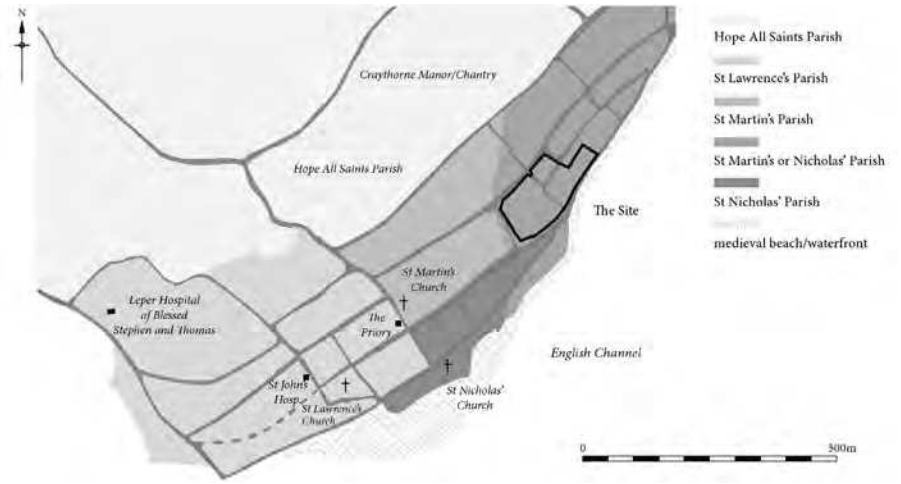
87 J. Holman, 'Preliminary Results of the New Romney First Time Sewerage Scheme', *Romney Marsh Irregular* 37 (2011), 17–18.

88 A similar early waterfront track is suggested at Sandwich, Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, p. 3, and possibly Dover, Parfitt et al., *Townwall*, pp. 3, 17.



Map 3.4: The early street layout of New Romney before c.1220

exist. There is no evidence that conventual life was maintained there but it was an important urban feature and Becket was celebrated in New Romney. The town's leper hospital lay on the edge of town next to the harbour, where inmates could receive alms from those coming into town by road or water. It was established in c.1170 and the name of the Blessed Thomas (Becket) was added to its original dedication to the Blessed Stephen. A wall was built on the harbour side of the hospital that became part



Map 3.5: The industries of New Romney between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries and the new street layout after c.1234 (Pre-Construct Archaeology)

of Spitalfield Lane, which led into the town centre.[89] A large church and cemetery of St Martin, which was linked with Pontigny Abbey, was established, or most probably relocated, opposite the priory on the eastern side of the road to Ashford at the time the street layout was changed.[90]

The street layouts of many towns are analysed purely from maps, an approach that leads to a focus on what are perceived as rectilinear layouts of one period, for example the former suggestion that New Romney was laid out as a new town on a grid plan between c.960 and 1000.[91] However, analysis of the documentary evidence, notably from the abutments of properties in the town clerk's register, examined together with the location of the earliest buildings, reveals that the streets of central New Romney were revised over the course of the early to mid thirteenth century. The 'old' beach trackway or high street was supplanted by a new high street with a cigar-shaped market place and three other long streets with short cross streets, giving the town an approximately rectilinear appearance on later maps. The site of the early guildhall was eventually relocated to the new high street. Long thin 'burgage' plots surrounded the new high street and market, but they date from the thirteenth century, not from New Romney's earlier period of more organic growth based on the underlying geology.[92] Furthermore, a review of previous archaeological interventions and an important new excavation identified the beachfront to the east of the town, as well as industries both there and nearer the town centre. However, silting caused by the storms of the mid to late thirteenth century, especially in 1236, 1250, 1252 and 1287–8, and the increasing draught of vessels, caused problems in the New Romney harbour. The Rhee Canal was constructed to flush out the harbour, but this was unsuccessful and the town had passed its period of greatest economic success by the end of the century.[93]

Lydd, which lay to the south-west of Romney, was a settlement that developed between the late eighth and tenth centuries and may have served as some kind of marketing centre for the fishing and agriculture of the area around.[94] Reclamation of the marsh took place from the middle of the eleventh century and a settled population is then represented by the number of parish churches evidenced in the locality.[95] Lydd had a market grant in 1154, became a corporate member of New Romney and always claimed urban status, not least by its fine two-sided seal that shows both a ship and the church.[96] A grant of Edward II (1307–26) gave the barons of Lydd and Dengemarsh, the area now represented by Dungeness, the same liberties and privileges as

89 Draper and Meddens, *New Romney*, pp. 49–50.

90 There is no information as to the location of St Martin's church before this, or any evidence that St Martin's lay on the site of the early oratory. A second hospital, St John's, was established in the 1260s; S. Sweetinburgh, 'The Hospitals of Medieval Kent', in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220–1540* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 114, n. 18.

91 Beresford, *New Towns*, pp. 202, 459.

92 Draper and Meddens, *New Romney*, pp. 15–18. The settlement was often but not always known as Romney, rather than Old or New Romney, in the Middle Ages; Murray, *Register of Daniel Rough*, pp. xxxvii, 48–9, 152, 162, 165, 167, 174, 183.

93 Eddison, 'Purpose, Construction and Operation of a 13th-century watercourse', pp. 127–39.

94 S24, S111; Brooks, 'Romney Marsh', pp. 98–9.

95 These are mapped in Draper, *Rye*, fig. 1.4, p.7.

96 McLain, 'Market Establishment', 99, 103; Sweetinburgh, 'Kentish Towns', p. 138.

the barons of New Romney and the other Cinque Ports.[97] However, for the period up to 1220 there is no direct evidence of the nature of any urban activity at Lydd. There may be a hint of Lydd's involvement in Cinque Ports activity in the record of Hamo of Lydd witnessing a grant made in the hundred court of Sandwich in the mid thirteenth century. In this, the town clerk of Sandwich bestowed a significant piece of land there on Christ Church Priory, perhaps on the town's behalf. Other witnesses included the reeve of Sandwich and one Roger of Ipswich. Witnesses to thirteenth-century charters were chosen for good reasons in towns of the Cinque Ports confederation, and can often be identified as members of the body that effectively formed the town government. Hamo may have been such a man with origins in Lydd as a trader or fishing master.[98]

Faversham

Faversham began to be formally associated with Dover as part of the Cinque Ports confederation from 1229, but by then it already had a very long history as a significant settlement.[99] It lay a little off the old London to Dover route but on a ridge of downland, Everitt's 'Foothills', the most fertile part of the county.[100] The earliest occurrence of the place name occurs in 811 in the form *Fefres ham*, which can be taken to mean homestead, village or estate of the smith. Faversham was a Saxon 'primary town' and may have been granted a market after the councils of Æthelstan that were held there and at Milton Regis in 930 and 932.[101] It was situated on a tidal creek where there may have been a harbour that served the market at Rochester.[102] A large cemetery of four acres surrounded the Saxon church, which itself was rebuilt after it was granted to St Augustine's Abbey by the Conqueror. As a royal manor, some of the tenants, the villein sokemen of whom there were thirty in Domesday Book, had rights that resembled those of burgesses elsewhere: freedom from tolls, and from the jurisdiction of the sheriff and outside courts except those of Common Pleas and Ancient Demesne. No burgesses were recorded but there were three *hagae*

97 MS KHLC Ly/Fac1, fols 142–3v, cited in L. Barber and G. Priestley-Bell, with M. Gardiner and S. Sweetinburgh, *Medieval Adaptation, Settlement and Economy of a Coastal Wetland: The Evidence from around Lydd, Romney Marsh, Kent* (Oxford, 2008), p. 28.

98 MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. S248; Draper, *Rye*, pp. 91–4.

99 D. Harrington and P. Hyde, *The Early Town Books of Faversham c.1251 to 1581*, 2 vols (Folkestone, 2008), 1, p. xlvii.

100 A. Everitt, *Continuity and Colonization: The Evolution of Kentish Settlement* (Leicester, 1986), p. 70. For the route from Dover to *Londinium*, later Watling Street, see M. Gaimster, 'Saxons in Deptford', *London Archaeologist* 11:2 (2005), 35. From west of Deptford to east of Greenwich there may have been two routes, with a third, a northern detour, through Woolwich, a pre-Domesday settlement, to Erith; G. Brown, 'Roman Greenwich', *Arch. Cant.* 122 (2002), map 1, 307. On John Speed's map of 1611 the boundary of Kent lay between Southwark and Deptford. Deptford, Greenwich, Lewisham and Woolwich became part of London in 1889, F. Hull, *Ordnance Survey Historical Guides: Kent* (Southampton, 1988), p. 28.

101 S168. For this and what follows see, Harrington and Hyde, *Faversham*, 1, pp. xxxi, xxxvi–lii.

102 Gardiner et al., 'Continental Trade', 277.

'in the City of Canterbury', which represent urban plots with rural resources attached, and which were used probably from time to time by their holders in Faversham. Like the entries of the other royal manors, Milton, Dartford and Aylesford, that of Faversham emphasises its connection to its rural hinterland, both nearby and in the Weald, and its assets on the tidal creek: a mill and two salt-houses.[103] Only the market and the *hagae* in Canterbury make Faversham appear urban at this time.[104]

The lordship of Faversham was closely linked to the politics of the mid twelfth century. Stephen of Blois was Henry I's chosen heir in preference to his nephew William Clito or his daughter the Empress Matilda. Stephen was at the centre of the Anglo-Norman political world and had large estates in England and Normandy. In 1135, after Henry's death, Stephen came swiftly to England to take the throne with his wife Matilda of Boulogne. Matilda herself was heir to considerable estates in south-east England, including London and Essex. Stephen was crowned in Canterbury Cathedral and, ruling jointly, they controlled the castles of Dover, Canterbury and Rochester and the royal manors in Kent. By 1138, however, they were embroiled in civil war with the supporters of Empress Matilda, Henry I's daughter, her half-brother Robert of Gloucester, and magnates whose power base was in western England. Queen Matilda used her kinsman, William of Ypres, and his powerful Flemish mercenaries to support her efforts to keep her husband on the throne. One of her and Stephen's actions was to grant the royal manor of Faversham to William in 1141, a critical year that saw considerable changes of fortune for both sides. Consequently, at the Christmastide crown-wearing in Canterbury Cathedral that same year both husband and wife wore their crowns in order to restate their power.

The civil war consisted mainly of besieging castles, together with the creation of new castles by the supporters of each side, such as the one erected by the Maminot family near Deptford, close to Stephen's urban property at Southwark.[105] Castles were the key to holding large swathes of territory but it was also important to control the north Kent route from Dover to London, from which the crossing points of the Thames to Essex could also be reached. Even though hostilities continued, the focus was increasingly on the succession, whether it was to be Stephen and Matilda's son, Eustace, or the Empress's son, Henry. Negotiations for peace and a settlement took place from at least in 1146, and in 1148 to 1149 Matilda spent some time at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, supervising the establishment of Faversham Abbey, a joint

103 Æthelberht II granted a saltern at Faversham in 858; S328. Between the seventh and ninth centuries, Faversham, Milton and Rainham had a non-monetized economy, in contrast to that of the 'trading zone' on the east Kent coast; Welch, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent', p. 247.

104 A hint of the urban nature of Dartford is its possession of 'two hythes (*hedae*); that is two ports (*portus*)', the first term perhaps distinguishing them from rights such as freedom from tolls at ports like Greenwich. In addition, Dartford had three small churches as well as the main one, an unusual feature, and in the time of King Edward, Osward the sheriff leased some of the assets of Dartford to the *prepositus* (reeve) of London. Aylesford however appears almost entirely rural apart from the holding of a substantial part of the manor that lay near Rochester by one Ansgot, perhaps Ansgot of Rochester, and a smaller part by the bishop of Rochester in exchange for the land on which the (Rochester) castle stood; Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, 1:1–4, 5:39, 5:68, 5:69, 5:91, 5:92, 5:109.

105 Gaimster, 'Saxons in Deptford', 35.

foundation with her husband. William of Ypres was obliged to exchange Faversham for lands at Milton Regis and Lillechurch (Higham) on the north Kent marshes, where Stephen and Matilda had founded a nunnery for their daughter, Princess Mary of Blois.[106] The deaths in quick succession of Matilda (1152), Eustace (1153) and Stephen (1154), all buried at Faversham Abbey, meant that the succession was settled upon Empress Matilda's son, who was crowned Henry II. The abbey remained a royal mausoleum only for these three people, and at the Dissolution it was destroyed and Stephen's bones thrown into Faversham Creek.

Milton Regis and the North Kent Coast

The hundred of Middleton centred on Milton Regis was the 'king's hundred' because its origins lay in the early medieval royal estate there.[107] From the period 475 to 700 Milton Regis was a trading site, perhaps seasonal, and by the ninth century it was a small town, port or market (see Richardson, this volume).[108] A Viking army was based there in 892, and after the Conquest William kept the substantial, strategic and well-populated royal manor of Milton Regis in his own hands, along with Faversham, Dartford and Aylesford.[109] Milton Regis had a minster that survives with late Anglo-Saxon or Norman fabric, a reflection of the relative isolation and unimportance of the town in the Middle Ages; this was perhaps a response to the 'rise' of the Cinque Ports and Faversham.[110]

Of all the settlements in the hundred of Middleton, Milton Regis and Sittingbourne were the only towns. They were situated on Watling Street and their main function was the provision of services to travellers.[111] From the late eleventh century, Milton Regis seems to have decreased in size and significance, but retained a role as a staging post for travellers and a port for sending the produce of the country to London. There was a mill at Milton leased by Roger de Folkestone, which perhaps ground grain from the surrounding countryside before its despatch to London. A smith is recorded

106 After Mary's siblings died, she was obliged to leave the convent and marry Matthew, son of the count of Flanders, in order to preserve the Boulogne inheritance, provoking a papal interdict, S. Thompson, 'Mary, *suo jure* Countess of Boulogne (d.1182)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), 37, p. 66.

107 Hasted, *History*, 6, pp. 2–4.

108 I. Riddler, 'Anglo-Saxon Kent: Early Development c.450–c.800', in *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. T. Lawson and D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), pp. 26, 33.

109 T. Lawson, 'Viking Incursions', p. 32, and T. Lawson, 'Domesday Population, Towns and Landholdings', in *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. T. Lawson and D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), pp. 36, 38. Because they were unincorporated, they appear rarely in records. Most surviving documents concern the rights of St Augustine's Abbey where it was rector, for example MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. A52A n.d. [1201x1215]. The advowson of Dartford church(es) belonged to the monks of Rochester Priory but they claimed Bishop Gilbert had 'seized' it; MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. R70A n.d. [1198x1205].

110 D. Carder, 'Anglo-Saxon Churches', in *An Historical Atlas of Kent*, ed. T. Lawson and D. Killingray (Chichester, 2004), p. 31.

111 Milton did not receive a market grant until 1319, perhaps because it was a royal town, and Sittingbourne seems not to have received one at all; McLain, 'Market Establishment', 99–101; 'Kent', Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516 (2005): http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=40421&startpage=3 [accessed 4 August 2011].

at Sittingbourne, Benedict le Fevre, whose main employment is likely to have been shoeing horses and repairing carts. The presence of a vintner, Godinus, at Sittingbourne indicates that it also had a role for the provisioning and accommodation of travellers, for which it was well known later. In the thirteenth century Milton and Sittingbourne were separated by some lands of the Hospitallers of Saint John of Jerusalem. The Hospitallers raised a barrier across Watling Street between the two towns, to the nuisance of travellers and local people. At the eyre, a royal court held by justices on circuit, the jurors pronounced that the route was 'a royal one to come and go with horses, carts and hand-carts, from the time of the Conquest', and the sheriff was ordered to remove the barrier and open the way.[112]

Milton and Sittingbourne bordered Milton Creek, which led into the western part of the river Swale, which ran west and north to join the Medway estuary and enter the Thames. The Swale was sometimes used by shipping going to and from London in preference to the more exposed route along the north coast of the Isle of Sheppey; such shipping would, like travellers by road, also have required the services of smiths such as Benedict le Fevre for repairs from time to time.[113] Recent archaeological and historical work has confirmed the low-lying, marshy and isolated nature of the rural parishes in the hundred of Milton, such as Iwade, but also from the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries the importance of north–south routes from Watling Street to the ferry to the Isle of Sheppey. These were used by travellers to St Sexburgh's Abbey at Minster on Sheppey and by some wealthy people living locally.[114]

Some places along the north Kent coast, such as Teynham, Northfleet and Gillingham, were manors of the archbishop of Canterbury. The conservative format of archiepiscopal accounting means there are few records for markets and towns that developed during the thirteenth century, but there are indications of specialised agricultural activity linked to urban demand, such as vineyards at Teynham and Northfleet. The reeves and collectors of the north Kent manors of Northfleet and Gillingham were 'not lowly figures', and the duties of Lefward of Northfleet in 1236–37 included carrying cash to London.[115] In 1274–75 a hundred jury knew of two Gillingham merchants exporting wool from outside 'the port of Medway'.[116] Goods from this locality were in all likelihood despatched to the market at Southwark, where wine, meat, grain, fish, salt and other goods were sent by horse and other

112 A. Hershey, ed., *The 1258–9 Special Eyre of Surrey and Kent*, Surrey Record Society 38 (2004), pp. xxii–xxxvi, 151, 236. This eyre dealt with the dissatisfactions of the baronial party since the rule of the boy king Henry III from 1216 and his regent Hubert de Burgh, constable of Dover Castle. Complaints were brought that were up to twenty-five years old. For smiths see Draper, 'Timber and Iron', pp. 64, 75–6, 245.

113 F. Jessup, *Kent History Illustrated* (Maidstone, 1973), p. 9.

114 The marshes in this locality had been protected by banks, possibly destroyed in flooding of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries; B. Bishop and M. Bagwell, *Iwade: Occupation of a North Kent Village from the Mesolithic to the Medieval Period*, Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph 3 (London, 2005), p. 131. Vessels used the creeks and quays in this locality to transport corn and the produce of woodland along the coast; Hasted, *History*, 6, pp. 24–40.

115 Du Boulay, 'Pipe Roll Account', pp. 46–53; Du Boulay, *Lordship*, p. 265.

116 The wool may have gone directly overseas, http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/khrp/hrproject.pdf [accessed 9 May 2011].

pack animals, ships and boats in order to supply London.[117] Southwark lay where the Roman Stane Street through Surrey joined Watling Street.[118] Occasional mentions of men like Gilbert son of Ellis of Rochester, a draper, are also pointers towards urban activity linked to the rural economy. Gilbert operated a sophisticated debt and credit network in relation to the cloth trade: he was owed £9 12s in silver by Nicholas of Lenham, 4 silver marks by one Peter Dodman, and, for cloth previously credited to him, a rick of peas and a horse by Robert de Wouldham in the Medway valley.[119] Such networks are much more fully documented in the Cinque Ports, which had their own courts where debts were pursued or where moneylenders are known.[120]

Rochester

The significance of Rochester was as the crossing place of the Medway in and after the Roman period. Its medieval topography was largely influenced by the Roman walls, the location of the river and Watling Street, which came to form the High Street. The major buildings were the cathedral, founded according to Bede in 604, and the post-Conquest castle.[121] The Anglo-Saxon city was small and confined within the remains of the earlier walls. Its crucial feature was the Roman bridge, whose stone piers remained and on which a wooden superstructure was maintained by the system of bridge work; this was largely the responsibility of the lords and main estates in the lathe of Aylesford. As necessary they replaced the three parallel beams between the piers and the planking over them. This continued until the bridge was destroyed by a hard winter in 1381.[122] A positive view of late Anglo-Saxon Rochester suggests that on the north-west side of the city the open river came close to the walls, and that beyond the Roman walls on the north-east side lay a salt marsh with channels through which vessels could sail and beach at an area later called The Common.[123]

117 Hershey, *Eyre*, pp. 62, 87, 85–7, 95–7, 174, 180–1.

118 Banyard, 'Duke William's Conquest of Kent', p. 34. Another vintner, Henry le Vineter, and a tanner, Geoffrey le Tanur, were recorded in Middleton hundred. People with such occupational names in the thirteenth century were important organisers of their trades. The earl of Warenne's bailiff at Southwark was also a vintner, Hershey, *Eyre*, pp. 62, 236, 241.

119 Hershey, *Eyre*, pp. 123, 215, 235.

120 Draper, *Rye*, pp. 69–72.

121 M. Brett, 'The Church at Rochester, 604–1185', in *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral*, ed. N. Yates and P. Welsby (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 1–27.

122 The bridge may not always have been in good condition but a ferry could of course be used. In the seventh to ninth centuries it was possibly in use, and certainly from the early eleventh century from when the bridge-work list survives in the *Textus Roffensis*; N. Brooks, 'Rochester, A.D. 400–1066', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton–Brown, BAA Conference Transactions 29 (Leeds, 2006), pp. 6, 16–17; T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Evolution of "Watling Street" in Kent', *Arch. Cant.* 121 (2001), 128; N. Brooks, 'Rochester Bridge, AD 43–1381', in *Traffic and Politics: The Construction and Management of Rochester Bridge, AD 43–1993*, ed. N. Yates and J. M. Gibson (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 1–40.

123 Tatton-Brown, 'Topography', p. 23, fig. 1, p. 25. Such a beaching area is paralleled by the area at Smallhythe on the Rother near Tenterden known in the early fourteenth century as 'the common foreland' or Foreland Marsh; Draper, 'Timber and Iron', p. 73.

'Burgages' may also have been in existence, together with side lanes leading from the High Street, an extra-mural market near the beaching place, one or two intra-mural markets, and a road leading south-west to Borstal, a manor belonging to the bishop of Rochester. Little is known of Rochester from historical sources before the late eleventh century, but two small finds and the dedication of a church in the city (St Clement's) suggest the presence of Scandinavian settlers or traders there.[124]

Between 1083 and c.1120 the topography was much changed by the building of the motte and bailey of the Conqueror's castle, adjacent to which was Bishop Gundulf's stone wall of 1088–89. The small cathedral was transformed into a much larger one, the Benedictine priory, bishop's house and bell tower were built, and the cemetery enlarged.[125] Beyond the Eastgate, Gundulf established a hospital on the road to Chatham.[126] He also held the lordship of the city and was entitled to two-thirds of the payment for rights and rents in the city, effectively the borough farm. The bishop and other lords also held important urban properties, which were as part of other manors in the surrounding countryside.[127] The city was small but the amount of rent extracted from properties between 1066 and 1086 quadrupled.[128] The population may have been nearly as high as a thousand in c.1120.[129]

After the Conquest, the 'foundering see' of Rochester was rescued by Archbishop Lanfranc and Bishop Gundulf. They recovered the estates on which the cathedral community depended and the five poor canons there were transformed into a Benedictine community of monks in about 1083. Both the income and the community remained small, especially compared to Christ Church at Canterbury.[130] Nearly a century later Henry II was attempting to convert the Benedictine communities at

124 The Viking attack of 885 did not breach the walls or gates of the cathedral city, where the bishop of Rochester had organised the *burhware* (burgesses) as a defensive force, Tatton-Brown, 'Topography', p. 25; Brooks, 'Rochester, A.D. 400–1066', pp. 15–16, 18, n. 4.

125 Tatton-Brown, 'Topography', p. 27, fig. 2; R. Plant, 'Gundulf's Cathedral', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, BAA Conference Transactions 29 (Leeds, 2006), pp. 38–53. See also in the same volume: J. Geddes, 'Bishop Gundulf's Door at Rochester Cathedral', pp. 54–60; R. Halsey, 'The Twelfth-Century Nave of Rochester Cathedral', pp. 61–84; R. Baxter, 'The Construction of the West Doorway of Rochester Cathedral', pp 85–96; P. Draper, 'The Late Twelfth-Century East End of Rochester Cathedral', pp. 97–113. Sweetinburgh, 'Hospitals', p. 113.

126 Sweetinburgh, 'Hospitals', p. 113. In the late twelfth century Bishop Gilbert insisted on his right to approve the lepers who entered it, although the Rochester monks claimed they maintained it; MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. R70A.

127 These properties were held as part of other manors by the archbishop (five burgesses) and the bishop of Rochester (eighty *mansurae terrae*); twenty-three houses, burgages and haws were in the hands of Odo or his tenants, and two *hagae* in those of Albert the chaplain; Brooks, 'Rochester, A.D. 400–1066', pp. 6, 17–18, n. 4.

128 The city reeve actually collected £40 rather than the £20 due, allowing him to receive the same as the bishop, while the burgesses' rents may have increased eight-fold; Brooks, 'Rochester, A.D. 400–1066', pp. 7–8. The Domesday entry is very short.

129 Tatton-Brown, 'Topography', p. 26.

130 M. Brett, 'Gundulf and the Cathedral Communities of Canterbury and Rochester', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066–1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), p. 17.

Canterbury and Rochester (and Coventry) to colleges of secular canons, with the support of Bishop Gilbert at Rochester. The attempt failed with the death of Henry in 1189, but Gilbert became a strong supporter of Richard I, who in 1190 allowed the burgesses of Rochester to keep the tolls (*paage*/*peiage*) imposed on those travelling through the city on crusade, and fortified the city with a wall and ditch.[131] Throughout the twelfth century and beyond, the monks and bishops of Rochester remained at odds with each other, for example over the establishment of a hospital at Strood in 1192–94. The small house was established primarily for prayer for the restoration of Christianity in Jerusalem and the release of Richard I from captivity, but also for travellers and the poor.[132]

Building at the priory and cathedral continued to provide work throughout the twelfth century, which enabled the city to thrive. By the early twelfth century the choir, crypt, most of the nave (where the parish altar was located in the absence of a parish church) and possibly the early cloister had been constructed. The priory precinct was moved and then extended, and the priory was rebuilt after a major fire in 1137, as were the nave, the west front and the façade of the chapter house, which was refaced. Following a fire in the city in 1179, the eastern arm of the cathedral was rebuilt, the work being finished in the early thirteenth century.[133] The bones of Sts Paulinus and Ithamar were translated to the rebuilt eastern arm after 1179 (see Powell, this volume). Their cults, and especially that of Rochester's third saint, St William of Perth, were successful in raising money from pilgrims for building works.[134] At the castle, a new keep and an outer bailey, stone walls and other works were completed by c.1130, when it was in the custody of the archbishop of Canterbury. It was further strengthened in 1172–73 and 1206. After the siege by King John in autumn 1215, repairs began in 1221, and in 1225 the digging of a ditch round the city was recommenced, although this seems to have lasted only two years.[135] The thirteenth-century seal of Rochester has a very fine representation of its castle, walls

131 Pipe Rolls record in 1193–94.

132 A. Oakley, 'Rochester Priory, 1185–1540', in *Faith and Fabric: A History of Rochester Cathedral*, ed. N. Yates and P. Welsby (Woodbridge, 1996), p. 31. Richard's charter in the *Cartae Antiquae* Rolls; MS TNA C52/17 no. 29 dorse was reiterated in the accounts of the farm of the city in the Pipe Rolls of Richard, John and Henry III, with copies in MS MALSC RCA/L2/99/36–9, 111–17. Strood hospital was made responsible for one section of the bridge; Sweetinburgh, 'Kentish Towns', p. 124. M. Blount, 'Glanville, Gilbert de (d.1214)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), 22, pp. 420–1.

133 Tatton-Brown, 'Topography', pp. 26–8.

134 The tomb-shrine of Paulinus was an identifiable feature of the cathedral from 644 until the 1080s, when it was translated into the new cathedral and promoted by Archbishop Lanfranc. William of Perth was murdered outside the city in 1201 on his way to the Holy Land, and buried in the cathedral 'while displaying miracles', and his cult was successfully encouraged at Rochester following the translation of Becket at Canterbury; J. Crook, 'The Medieval Shrines of Rochester Cathedral', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, BAA Conference Transactions 29 (Leeds, 2006), pp. 114–29; Brett, 'The Church at Rochester', p. 5.

135 C. Flight and A. Harrison, 'The Southern Defences of Medieval Rochester', *Arch. Cant*. 103 (1986), 6. The barons secured the castle with a garrison under William de Albini, but John took both the bridge and the castle in a short time; Brooks, 'Rochester Bridge', p. 27.

and gate, a reflection of the building works that had brought some work and growth to the city.[136]

Maidstone and the Medway Valley

In a charter dated 898, Alfred, king of the Saxons (871–99), granted Ealdorman Sighelm a hide of land and six acres of water meadow in East Farleigh, which lies close to the river Medway above Maidstone. The water meadow was bounded by 'the broad way' leading to the *fealcnes* (falcons) ford.[137] The charter is an important pointer to the early significance of this area for arable and other agricultural activity, such as cattle-raising on the meadows.[138] It is possible that this ford was soon replaced by a bridge, since East Farleigh is said to have been given by Queen Ediva to Christ Church Priory in 961, and free of all services except the repairing of bridges and buildings.[139]

In Domesday Book Maidstone was a manor of the archbishop of Canterbury and is described in rural terms, although there were also six mills, and a fishing industry is evidenced by a number of fisheries and two salt-houses.[140] A road from Rochester to Maidstone may have come into being between 1066 and 1200.[141] There was a church that lay on the eastern bank of the river Medway and whose growth in status is marked by a series of ordinations that was carried out there in the thirteenth century.[142] A copy of the book of Ecclesiasticus with a commentary in the margins, dated c.1180, was perhaps kept at the archbishop's manor house next to the church.[143] The house may date from c.1205, when William de Cornhill was presented to the rectory; he came from a London family and was a royal clerk and officer of the exchequer under Henry II.[144] The archbishop's bailiff is found witnessing a charter of a land transaction in East Farleigh in the mid thirteenth century, and late in the century another charter

136 E. New, *Seals and Sealing Practices* (London, 2010), p. 77. Shown in Sweetinburgh, *Later Medieval Kent*, plate 9.

137 MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. F150; S350.

138 Where Anglo-Saxon settlements have been investigated in Kent they suggest the importance of a suitable environment near a river, where an 'agricultural/stock-rearing/fishing economy' could be practised, as at East Farleigh, S. Tyler, 'Anglo-Saxon Settlements in the Darent Valley and Environs', *Arch. Cant.* 110 (1992), 71.

139 E. Jervoise, *The Ancient Bridges of the South of England* (London, 1930), p. 37. Probably only the following are of c.800–1220: Rochester, Dover, Tonbridge, Eastbridge, East Farleigh, Newenden, and others where the lower Rother entered or crossed Romney Marsh (one near Appledore, Islesbridge near the leper hospital of New Romney, and Ash bridge near Heronden): MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. A168; S1215. Fords at Ashford, Aylesford, Deptford and Dartford were replaced by bridges at unknown dates. A stone bridge at Maidstone was apparently built in the fourteenth century: http://www.rbt.org.uk/crossings/maidstone.htm [accessed 26 July 2011].

140 Morgan, *Domesday Book: Kent*, 2:11.

141 Compare Tatton-Brown, 'Topography', figs 1 and 2, pp. 23, 27.

142 L. Monckton, 'The Collegiate Church of All Saints, Maidstone', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Rochester*, ed. T. Ayers and T. Tatton-Brown, BAA Conference Transactions 29 (Leeds, 2006), pp. 300–1.

143 There are a few thirteenth-century interlineations, MS CKS U1644/Q1.

144 M. Franklin, 'Cornhill, William of (d.1223)', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), 13, pp. 457–8.

refers to a corn mill and two fulling mills at nearby Loose. Another indicates the presence of weavers in Maidstone parish, but otherwise the place still appears rural.[145]

Although the evidence for urban development at Maidstone is limited, it shows that by the ninth century and probably much earlier, Maidstone was surrounded by a productive rural area where corn-growing was significant. Cloth production was taking place by the late thirteenth century at least. Maidstone itself developed as an archiepiscopal manor, a seigniorial rather than a corporate town. This is a feature that tends to hide urban development in the record, and even in the early fifteenth century (1422) Maidstone still appears partly rural, with a grange and a croft as well as a haw in the centre of the town, next to St Faith's chapel.[146] A major economic function was as a shipping point on the Medway, with the deed of 1422 noting three wharves, one belonging to Leeds Priory and two apparently to merchants, and there were other landing places nearby at an earlier period.[147] Corn and cloth were undoubtedly sent as far as Rochester, from where corn is known to have been shipped in the mid-1220s, and thence probably either to London or the Continent.[148]

Tonbridge

Tonbridge was a castle town in the Weald that developed as a result of the Conquest.[149] Richard de fitzGilbert (de Clare), who was born in the early 1030s and became a loyal servant and intimate of the Conqueror, was granted estates in Kent, Essex and Surrey. Richard annexed dens around Tonbridge, possibly by 1070, which eventually became known as the 'lowy' of Tonbridge, a baronial franchise and the centre of the Clare estates in Kent.[150] The lowy had a clear defensive purpose and a motte and bailey castle was erected at Tonbridge. The stronghold at Tonbridge is likely to have been sited to command a crossing of the river Medway and the route, *inter alia*, between London and Hastings. Although the layout of the original castle is not known, it is likely that the later stone-built edifice that survives in part today mirrors that of its predecessor. The first castle probably consisted of a timber fort built on top of the artificially created motte, with a defended enclosure, the bailey, occupying the

145 MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. L291, 302, 288.

146 A list of 1171 viewed the archbishop's estates entirely through the prism of knight service so that rural and urban manors are not distinguished, nor are there hints of urban characteristics at places such as Maidstone, Gillingham, Orpington, Appledore, or Wimbledon in Surrey; H. Colvin, 'A List of the Archbishop of Canterbury's Tenants by Knight-Service in the reign of Henry II', in *Documents Illustrative of Medieval Kentish Society*, ed. F. R. H. Du Boulay, Kent Records 18 (Ashford, 1964), pp. 6–8, 18, 34–6.

147 MS CCAL DCc Chart. Ant. M212A. Fisheries and weirs were recorded between 1292 and 1295 together with *rivagia* (landing dues on the river) at Detling; Du Boulay, 'Pipe Roll Account', p. 46.

148 MS MALSC RCA/L2/99/41/1–2.

149 For this and what follows see S. Holden, G. Draper, C. Jarrett and D. Goodburn, 'The Development of Tonbridge seen through the Gate of its Castle – Recent Excavations at the Former Tonbridge Stock and Cattle Market', *Arch. Cant.* 131 (2011), 197–230.

150 J. Ward, 'The Lowy of Tonbridge and the Lands of the Clare Family in Kent, 1066–1217', *Arch. Cant.* 96 (1980), 119–28.

space immediately to the east. However, recent excavations within the gatehouse and across the top of the mound revealed no trace of these early structures. It is generally thought that Tonbridge also had a large second outer bailey that spread to the north-west of the main complex, with the present route of The Slade following the course of the former ditch. The outer bailey is now known as Castle Fields. A bank and ditch marked by the street called Bordyke represent part of the earliest town defences. They are clearly visible inside the parish churchyard wall, suggesting that they may have been in existence by the early twelfth century.

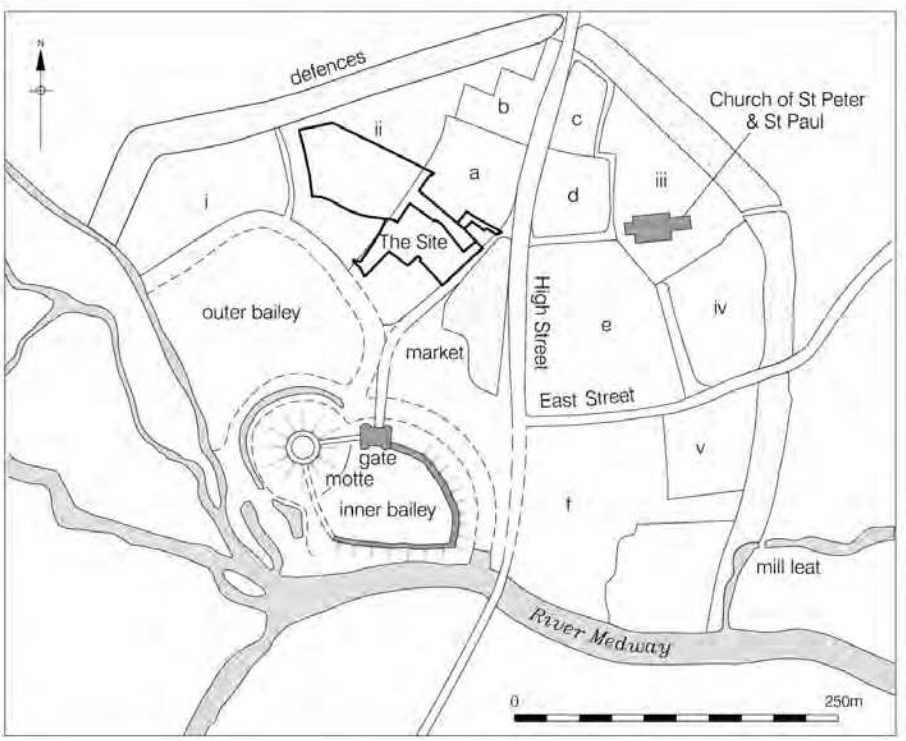
Some architectural features suggest that Tonbridge parish church was built in the late eleventh or early twelfth century as the town developed, and its position away from the castle implies that it was intended for the townspeople rather than for those of the castle. The foundation of the church shows that although probably still fairly small, the settlement at Tonbridge was well established. As lords of the lowy, the Clare family had the advowson and patronage of the church, which was passed on by Gilbert de Clare to the monks of Lewes in the early twelfth century. The rectorial rights to the church, and later the advowson, were granted by Roger de Clare, second earl of Hertford, to the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem, probably after his brother Gilbert died in 1153. The chancel was extended to the west in the twelfth century, signifying a need for greater space for worship and therefore a growing population in Tonbridge.

In 1136, Richard de Clare, grandson of the first de Clare, granted that part of the tolls on goods passing through Tonbridge should be awarded to the monks of the Cluniac Priory of Lewes.[151] This is the earliest record of the existence of a market, and perhaps a fair, at Tonbridge. The market's favourable riverine location and the town's large hinterland allowed it to become much larger and more specialised than those of the villages around, such as Brasted, Yalding, Shipbourne and Edenbridge, some of whose market grants were also held by the de Clare family. There were shops and stalls in front of the castle gates, and the care, farriery and stabling of horses were important, not least because of the major road passing through the town and the noble family who held it.

Richard de Clare, third earl of Hertford, founded Tonbridge Priory sometime between 1135 and 1186. It was located half a mile to the south of the castle and medieval town, under what is now the railway station. Richard's grant was confirmed by Pope Celestine III in January 1192. Richard made various grants to the priory, such as ten marks (£6 13s 4d) yearly from the manor of Tonbridge and 51s 5d from his corn lands near the Medway in Yalding (*Dennesmannsbroke*), together with grants in kind including 120 swine from his forest at Tonbridge and 2 wagon loads daily of dead wood from the nearest woods. The endowments also included assarts (clearings) in Yalding, both old and new ones, reflecting the ongoing deforestation in this part of the Weald.[152]

151 From the chronicle of 'Florence' (John) of Worcester; J. Stevenson, *Church Historians of England* (London, 1853), 4, pt 2, p. 350.

152 J. Wadmore, 'Tonbridge Priory', *Arch. Cant.* 14 (1882), 328–31; T. Tatton-Brown, 'Tonbridge: Sts Peter and Paul Rochester Diocese', Historical and Archaeological Survey (unpub. 1994).



Map 3.6 The excavation site outside the castle gate at Tonbridge and the conjectural reconstruction of blocks of development (a–f) and open areas (I–V)
(Pre-Construct Archaeology)

Tonbridge's street layout is comparable to Lawrence Butler's Period 1 market-based plan model, where the town's development is based on a seigneurial focus, in this case the castle.[153] These types of towns are suggested to have been founded prior to 1140 and commonly have a main street running from the gates of the focus point, with either a triangular market at the gates, such as is proposed for Tonbridge, or one in the form of a cigar-shaped swelling in the main street. The towns are market based but not market focused, with the military or ecclesiastical sponsor influencing their siting and dictating their development. It has been argued that Tonbridge town and market both came into being as a result of the castle being constructed and that during the early development they were entirely dependent on the castle. However, Jeremy Haslam's 'topographical hypothesis', which has a more extended interpretation, has wrestled with the subjective and conjectural nature of all town plan analyses,

153 L. Butler, 'The Evolution of Towns after 1066', in *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, ed. M. Barley, CBA, Research Report 14 (London, 1976), p. 39.

particularly the interpretation of 'blocks' of development, including burgage plots, and their relative dating.[154]

The second decade of the thirteenth century, the end of the period covered by this chapter, is a good point from which to look both backwards and forwards at urban development in Kent. From this point on, the growth of a number of small towns can be perceived whose origins are barely, or not at all, visible in the record, particularly those in the Weald (such as Cranbrook and Tenterden) or on the Chart Hills (such as Sevenoaks and Westerham). From later in the thirteenth century, there is a greater opportunity to explore how townspeople were perceived to be different from country folk, and how the business of urban life contrasted with the different routines of agriculture in a county where productive arable and stock farming was immensely important for local and distant markets.[155] But even before 1220 there is some opportunity to examine how townspeople moulded their environment, notably urban space, streets, and religious institutions such as hospitals. In the absence of town records, however, this often tends to be regarded as a function of the market or lordship, rather than as choices made by the inhabitants in the development of their own civic life. In the exceptional case of Canterbury (see Bennett and Berg, and Weekes, this volume), with its pre-Conquest charters and plentiful eleventh- and twelfth-century records, the nature of society has been revealed, primarily by the work of Urry.

Examining urban development emphasises that Kent was a maritime county, and that its position between London, modern France and the Low Countries was crucial for the early significance of its ports. The county can, for example, be contrasted with Devon, where the towns of Dartmouth and Plymouth did not receive corporate privileges until the fourteenth century, when they were granted under the pressure of war and, especially, raids on ports.[156] In Kent, new work emphasises that fishing was the economic mainstay of the towns that became Head Ports and members of the Cinque Ports confederation. Mariners, who were also involved in transporting pilgrims and other travellers, and in carrying goods and small-scale merchant activity, made possible the Ports' ship service. Trade, whether taking place early at beach markets, or later in established towns, seems to have been a relatively small part of their economies.[157] The best documentary evidence of a variety of craft and industrial activity in the thirteenth century, and indeed until the Black Death, comes from Rye, the Cinque Ports member just over the border in Sussex. However, at New Romney a combination of archaeological and historical work demonstrates the presence between the late

154 E. Wragg, C. Jarrett and J. Haslam, 'The Development of Medieval Tonbridge Reviewed in the Light of Recent Excavations at Lyons, East Street, Tonbridge', *Arch. Cant.* 125 (2005), 125–41.

155 B. Campbell, 'Agriculture in Kent in the High Middle Ages', in *Later Medieval Kent 1220–1540*, ed. S. Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 25–50.

156 M. Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Economic Impact of the Hundred Years War on the English Port Towns', in *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of John H. A. Munro*, ed. L Armstrong, D. Lawrin, I. Elbl and M. Elbl (Leiden, 2007), p. 244.

157 Nonetheless, the diversity of goods listed on the maletote lists of the various Cinque Ports would appear to indicate that such trade was seen as important by the authorities.

twelfth and the fourteenth centuries of a textile trade, metalworking, vessel building, breaking and repairs, salting, tanning, milling, barrel-making and pottery production, as well as pottery imports.[158] All early Kent towns, even Tonbridge in the Low Weald, depended on a coastal or riverine location.

An instructive comparison can be made between Kent and the adjacent maritime counties of Sussex and Essex, which are of a similar size. Before 1220 the Sussex towns consisted of coastal or riverine ports whose development was generally slow, with the exception of those in the east, which provided short Channel crossings and became part of the Cinque Ports confederation.[159] In Essex, ten towns were established before 1180, mainly ports, although their distance from mainland Europe meant that they did not experience a similar development to those of Kent. Industry left little record in the archaeology or topography of either the Saxon ports or the other early Essex towns, which were based around defensive sites. Important magnate landholders had estates in both Kent and Essex, and keeping access between them via the Thames was necessary. A further fourteen Essex towns, mainly lying at the crossing points of rivers where roads led north and east out of London, belong to the second phase of urban development, which lasted from 1180 until 1260, and was based on 'commercial considerations'.[160] Such towns fit well with the market-based model of development that has been prominent in the historiography since the 1990s. This model may also apply to urban growth in Kent after 1220, from the dozen or more towns that then existed, to the rather greater number of the late Middle Ages. However, it can be noted that the model was largely constructed from evidence of northern ports, and to a lesser extent eastern ports, with a mention of one or two in the south, such as Portsmouth and Poole. Apart from Dover, the Cinque Ports were omitted from consideration in perhaps the most influential work.[161]

In the early to middle decades of the twentieth century, historians focused on creating a developmental model that fitted all early boroughs, particularly large ones, and in which royal and noble intervention, and the presence of merchant guilds, played a part: this created an 'arid atmosphere of legal archaeology', as Urry put it.[162] In contrast, more recent studies of individual, and smaller, towns such Exeter and Coventry have emphasised the importance in early urban growth of different chronologies, of the interaction between lords within towns, and of periods of

158 Draper and Meddens, *New Romney*, p. 24, fig. 17.

159 J. Bleach and M. Gardiner, 'Medieval Markets and Ports', in *An Historical Atlas of Sussex*, ed. K. Leslie and B. Short (Chichester, 1999), pp. 42–3.

160 M. Petchey, 'The Archaeology of Medieval Essex Towns', in *The Archaeology in Essex to AD 1500 in Memory of Ken Newton*, ed. D. Buckley, CBA, Research Report 34 (London, 1980), pp. 113–17. Defensive sites also stimulated the growth of towns in Surrey, but unlike Canterbury, Rochester and Tonbridge they remained small with insignificant roles in national politics or military affairs, and with little religious influence.

161 R. Britnell and B. Campbell, eds, *A Commercialising Economy*: *England, 1086 to c.1300* (Manchester, 1995).

162 Urry, *Angevin Kings*, p. 1, citing F. M. Stenton, *Norman London*, Historical Association (London, 1934), p. 122.

economic success or failure.[163] These factors were especially important for Kent too, where small, although important, towns predominated. In examining the relationship between minster sites and Domesday boroughs and markets, John Blair noted that 'while we have hitherto learnt a great deal about the origins of large planned towns before 1000 [*burhs*] and about the layout of small ones after 1100, proto-urban settlements of the tenth and eleventh centuries remain remarkably obscure'; further knowledge of the complexity of individual sites would come only from archaeology.[164] Kent is therefore fortunate that in recent years 'world-class scholarship is alive and well in British archaeology' and has been applied, in conjunction with historical research, to the development of its early medieval towns.[165]

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163 For example: M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995); R. Goddard, *Lordship and Medieval Urbanisation: Coventry, 1043–1355* (Woodbridge, 2004).

164 The former are 'large burghal places with planned street grids', J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 334, 336. They do not exist in Kent. Blair's comment is echoed in relation to 'Rochester's "dark age" of the tenth and early eleventh century', by Brooks, 'Rochester, A.D. 400–1066', p. 15.

165 J. Flatman, 'Reviews', *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 40:2 (2011), 452–3; compare C. Johnson, 'Adapting to PPG16: Planning-led Archaeology in the Walland, Denge and Romney Marshes of Kent and East Sussex, 1990–2010', in *Romney Marsh: Persistence and Change in a Coastal Lowland*, ed. M. Waller, E. Edwards and L. Barber, Romney Marsh Research Trust Monograph (Sevenoaks, 2010), pp. 75–91.