ATLAS APPENDIX: EDWARD'S OTHER TOWNS

The places included in this atlas are not the only towns founded and fostered in the reign of Edward I. There were others. These are not included in the atlas for the reasons outlined above (see 'The towns'). Yet it would be an oversight not to say at least something briefly about each of them: the towns that were refounded or expanded under Edward (Berwick-upon-Tweed and Kingston-upon-Hull); the new castle-towns established in Wales by his chief men (Denbigh and Ruthin); and the new towns that were founded but which subsequently (and quickly) disappeared leaving little trace (Bere, Mostyn, and Newton).

- ▪ Refounded/extended towns

Berwick-upon-Tweed on the borders of England and Scotland has had a turbulent past. It suffered during Edward's campaign in Scotland in 1296 and required rebuilding after the king made it, rather than Edinburgh, his administrative centre in the north.[494] Maurice Beresford draws attention to the unusually detailed records of the town's rebuilding, and in particular the discussions held in the autumn Parliament of 1296 at Bury St Edmunds in Suffolk, where 'there had been a tentative move to gather advisors when twenty-four English towns were ordered "to elect men from among your wisest and ablest who know best how to devise, order and array a new town to the greatest profit or ourselves [the king] and of merchants"'.[495] In January 1297, at Harwich, eighteen men were appointed 'to make ordinances and dispositions' with John de Warenne, earl of Surrey and 'keeper of the realm and land of Scotland', and Hugh de Cressingham, clerk and treasurer of Scotland, 'touching the site and state of the town of Berwick upon Tweed and the port of that place, and to assess and arrent the houses and plots of the town, and to give and deliver the same to merchants, artificers and other suitable persons'.[496] Why this task needed so many individuals, when other towns had been created from nothing with far fewer, is hard to say. The men were drawn from large and small towns all across the realm, from London, York, Lincoln, Winchester, Stoke, Oxford, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, King's Lynn, Stamford, Grimsby and Grantham, as well as Winchelsea, represented by a certain Thomas Alard whose family 'were among the patricians of Old Winchelsea' and property holders in the new town.[497] One of the London delegates was Henry le Waleys – another Winchelsea connection with Berwick. What came of this mission is not clear, though looking at the plan of Berwick it seems likely that the town was simply refounded using the earlier street and plot patterns, a simpler solution to creating a whole new town, and one which is likely to have avoided the kind of property wrangling that dogged the move of New Winchelsea.

Kingston-upon-Hull, situated on the east coast of England, existed as a town prior to king's acquisition of it in 1293 from the abbot and convent of Meaux. Its was transferred to Edward following an initial writ issued by the king in November 1292, which appointed two officials, Peter de Campania and William de St Quentin, to value and assess the lands of the abbot's town, Wyke upon Hull.[498] In January 1293 the same two men reported on their findings and in their valuation called upon townsmen to verify the extent of the town,

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[494] Prestwich, Edward I, p.474.
[495] Beresford, New Towns, p.3.
[496] CPR 1292-1301, pp.226-7.
[497] Beresford, New Towns, p.18.
[498] J. Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293', Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarian Society 26 (1929), p.52, citing PRO: E 36/274, fo. 171.

which included 109 plots and messuages held by 76 tenants.[499] Then on January 31 the abbot granted his land and town of Wyke to Edward, the bounds of which are recited.[500] John Bilson shows that the transfer to the king led to an expansion of Wyke, and thanks to a rental drawn up of properties of the town in March 1293 (by Peter de Campania, Osbert de Spaldington and Roger de Insula) he was able to map the make up of the town at this time, and identify in particular two or three streets 'to the west of the market place' that 'may have only been newly set out in 1293', including 'Lislestreet' and 'Champagnestreet', which 'evidently derived their names from two of the king's officials who took part in the transactions of 1293'.[501] There was also a new quay made, and in March 1293 'a valuation of the lands and tenements taken for constructing, locating and ordaining three king's highways', again involving Campania as well as four other men and the first time the town is referred to by its new name, 'Kingestone-upon-Hull'.[502] Lisle Street and Champagne Street, together with other streets in this part of the town, do have a 'rectangular layout… which is characteristic of Edward I's new towns', but as Bilson points out, 'there was nothing which even by the wildest exaggeration could be regarded as the creation of a new town'.[503] It seems that what occurred at Wyke was an extension of the old town through the addition of new streets and plots, which do have a regular form. Hull suffered in the Second World War from aerial bombardment, and this area of Edwardian town-planning has been partly erased by the city's post-war reconstruction.

- ▪ New towns of Edward's seigneurial lords

Denbigh and Ruthin were both founded by two high-ranking vassals of Edward I, and were established soon after the 1282-3 Welsh war as Conwy and Caernarfon were. In October 1282, Henry de Lacy, earl of Lincoln, was granted the lordship of Denbigh and created as its administrative centre a new castle and town in the Clwyd valley, not too distant from the king's earlier new town of Rhuddlan, and on the site of an earlier Welsh stronghold.[504] The town was walled, and Master James of St George was there to oversee the work early on, including construction of the castle.[505] The new borough chartered by Henry in 1285 initially had sixty-three burgages held by an equal number of burgesses, but appears to have reduced in size shortly afterwards, perhaps because of 'event of the year 1294 when the inhabitants involved themselves in the uprising led by Madog ap Llywelyn'.[506] By this time there were properties both within and outside the walls of the town, and by 1305 the town had grown considerably, consisting of 183 burgages outside and 52 inside, perhaps following 'a second and more successful attempt to launch a borough at the centre of the lordship'.[507] In 1334 the area outside the walls was referred to as *villa mercatoria*, the 'market town', while inside was the *burgus*, the 'borough'.[508] Towards the end of the fourteenth century, just less than a century after the town's foundation, there were over 400 burgages in all, the majority lying in the 57 acres of land below the much smaller

[499] Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293', pp.53-4, citing PRO: E 36/274, fo. 171
[500] Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293', pp.55-56, citing PRO: E 36/274, fo. 171. Accompanying map.
[501] Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293', pp.61-5 (for the rental, citing PRO: E 36/274, fo. 187), p.82, plus accompanying map.
[502] Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293', pp.65-6, 70.
[503] Bilson, 'Wyke-upon-Hull in 1293', pp.74, 82.
[504] Owen, 'Denbigh', p.166; Soulsby, Towns of Medieval Wales, p,121.
[505] Taylor, Welsh Castles, p.41.
[506] Owen, 'Denbigh', pp.169-70.
[507] Owen, 'Denbigh', p.170.
[508] Owen, 'Denbigh', p.182.

walled castle-town.[509] This lower part of the town is characterised by a series of straight streets, no doubt laid out during the early-fourteenth century as Denbigh grew into one of the largest new towns in north Wales. The initial walled town by contrast gradually lost its occupants, leaving the town walls and gates enclosing a rather empty space overlooked by the castle, all of which, it has been suggested, 'testifies to the inadequacy of the earl of Lincoln's initial scheme'.[510]

Situated further up the Clwyd valley, Ruthin was always smaller than its near neighbour. Like Denbigh it was a new town and castle founded on the site of a Welsh settlement, this time under the direction of Reginald de Grey, 'justice of Chester and a leading English commander in Edward's army', who had acquired the *commot* of Dyffryn Clwyd in October 1282.[511] A borough charter was issued 'some time between 1282 and 1295' by de Grey, the exact date is not known but the foundation of the town followed a similar path to that of nearby Denbigh, and the privileges and liberties the burgesses had were the usual ones.[512] The town lay adjacent to de Grey's castle, and occupied an elevated site, with two roads rising steeply uphill from east and west to meet at the town's central market place, at one of which St Peter's Church is situated, opposite from the castle gates. Two further streets enter the market place on its north and south sides, giving the town its overall cross-shape. By 1324 Ruthin had one hundred burgages 'held by seventy-one different people', and although it appears to have gained more burgages after this date, the number of burgess inhabitants rose only a little in the next century or so.[513] The town had a sizeable number of Welsh burgesses: forty out of seventy in 1324 and sixty out of ninety in 1496.[514] The Welsh population appears to have been concentrated in one part of the town, in Well Street, known formerly as Welsh Street. No walls or ditches defended de Grey's new town, though a ditch was later dug around it in the early fifteenth century.[515]

Neither Denbigh nor Ruthin bear much close resemblance to their near contemporary and nearby new towns at Rhuddlan, Flint or Conwy. Their plans are all different. The small walled castle-town of de Lacy at Denbigh perhaps shows an initial lack of expectation for the place, but not a little investment; while Ruthin, with its undefended streets and plots, and casual curving streets certainly lacks the regular and rectilinear forms associated with new towns that had been established by Edward on the north coast of Wales.

- ▪ 'Lost' towns of Edward I

Not all of the new towns established under Edward's rule were successful ventures. Some places faded away and leave little or no trace in the landscape. The three towns mentioned here fall into the same category of new towns founded for or by the king as those considered in the main part of this atlas. One day it might be possible to use technologies to locate and map these 'lost' towns and peer into their subterranean townscapes.

Bere is located at the head of a long valley leading up from the coast in Merioneth, in the shadow of Cadir Idris, and in this regard remote from river and coast that was more typical

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[509] Owen, 'Denbigh', pp.182, 184.
[510] Soulsby, Towns of Medieval Wales, p.123.
[511] Jack, 'Ruthin', p.245.
[512] Jack, 'Ruthin', pp.245-6.
[513] Jack, 'Ruthin', p.247.
[514] Jack, 'Ruthin', p.250.
[515] Soulsby, Towns of Medieval Wales, pp.233-4.

of Edward's new towns in north Wales. It was established as a new borough by a charter issued on the same day as Harlech and Cricieth were chartered, November 22 1284, having the same privileges as Conwy.[516] It was similarly small, with sixteen taxpayers recorded in the Lay Subsidy roll of 1292-3.[517] Edward himself was there three times during 1284, in May, July and November, so he knew its site and situation personally.[518] The castle there was built by the Welsh and captured by Edward's forces in 1283.[519] Although it initially attracted some expenditure its demise soon came, for the castle's last constable (and mayor), Robert fitzWalker, was pardoned in April 1298 'of all the arrears due from him for the castle of Bere'.[520] He was excused the rent 'because of his service in Gascony', but just four years before had been given 'committal of the county of Merioneth and the castle and liberty of Bere' for an annual rent of £300 6s. 8d.[521] The new town's remoteness required a pass to be cut in 1290 'between the vill of Tewy [Tywyn] and the castle of Bere', at a cost of more than £53, but this was not enough to connect it with the wider world of trade and commerce that kept Edward's other new towns alive.[522] Only three mayors were appointed, the first Hugo de Tuberville in October 1285, followed in November 1292 by Robert de Staundon, and then lastly fitzWalker in June 1293, after whom the town of Bere disappears such that even now not a trace remains except for the castle ruins.[523]

In Flintshire on the north Wales coast, between Flint and Rhuddlan, was New Mostyn. It appears in the Lay Subsidy roll of 1292 as *Nova Villa de Moston*, with twenty taxpayers.[524] But 'the location of the 'Nova Villa' is not known and the lack of information has led some authorities to imply it may never have developed'.[525] Alongside a lane, one field in Tre Mostyn contains 'a series of parallel strips' that are 'termed "gardens" on the Tithe apportionment of 1849', which could be former plots.[526] The field boundary and the lane seem to enclose an area that would not be out of keeping for a series of burgages.

The last of the three disappeared Edwardian new towns is in southern England, on the Isle of Purbeck in Dorset, but its site is also unknown, except for the place-name, Newton, still shown by Ordnance Survey maps.[527] The town lay close to Poole Harbour and is reasonably well-documented like Winchelsea through royal correspondence. It appears in January 1286 when Edward appoints two men, Richard de Bosco and Walter de Marisco, 'to lay out with sufficient streets and lanes, and adequate sites for a market and church and plots for merchants and others, a new town called Gotowre super Mare in the parish of Stodlaund [Studland] and on the king's land which was late of Robert de Muchegros'.[528] Marisco was

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[516] CChR 1257-1300, p.280.

[517] Merioneth Lay Subsidy Roll of 1292/3, ed. Williams-Jones, p.51

[518] Beresford, New Towns, p.49. The town's location is given as NGR SH667085.

[519] For the castle see Taylor, Welsh Castles, pp.75-77; RCAHMW, Merioneth, pp.112-13; L.A.S. Butler and G.C. Dunning, 'Medieval finds from Castell-y-Bere, Merioneth', Archaeologia Cambrensis 123 (1975 for 1974), pp.78-112.

[520] Lewis, Mediaeval Boroughs, p.36, note 1; CPR 1292-1301, p.346.

[521] 1282-1343 Memoranda Rolls, ed. Fryde, pp.8, 16.

[522] Calendar of Ancient Petitions, ed. Rees, pp.510-11.

[523] Lewis, Mediaeval Boroughs, p.36, note 1; see also E.D. Evans, 'Was there a borough of Bere?', Journal of the Merioneth Historical and Record Society 10 (1989), pp.290-98.

[524] Beresford, New Towns, p.550, citing PRO: E 179/242/52. Its location is given as NGR SJ160804.

[525] Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, 'Delyn Historic Settlement Survey', unpublished report (June 1995), p.39.

[526] Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust, 'Delyn Historic Settlement Survey', unpublished report (June 1995), pp.39-40.

[527] Beresford and St Joseph, Medieval England, p.224. Its location is given as NGR SZ011853.

[528] CPR 1282-92, p.217.

'parson of the church of Bromesburwe [Bromsberrow]' in Gloucestershire, while Bosco had custody of Corfe Castle in 1283, and had gained the right of warren there on 'land late of Robert de Muchegros'.[529] Newton was a commercial venture: the 'lands and tenements of which said new town the king is prepared to commit to merchants and others willing to take them and to enfeoff them thereof for building and dwelling purposes'.[530] It was genuinely a new town, and appears to have already begun to be developed, for notification was also given 'that all merchants and others taking plots in the said land and beginning to build there shall enjoy the same liberties and customs as the burgesses of Lyme [Regis] or of Melecumbe [Melcombe Regis], and that a charter to that effect shall be made'.[531] This charter came on May 10 1286 when two grants were given, one 'to the burgesses of Nova Villa... of all the liberties granted to the citizens of London as set forth in the charter to Melcombe', and another 'of weekly markets at their borough on Tuesday and Friday in each week, and of a yearly fair there on the vigil and feast of St Lawrence and the three days following'.[532] But it seems few came to take up the offer. As Maurice Beresford points out, no church is mentioned thereafter, and 'no borough of this name was represented at the Assize of 1288'.[533] If Bosco and Marisco ever did lay out Newton's plots and streets, its market and church, then nothing ever came of them, the site of the town known now only by the name that was left behind.

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[529] CPR 1282-92, pp.80, 217.
[530] CPR 1282-92, p.217.
[531] CPR 1282-92, p.217.
[532] CChR 1257-1300, p.337, cf. p.223.
[533] Beresford, New Towns, p.427.