Historic England

NEWPORT, ISLE OF WIGHT, HIGH STREET HERITAGE ACTION ZONE: TOPOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL TOWN

Magnus Alexander

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ISLE OF WIGHT
HIGH STREET HERITAGE ACTION ZONE

TOPOGRAPHIC ANALYSIS OF THE LATE MEDIEVAL TOWN

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SUMMARY

Newport has been selected as one of the first round of High Street Heritage Action Zones (HS HAZs). As such it has been identified as a place that is rich in heritage promise but in need of support to unlock this potential and make its central commercial area more vibrant, inclusive and economically successful.

The development of Newport since its foundation in the late 12th century is not well understood and many questions remain open. This lack of information has hampered community engagement and planning decisions.

This project forms a part of Tier 2 Activity 1.1: 'Deliver High Street Heritage Action Zones to support post-Covid recovery in town centres' under Strategic Activity 1: 'Investing directly in places where our expertise and resources make the most difference' (HE 2021).

It is primarily a desk-based study examining readily available historic maps and documentary sources. Products include this written report and GIS data, which will form the basis for future work and be available for on-going development.

The project has focussed on analyses of the historic town-plan and the 1563 terrier which has also been compared with Speed's 1611 plan of the town. This suggests that the town may have been based on an existing informal trading place at the head of the Medina estuary and that the adjacent north-east quarter of the town may have been the first to be laid out. This was followed by the development of most of the rest of the street grid based on High Street and Pyle Street which was fitted rather awkwardly around the existing plots. There may have also been some later medieval development, notably Crocker Street. The town then contracted during the 14th century, possibly halving in population, and did not recover its former size until the mid-17th century, experiencing a long period of stagnation. Recovery began in the 16th century and some changes in occupation intensity are discussed.

The difficulties of working during the covid-19 pandemic affected the project, making various tasks more time-consuming and others impossible. Consequently, some objectives were not achieved, notably a detailed examination of the development of the town's water supply system in the 17th and 18th centuries, nor any investigation of the possibility of developing a deposit model for the harbour area.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ARCHIVE LOCATION

There is no archive for this project as it was based entirely on secondary sources. The report will be curated by ADS (via OASIS) as well as the Historic England Archive reports database. A version of the project GIS will be supplied to the HER.

DATE OF RESEARCH

October 2020 to May 2021

ABBREVIATIONS

For abbreviated references see References

AHES	Archaeology and Historic Environment Services (IWC)
GIS	Geographical Information System
IWC	Isle of Wight Council
OS	Ordnance Survey
HS HAZ	High Street Heritage Action Zone
NHLE	National Heritage List for England

FRONT COVER

Newport from the south in 1946. The relationship of the town to the Medina estuary, with The Solent and Southampton Water at the top of the frame, is clear. Much of the land to the west (left) of the estuary formed a part of Parkhurst Forest in the medieval period (EAW003000, © Historic England Archive - Aerofilms collection).

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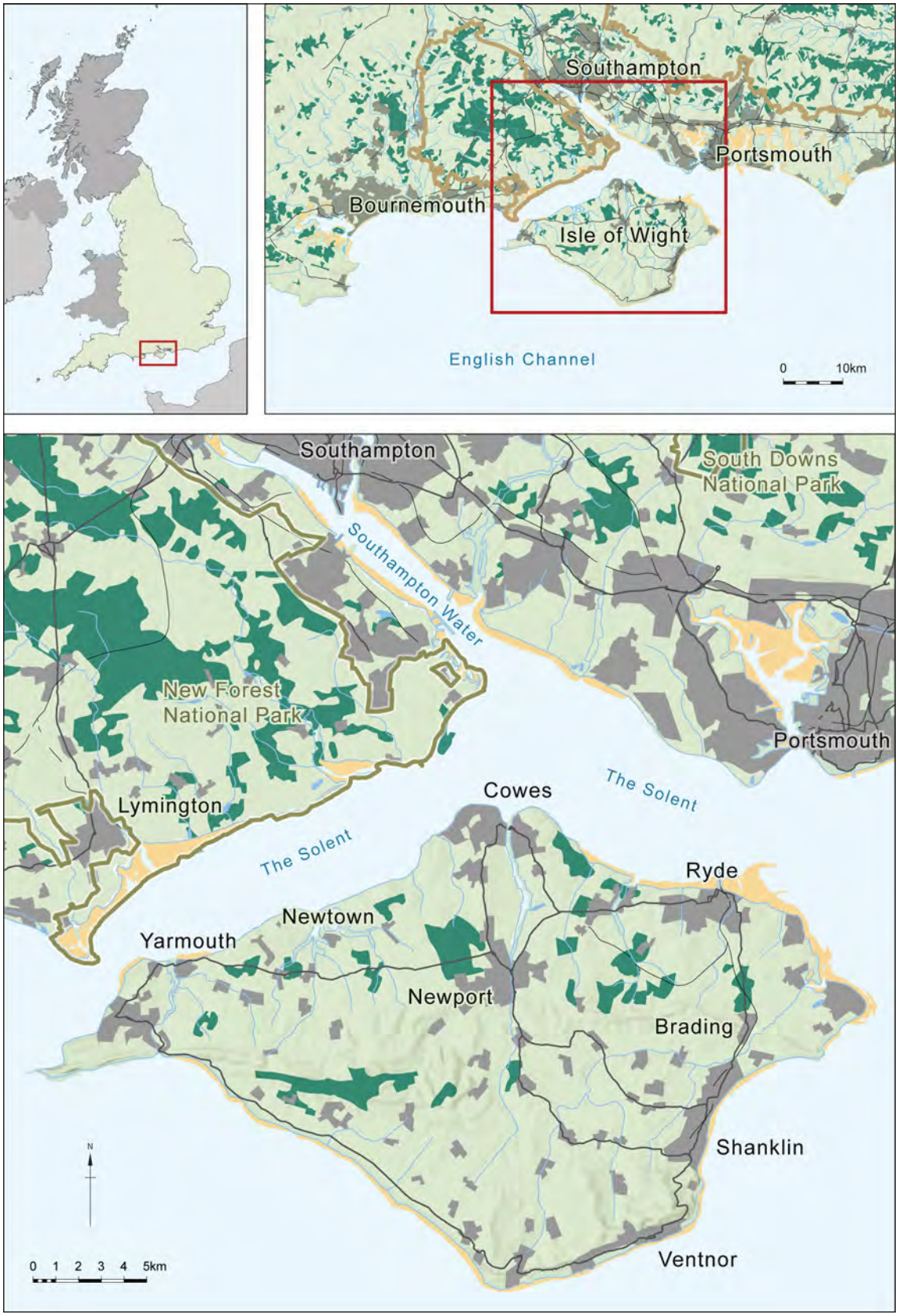

Figure 1 – The location of Newport (© Historic England, contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2021)

INTRODUCTION

Location and extent

Newport lies on the Isle of Wight, Hampshire, off the south coast of England (Figure 1). It is the centre of the island in many ways; it lies just to the north of the geographical centre of the island, 'is the administrative centre, and is home to the Isle of Wight Council, St. Mary's Hospital, courts and headquarters of the emergency services' (IWC OIT 2019, 1). It also lies at the centre of the communications networks and is the primary commuting destination as it is one of the main centres of education, employment, and retail. With a population of about 17,200, it is the second largest settlement on the island, slightly smaller than Ryde (population 18,700) 10km to the ENE, but larger than the other main towns of Cowes (14,400) and East Cowes (7,800) 6.5km to the north, Sandown (7,200) and Shanklin (7,100) 10.5km to the south-east, and Ventnor (6,000) 13km to the south (ibid).

Newport, (SZ 500 890), lies at the head of the estuary of the River Medina, about 7km south of its mouth at its navigable limit (front cover). It has a compact centre defined to the east by the valley of the River Medina and to the north and west by that of the Lukely Brook. It is less well defined to the south, where there has been suburban development, but this has been limited by the steep northern slopes of Mount Joy about 1km away (Figure 2).

Figure 2 – Newport from the north-east with the historic core in the centre surrounded by modern development. The Medina estuary can be seen at bottom right; Mount Joy at the top, left of centre, with Carisbrooke Castle to its right and Carisbrooke village further right again, separated from the castle by the valley of the Lukely Brook (29/7/2020, Damian Grady © Historic England 33885/041)

This study focusses on the historic core of the town, from Crocker Street in the north to South Street, and Mill Street in the west to East Street, including adjacent areas (Figure 4).

Topography

Much of the town is on flat land at around 10m OD (above Ordnance Datum, colloquially 'sea level'), but to the east and north the ground falls towards the River Medina and Lukely Brook close to sea level. It also falls to the west but more gently as the Lukely valley is more open than that of the Medina (Figure 3).

To the south the ground gradually rises from about 15m OD at Trafalgar Road/ Medina Avenue to the edge of the town, Whitepit Lane, at around 35m OD. To the south of this, the ground rises markedly to the summit of Mount Joy at 84m OD, and to the WSW, the hill of Carisbrooke Castle at about 65m OD. To the east and west of these hills the valleys of the Medina and Lukely narrow markedly. Being the larger watercourse, the Medina valley is broader and more level and to the east of Mount Joy lies at about 10m OD, whereas to the west of the castle the floor of the Lukely valley is at about 25m OD. Further hills extend to the east (such as St George's Down, over 105m OD), west (Bowcombe Down, 134m OD) and south (Garston's Down, 164m OD).

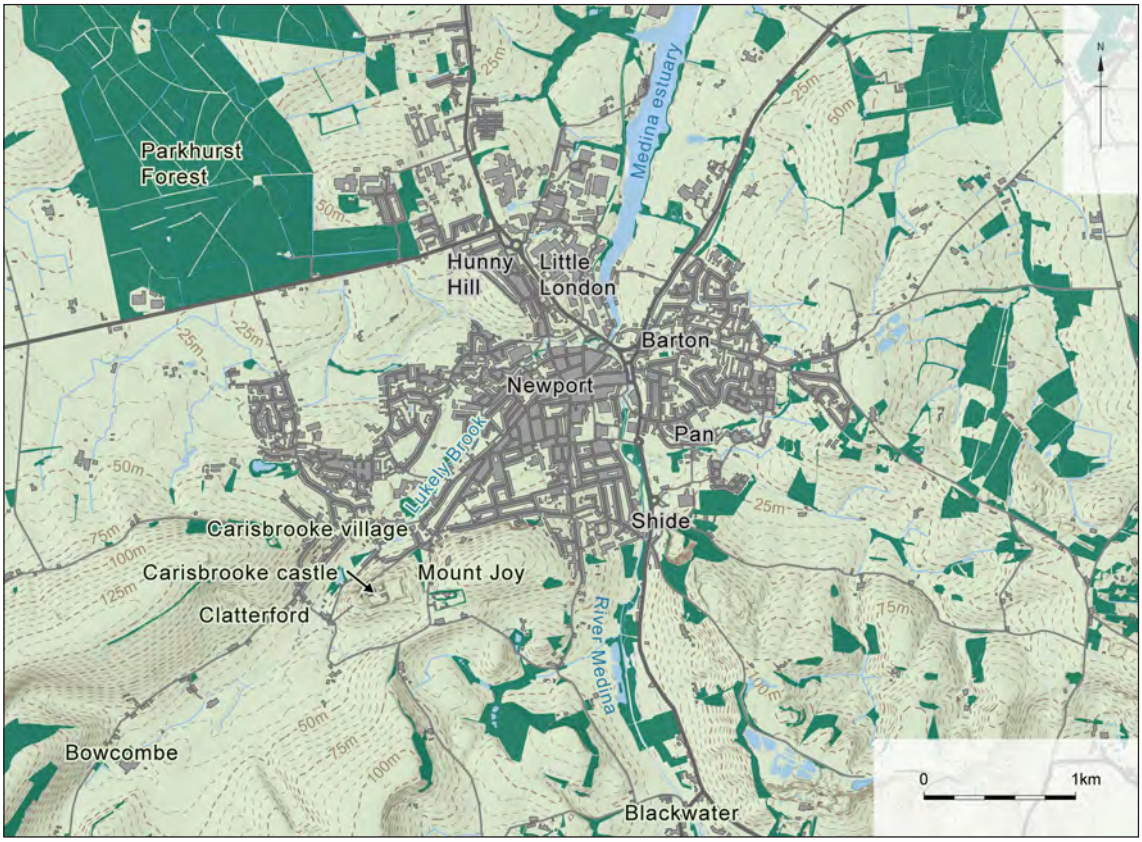

Figure 3 – The Newport area showing topography and key places mentioned in the text (© Historic England, contains Ordnance Survey data © Crown copyright and database right 2021)

To the north the land is of a more open rolling character. The Medina estuary runs to the NNE from Newport and a broad open valley runs away to the west. Betty Haunt Lane approximately marks a watershed to the west of which streams drain northwest towards Newtown. Between these are undulating hills; to the immediate north of Newport is Hunny Hill which rises quite steeply from the Lukely Brook to over 30m OD, but the highest land is within Parkhurst Forest where there are several hills over 65m OD (front cover).

Designations

This study focusses on the historic core of Newport. Within this area there are approximately 175 Listed buildings, the majority grade II and 19th century in date, though St Thomas's Church is grade I and some are thought to be as early as the 17th century (see Figure 4).

Much of the historic core is also a Conservation Area. Parts of the historic core to the east and south-east have seen extensive post-war redevelopment and are excluded from this, but early suburban development south along St James's Street

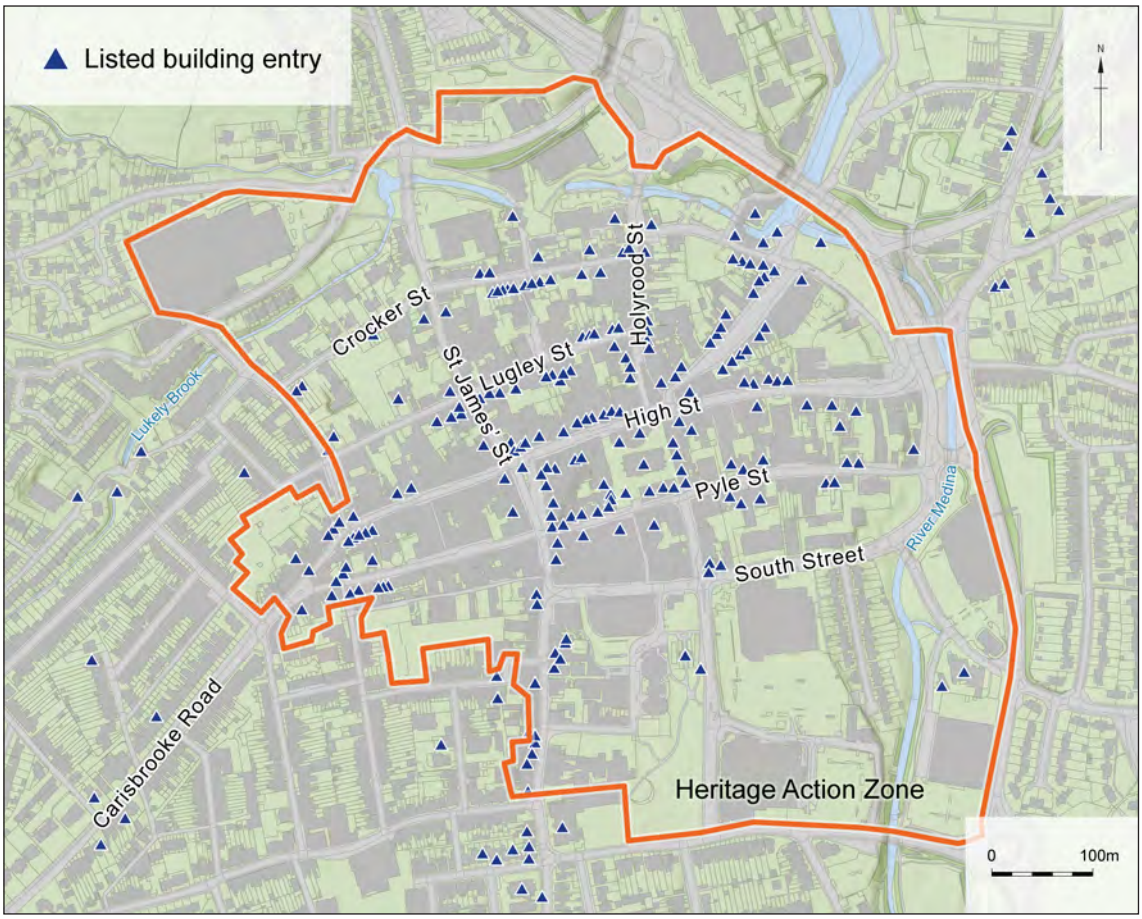

Figure 4 – The Newport High Street Heritage Action Zone, showing listed buildings and main streets (© Historic England, background map: © Crown Copyright and database right 2021. All rights reserved. Ordnance Survey Licence number 100024900)

and St James's Place, south-west along Carisbrooke Road, and west on Hearn Street are included.

Previous research and planning background

The first modern survey of the archaeology of the Isle of Wight was *The Vectis Report* which included a section on Newport (Basford 1980, 41-43). An Extensive Urban Survey for Newport was undertaken in the late 1990s (Edwards 1999a and 1999b). This identified several 'issues to be resolved', most of which remain current (below). In 2007 the Conservation Area was revised, and a Character Appraisal undertaken by the Isle of Wight Council's Conservation and Design team (IWC C&D 2007).

Following the publication of the *IoW Historic Landscape Characterisation* report (Basford 2008), a *Historic Environment Action Plan* was drawn up and a specific *Urban Settlement Type* report produced by the IWC Archaeology and Historic Environment Service (IWC AHES 2008). The *Shaping Newport Place Plan* was produced in 2018 (Arc Consulting IoW 2018) and in 2019 Historic England's Historic Places Panel produced a review paper for the island (HE HPP 2019). This identified some specific options for Newport including the submission of an application for a HS HAZ, the preparation of a public realm strategy and the development of a masterplan for the harbour area. This was soon followed by the submission of an application for a HS HAZ, which was approved, and in turn by the HS HAZ Scheme Programme (IWC 2019). The area of the HS HAZ is shown on Figure 4.

The 2018 place plan identified several themes, such as:

> DESTINATION: Rediscovering and celebrating Newport's identity, in its built and natural heritage, in its social and cultural stories... (Arc Consulting IoW 2018, 58)

Under each of the themes are several actions, for example:

> St. James' Square ... resurrecting the 'Beast Market' heritage (ibid, 60)
> ... begin the process of re-identifying Newport with its historic, cultural, technological and environmental content, using facts, locations and stories ... Begin to theme promotion ... the Medieval heart, ... and so on (ibid, 61)
> ... "Encourage exploration of the town [with] signs, maps and trails – help people discover ... heritage" (ibid, 66)

The medieval core was identified as a specific target for action:

> ... bring together the 9 lanes of Newport, ... together comprising one of the most distinctive features of the town. ... recreate safe pedestrian thoroughfares, many of which were first in use as part of the medieval street plan (ibid, 65)

Unsurprisingly the HS HAZ programme (IWC 2019) also focussed on the heritage of Newport, specifically for example:

> 3.48 We will attract more investment using our heritage ... The anticipated impact of bringing the heritage of Newport to the fore would be the opportunity to position the town as a great place to invest in these sectors, using the heritage of Newport as a brand to promote it as a great place to live, work and invest.
> 3.49 The tourist economy is vital to the island, placemaking using heritage has the potential to dramatically increase visitor numbers.
> 4.4 The scheme will deliver new supplementary planning guidance, and an overview document that doubles as town prospectus, incorporated into the draft 15-year island Plan in 2020. This will be used to i) celebrate the 800-year heritage of Newport's town centre and ii) prescribe for its cultural and commercial evolution (IWC 2019)

Under the heading 'Additional research projects by Historic England' the HS HAZ programme identified the following 'research questions/actions':

- Evidence for occupation pre-dating the foundation of the town (prehistoric, Roman, early medieval)
- Evidence for the French raids in the 14th century and the extent to which the town was rebuilt subsequently
- Nature of development around the quay and on the riverside
- The layout of the medieval burgage plots and the house types of the medieval town
- Evidence of the 17th century piped water system
- Potential for elements of earlier structures to survive in what appear to be 18th/19th century buildings
- Review of Listed Buildings and development of the Local List.
- Investigate development of a deposit model for Newport looking at borehole data and evidence gathered during archaeological interventions. In particular assess the potential for waterlogged and paleoenvironmental material to survive in the area of the quay and near to the Medina and Lukely Brook (IWC 2019, 19-20)

The IWC Archaeology and Historic Environment Service (IWC AHES) are currently producing a specific Historic Environment Action Plan for Newport, one of the recommended actions from the Urban HEAP (pers comm Rebecca Loader, Senior Archaeologist, IWC AHES). This document notes that 'Research questions set out in The Vectis Report (Basford 1980) and the Extensive Urban Survey (Edwards 1999a and b) remain pertinent and largely unanswered' (IWC AHES 2020, 14) and goes on to summarise these as the need to determine or define:

- Evidence of prehistoric occupation

- The extent of Roman activity in the town
- The extent of Saxon activity
- Evidence for settlement pre-dating the twelfth century charter
- Markets and fairs
- The layout of the medieval burgage plots is not known
- The house types of the medieval town
- Town fields/commons
- The nature of riverside development
- The nature of trade and industry in the middle ages
- Evidence for the French raids in the 14th century
- The extent of rebuilding after the French raids in the 14th century
- The possibility that the town may have been walled
- Evidence for and the extent of the piped water system

Aim and Objectives

Clearly not all the themes and questions identified above can be address by a single, relatively small-scale project such as this. Nevertheless, it can serve to underpin several of the overall HAZ Objectives, particularly Objective 2 which proposes 'installing heritage interpretation', Objective 3 which plans to 'celebrate the 800-year heritage of Newport's town centre', and Objective 9 'Develop and deliver a cultural programme that ... celebrates heritage' (IWC 2019, 17).

The Aim of this project is therefore to:

> To support the Newport HS HAZ by providing an enhanced historical context and geographic framework, based upon an improved understanding of its historic development.

To meet this Aim, the following Objectives will be addressed:

A. Develop an improved understanding of Newport's historic development (by answering the research questions set out below)
B. Provide a geographic framework
C. Provide an enhanced historical context
D. Support Newport HS HAZ (activities and community engagement)
E. Support future research
F. Scope the potential for a deposit model of the harbour/riverside areas

The research questions to be tackled under Objective A are:

1. What was the medieval layout of the town? Looking at:
    a. Its extent
    b. Its gates and any walls

    c. Medieval burgage plots
    d. Level of occupation
    e. The balance between formal gardens and productive space
    f. Markets and fairs
2. Can the uncertainties around the chapel of St Mary Magdalene and/or Garston's chantry chapel be resolved?
3. What was the nature of development around the quay and on the riverside?
    a. Little London
    b. Mills
4. How did the town's suburbs develop, did they have medieval origins?
5. Can more light be thrown on the 14th century French raids?
    a. What was the extent of damage?
    b. How long did it take the town to recover?
    c. Was open space in the town a result of the raids or always a feature?
6. How did the town develop in the post-medieval period?
7. Can any elements of the 17th century piped water system be inferred?

HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Before Newport

William I had granted the Isle of Wight to one of his closest allies soon after the Conquest, his half-brother William Fitz Osbern, who was killed in battle in 1071. His son Roger inherited, but the King took possession of the Fitz Osbern holdings after Roger rebelled and died in prison in 1078. They remained in the crown's hands until they were granted to Richard de Redvers (I) soon after 1100 by Henry I (below), propelling him almost overnight from a minor Normandy lord with very few holdings in England, to one of the dozen richest barons in the country (Bearman 1994, 24). Note that some sources describe Richard as the 1st Earl of Devon (for example Butchart 1959), but this seems to be incorrect (Page 1912; Bearman 2004).

Richard died an apparently untimely death in 1107 and his son, Baldwin de Redvers (I), succeeded, probably as a minor. For the rest of Henry I's reign, Baldwin does not feature as a significant figure, but he came to prominence in 1136, very soon after King Stephen's succession, when he rebelled siding with the Empress Matilda, and leading to a siege of Carisbrooke Castle, his surrender and exile to Anjou. In 1139 he returned to England leading Matilda's invasion, and was created 1st Earl of Devon by her in 1141. Following this, when her fortunes were on the wane, he appears to have retreated to Devon and quietly set about recovering his estates but remained an opponent of Stephen. Earl Baldwin died in 1155 and was buried at Quarr Abbey, which he had founded (Bearman 1994, 5-11).

The lordship of the family estates passed to his eldest son Richard de Redvers (II), but the earldom was withheld; he only became the 2nd Earl of Devon a few years later. He died in 1162 leaving two very young sons, Baldwin (II) and Richard (III), whose affairs were looked after by their grandfather Earl Reginald until his death in 1175, when their uncle William de Vernon took over and the estates passed to the crown. The boys seem to have been brought up in Carisbrooke Castle. Baldwin was invested in the family estates at Christmas 1179, presumably on his coming of age, but was not granted the earldom until 1185/6 (Bearman 1994, 11-12), becoming the 3rd Earl. It was this Baldwin who granted Yarmouth its first charter. He died without issue in 1188 so was succeeded by his brother. Once again, the earldom was withheld, and Richard (III) seems to have become the 4th Earl in 1189. Richard granted Newport its first charter after he became earl. The date of Richard's death is unknown, but it was probably sometime in the first half of 1191 (Bearman 1994, 13). He was succeeded by his uncle William de Vernon, 5th Earl of Devon.

Newport is clearly a 'new town of the middle ages' (to paraphrase the title of Beresford's 1967 book) but it was established within an occupied landscape within which there would have been patterns of jurisdiction, ownership and tenure creating a plethora of vested interests we can frequently only guess at. The creation of a new town must have impacted on this landscape in a similar way to the construction of Carisbrooke Castle, where Domesday Book records the reduction of Alvington's assessment by ½ hide, 'because a castle stands on one virgate' (Munby 1982,

IoW1.15), though this bald statement rather glosses over the fact that this virgate must have been held by someone and been used for something.

At the time of Domesday Book, around 1086, the de Redvers lands, upon which Newport was founded, were in the King's hands. They comprised Bowcombe, Alvington, and part of Shide (Munby 1982 IoW1,7; IoW1,10; IoW1,15 and notes; see also IoW8,6; IoW7,21). Domesday Book is a deceptive document and despite the apparent detail the picture of the late 11th century landscape that can be gleaned from it is extremely broad-brush. In some cases, the information cannot be readily related to the landscape; for example, the details of ploughlands and ploughs tell us little about the size and layout of the field systems and the numbers of people tell us little about the settlement pattern. In others, Domesday is curiously silent; most holdings mention little or no woodland, probably as much had been taken into 'the King's park', which became Parkhurst Forest, but this is only mentioned once (Munby 1982, IoW5,1 and note). Carisbrooke is also notable for its absence though the church is thought to have been within Bowcombe and the castle was in Alvington, as noted above (Munby 1982, note IoW 1,7; note IoW1,15).

What is notable is the number of mills listed in the area; Bowcombe had two (one held by Lyre abbey), Alvington two and Shide seven (the King four, Jocelyn one, and William two). This amounts to 11 mills, almost a third of all the mills on the island. These were all watermills (windmills were not introduced into England until the later 12th century), and their sites are highly conservative, a result of the investment required to create a head of water by constructing leats, ponds and dams (HE 2018). It is therefore noteworthy that (excluding the short-lived 18th century Clatterford Paper Mill) seven mill sites have been identified on the Lukely Brook and four on the Medina north of Blackwater Mill (which can be identified with a Domesday mill recorded at *Huffingford*; Munby 1982, note IoW9,14), all of which survived into the post-medieval period, most into the early 20th century. Running downstream along the Lukely Brook these were Carisbrooke Mill, Priory Mill (that held by Lyre Abbey), West Mill, Westminster Mill, Home Mill, Towngate Mill and St Cross Mill (granted to St Cross Priory, below). On the Medina were Upper Shide Mill, Lower Shide Mill, Pan Mill (Pan did not have a mill in DB), and Ford Mill (also granted to St Cross Priory). Although it is not certain that these exact mill sites were in use at Domesday, the correspondence is remarkable; the watercourses around Newport were clearly intensively exploited well before its foundation.

The small priory of St Cross mentioned above also pre-dated Newport; it was founded in about 1120 as a cell of the Benedictine abbey of Tiron (Doubleday and Page 1903, 225), today Thirdon-Gardais, Eure-et-Loire. In about 1141-6 Baldwin de Redvers (I) issued a charter confirming to the monks the church founded by Robert Colaws next to his *oppidum* of 'Carsbrok', the founder's demesne land in Shide with its meadows, the mill of 'Laford', 20 acres on 'Standon hill', a mill next to the monastery with a barn, three smaller gifts of land, and giving them Baldwin's land on 'Hunyell' with grazing rights on all his moorlands (Bearman 1994, 70). Papal bulls in 1147 and in 1176 confirmed the priory and its lands to Tiron (Hockey 1982, 46-7).

The priory occupied a spot on the north bank of the Lukely Brook, about 300m from its confluence with the River Medina, probably close to the contemporary tidal limit, and the mill next to the monastery probably lay on or near the site of the surviving St Cross Mill. Baldwin's 30 acres on Hunnyhill lay to the immediate north (Hockey 1982, 47). The mill of 'Laford' lay not far to the south-east; Ford Mill survived until 1962 at the east end of Pyle Street on the Medina. With land in Shide as well, the priory held a considerable amount of land around the head of the estuary when Newport was founded, which may have influenced the town's location and form.

Foundation

Newport's first charter was granted by Richard, the 4th Earl of Devon. It is undated but various possibilities have been suggested, though a date between 1189 and 1191 seems most likely (Bearman 1994, 13). It has generally been regarded as the town's foundation charter though doubts have been raised about this since it 'contains the phrase, *meo confirmavi burgensibus*, 'confirmation to my burgesses' (Lilley 2001, 8), implying existing rights. Richard was succeeded by his uncle, William de Vernon, who is thought to have previously managed the family lands during the minorities of Richard and his predecessor Baldwin. William has been suggested as the actual founder of Yarmouth, Newport and Lymington in the late 1170s (ibid, 8-9), and it is tempting to wonder if the papal bull of 1176 confirming the lands and rights of St Cross Priory (above) was sought because of concerns caused by the town's foundation.

Although this was a new borough, it may not have been an entirely new settlement; 'borough' implies certain rights, but it may be these that were new. At Lymington, another de Redvers plantation, the new borough was added to the old settlement sometime around 1200 and at Newtown, founded in the 1250s, two 'tenants continued to hold their old houses adjoining the haven and the new town appears to have been planted around them' (Beresford 1967, 443, 445). Something similar could have happened at Newport.

The rights conferred on the burgesses of the new borough by Richard's charter comprised: the mercantile privileges of freedom from toll in markets and fairs, and trade more generally, across all of Richard's lands; the jurisdictional privileges of freedom from shire and hundred courts, no external pleas (effectively the right to their own courts), and the limitation of fines (to 30d); the power to elect their own reeve; and a grant of pasture rights in Parkhurst. The final clause set out the render to be received by Richard ('each for his messuage, twelve pence yearly') and the terms upon which the burgages would be held ('in fee and heredity') (Ballard 1913, 252-3).

The question remains, why here? In terms of the general location of the most successful of the medieval boroughs it was perhaps inevitable. It is close to the centre of the Isle of Wight at the head of the Medina estuary (a natural harbour) and where its valley forms a key north/south route, as does the Lukely valley to the west. In addition, it lies at the junction of the island's major northern and southern landscape zones, and close to an ancient east/west route that ran along the chalk

ridge of the Central Downs (Ulmschneider 1999, 23, fig 1), notably where this route had to descend to and cross the two valleys. As such it is hardly surprising that the Bowcombe/Carisbrooke area has been a central place on the island, possibly since the late Iron Age but more certainly in the Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon periods (Basford 1980, Map 8, 28, Map 9, 30; Ulmschneider 1999; Tomalin 2002 Fig 3, 61). The earlier focus was rather dispersed, with separate judicial (the hundredal meeting place on Bowcombe Down), administrative (the *villa regalis* in Bowcombe), religious (a minster church at Carisbrooke) and defensive (the earlier enclosure underlying Carisbrooke Castle) centres, all within a few kilometres of one another. The closer integration of central place functions at Carisbrooke by the middle of the 12th century, with Bowcombe, Shide and Alvington subsidiary to it, is part of a process seen across the country. The use of the name Carisbrooke for the estate and parish before this is probably anachronistic (for example Sewell 2000).

Within this area though, Carisbrooke would have been the obvious place to plant a new borough:

> 'town founders of the 12th and 13th centuries had good reason to expect a town laid out next to a major church or the headquarters of an estate would have a good chance of success because the large and populous territory attached would provide the town with an initial hinterland' (Dyer 2003, 89).

Newport is however somewhat removed from it; even if it was within the same 'populous territory' it lacked its own church, and probably any defences (below), so was expected to look to Carisbrooke for these services, a short but inconvenient distance away as demonstrated by the various requests for parochial status by the burgesses and the 14th century destruction of the town by the French (below). There is no obvious reason why the town could not have been laid out much closer to either the castle or the church so it seems that other factors must have been more important in the choice of site.

One reason might have been simple economics. The historic core of Newport sits upon soils of only moderate fertility, whilst soils to the immediate south are better drained and so more productive (Cranfield University 2021), a difference that was perhaps more pronounced in the medieval period, and almost certainly harder to mitigate. Newport might therefore have been deliberately placed upon land that was less agriculturally valuable.

Another influence on:

> 'the choice of site for a new town was often ... a proto-urban settlement, which may have been no more than a gathering for an informal market' (Dyer 2003, 89).

Domesday Book records income from toll in Bowcombe's entry, hinting at just such a market within the Bowcombe estate (Munby 1982, 1,7, note), though where this lay is unclear (below). Given the shelter the Medina estuary would have provided for small coastal craft and the way that it penetrates the heart of the island, allowing access to the Carisbrooke area, it is hard to believe that there was not some form of

landing place at its head from an early date, perhaps where trade took place. At the risk of a circular argument the location of Newport rather suggests that it was this existing trading activity that the new town was positioned to exploit, which turn this implies some existing settlement and just possibly that this was the location of the *xx masuræ bordarios*, 'twenty bordars' messuages' mentioned in the Bowcombe entry (ibid, 1,7; Page 1912, 253-65).

The 13th century

William de Vernon, 5th Earl of Devon, who had succeeded Richard (III) the 4th Earl in about 1191, died in 1216, and was buried at Quarr Abbey. William was Baldwin (II) and Richard (III)'s uncle, the second son of Baldwin (I) (Page 1912, 83-101). As Baldwin (I) left at least five children from his marriage to Adeliz, who died in around 1146 (Bearman 2004), the latest William could have been born would have been in the later 1130s suggesting he must have been at least 80 when he died, an unusually long lifespan. A charter of William's contracted with Carisbrooke Priory to service the church in Newport (novo burgo) (Beresford 1988, 444), the first evidence for its existence. He was succeeded by his grandson Baldwin de Redvers (IV), 6th Earl of Devon, who died in 1245 (Bearman 2004), and was succeeded in turn by his son, also Baldwin (V), the 7th Earl. In 1257 Baldwin obtained a grant of an annual 3-day fair at his manor of Carisbrooke in mid-August (Page 1912, 221-35). This could well have been held in the vicinity of Newport. He died without male heir in 1262 and was succeeded by his sister Isabella.

Isabella de Fortibus

Isabella was born in 1237, she married William de Fortibus, Earl of Albermarle, in 1245, but he died in 1261 leaving her a countess and widow at 24. His lands were in the north of England but following her inheritance of the de Redvers estates she seems to have preferred to spend time in the south, styling herself 'Countess of Albemarle and Devon, and lady of the island' in her charter to Newport.

Isabella's charter uses very similar introductory clauses to those used by Richard de Redvers (III) and still refers to Newport as 'the New Borough of Medina'. It has not been dated more closely than her period as 'lady of the island', 1262-93. It was confirmed by Edward III in 1352, by Richard II in 1393, by Henry IV in 1401, by Henry V in 1414, by Henry VI in 1439, and by Edward IV in 1464 (Page 1912, 253-65). In it she confirms the borough's existing mercantile privileges, its freedom from tolls on its trading activities. The jurisdictional privileges were confirmed (freedom from suit to shire and hundred courts, no external pleas, limitation of fines again to 30d) and enhanced by making explicit that all pleas should be 'in the borough itself between them and by them' and the grant of borough amercements to the burgesses. The right to elect their reeve was confirmed and they also received the right to elect their own bailiff. The rights in Parkhurst were confirmed but more explicitly, restricting them to the grazing of cattle.

The town was also granted West Mill and a half share in Ford Mill. St Cross Priory held the other half but appears to have been granted the whole mill by Baldwin

I in about 1140 (above). Perhaps the half share was exchanged as part of a land deal of some sort. Monastic institutions are known to have been at the forefront of the emerging medieval land market and were keen to consolidate their holdings to increase their profitability. It may be significant that the priory became one of the larger landowners in the town with places in Crocker Street and High Street, shops in the market, and a tenement on the Quay (Hockey 1982, 47). Perhaps the most significant change however was from individual burgage tenure to a fee farm, a negotiated fee for the whole town rather than one based upon individual payments and as such not directly related to the population. The burgesses became collectively responsible for payments from the whole borough thereby devolving the apportionment and collection of individual fees: 'Instead of paying 1s. for each tenement the burgesses were now to pay a lump sum of 18 marks, 2s. 2d., to the lady and 1 mark to the hospital of St. Augustine for their burgages' (Page 1912, 253-65; a mark was worth 160d). The charter also confirmed several exclusions which Isabella had previously granted elsewhere, notably 13½ places to St Nicholas Chapel in Carisbrooke Castle (Castlehold), and liberties to Quarr Abbey, and Twynham and Appuldurcombe priories.

Based upon the fee farm, the town comprised 255½ places, 269 with Castlehold's 13½. This appears to be a significant increase on a 1263 extent which lists 175 tenements (Beresford 1988, 444), also suggesting that the town charter may have been granted sometime later. However, it is not clear if the 1263 extent is complete, it is possible, though perhaps unlikely, that Castlehold and the liberties mentioned above had already been granted away and Isabella may have held some places directly. The fee farm may also have been higher than expected, based upon individual rents. In an extent of the island of 1297-8 the fee-farm rent of Newport was £12 2s 2d which, with Castlehold, equates to $255^{2}/_{3}$ places. This appears to indicate a slight decrease in the size of Newport, at a time when population was generally increasing (Hatcher 1977, Fig 1, 71), but it is possible that the fee farm specified in the charter was overly ambitious and the borough negotiated a reduction. Whatever the truth of the matter, by the 1290s Newport comprised something over 250 places, probably a marked increase from the middle of the century.

How this equates to population is difficult to say. If each place was occupied and undivided then there would have been about 260 households in the town, and if the average household comprised around six people (based upon an average peasant household of 4-5 people (Titow 1969, 83-9), plus perhaps 1-2 servants, apprentices and so on unlikely to be present in poorer rural houses), then the population of Newport in the later 13th century might have been about 1500, though the margin of error will be high. Whatever the exact figure, this period is likely to have seen its highest medieval population, a level probably not seen again for perhaps 300 years. For several centuries England's population had been growing, causing a land hunger that led to high rents and onerous services, an increase in vulnerable subsistence-farming on small sublet plots, and a significant floating population (Platt 2010, 121-2), many of whom will have drifted into towns. But the climate was becoming increasingly unstable and there was a run of poor harvests in the 1290s; the beginning of the troubles of the 14th century (below).

No formal grant of a market or fair to Newport is known and the first certain reference to either is from Isabella's period as Lady of the Isle. By 1280 she had claimed the right to hold a Saturday market and 3-day fair at Whitsuntide which was allowed by the 'justices itinerant' (Page 1912, 260). This refers to a series of *quo warranto* enquiries:

> 'held by royal judges who were sent on circuits around the country, chiefly in the reigns of King Edward I and King Edward II (1272–1327). In an attempt to assert royal rights, the justices attempted to discover by what right ... individuals or institutions were holding markets and fairs.' (Letters 2013)

The claim was to confirm existing rights though, and whilst various dates have been proposed for the origin of the market and fair, the prominence of mercantile privileges in the borough's foundation charter strongly suggested that they originated with the town. In fact, the Domesday Book tolls mentioned above suggest that trading in the vicinity, if not a formal market, preceded Newport's foundation by at least a century, if not more.

Isabella outlived all her children and died in 1293, the last of the de Redvers line. The earldom then passed to Hugh de Courtney, and the Lordship of the Isle of Wight and associated lands passed to the crown. With the island in the crown's hands, Edward I set about improving its defences; watches were organised, beacons prepared, and key points (Carisbrooke Castle, Yarmouth, East Cowes, Ryde, and Quarr Abbey) were strengthened (Hughes 1994, 141).

The 14th century

By the turn of the century, the former de Redvers lands, Carisbrooke Castle and the Lordship of the island were in the hands of the Crown. In 1312, after a brief period held by Peter de Gaveston, Edward II granted the estates and castle to his infant son who retained them when he became Edward III. He in turn granted them to his daughter Isabel in 1356. On her marriage they became a part of the lands of her husband Ingram de Coirci, later Earl of Bedford, who resigned his English honours on the accession of Richard II in 1377, so they reverted to the Crown. In 1382 Richard II made William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury, constable of Carisbrooke and in 1385 granted him Ingram's lands, including the Lordship of the island. William died in 1397 and the island, castle and manor were immediately granted to Edward Earl of Rutland, but he was deprived on the accession of Henry IV in 1399, and they came to the Crown once again (Page 1912, 222).

The 14th century was a turbulent period for the country with the agrarian crisis of 1315-22, and the arrival of the Black Death in 1349, punctuating a general climatic downturn and ongoing conflict with France. The first half of the century in particular has been described as 'catastrophic'. (Platt 2010, 119-24). The population downturn in England was marked; from a peak of around 5 million in 1300, it dropped about a third by the middle of the century and fell further to around 2.4 million by 1400, a level it remained at for 150 years (Hatcher 1977, Fig 1, 71).

The agrarian crisis

Although the climate had been deteriorating since the late 13th century and failed harvests were not uncommon, there had been nothing like the agrarian crisis of 1315-22. It began with never ending rains and harvest failures in both 1315 and 1316, compounded by sheep mortality and cattle murrains in 1319-21 that halved livestock numbers, and another harvest failure in 1321 (Platt 2010, 119). The 'combination of misfortunes was extraordinary' (Britnell 2004, 491-2) and led to 'appalling famines and almost universal distress' (Hatcher and Bailey 2001, 55). This was 'a major disaster with real demographic implications' (Goldberg 2004, 83). After this the weather remained unpredictable and there were further failed harvests in 1328, 1331, 1339, and 1346, though on the whole conditions improved (Platt 2010, 121). Nevertheless, this must have checked any recovery.

It is not clear the extent to which these misfortunes affected the Isle of Wight. Its position on the south coast means that it may have experienced more favourable weather, and as an island it could have been isolated from some of the diseases which swept through livestock on the mainland. Unfortunately, we lack the information to make any 'before and after' assessment of the Isle of Wight's fortunes. The 1334 Lay Subsidy indicates that overall, the Isle of Wight was assessed at a moderate level: £10-£19 per square mile (Glasscock 1975, map 1, xxvii). Whilst this gives us an indication of the island's relative wealth, it gives no indication as to the impact of the crisis, other than that it doesn't appear to have fared noticeably better or worse than other areas. Similarly, the subsidy shows that Newport was the joint fourth most highly assessed community (of 42) on the Isle of Wight at £7 5s 0d. This is probably comparable to Newtown, which was included within Swainston, the highest taxed community on the island (£11 13s 0d), though as the wider estate was extensive it is difficult to be sure of the value of the borough alone. Neither Yarmouth, the only other borough, nor Brading, which also had some trappings of borough status, appear to have been comparable; the former was valued at less than £1, the latter less than £2. In a regional context none of these were particularly notable places: Southampton was taxed at £51 2s 4d; Portsmouth £12 12s 2d; Portchester int' £8 5s 3d; Portchester for' £2 8s 6d; New Lymington £6 3s 0d; Old Lymington, £4 1s 8d; and Petersfield £1 14s 0d. Southampton, Portsmouth, and Portchester int' were boroughs taxed at the higher rate of a tenth, the other towns were taxed at a fifteenth so the borough's payments represent comparable levels of wealth $^{2}/_{3}$ of their taxation rates (about £34, £8 6s £5 6s respectively). Unsurprisingly, Southampton stands out despite this adjustment; it was a nationally significant port and had been for several centuries. Old and New Lymington combined were worth more than Newport (£10 4 8) as was Portsmouth, though not significantly. As with the island, Newport doesn't appear to have fared noticeably better or worse than other towns in the area, though the fact that none of the towns on the island were regarded as boroughs may be significant.

Conflict with France

England's conflict with France dates back into the 13th century, but the most significant period has been described as the Hundred Years' War, a term adopted

by historians in the 1860s for a series of conflicts from 1337 to 1453, during which generations of English and French kings fought over the right to the crown of France, then the largest kingdom in western Europe (Cannon 2009, 337). Lying as it does on the south coast a relatively short distance from Normandy, the Isle of Wight, along with many other channel ports, has always been vulnerable to seaborne hostility. The very foundation of the Lordship of the Isle, by William I immediately after the Conquest, is thought to have been intended to mitigate this, and Edward I had strengthened the island's defences in the late 13th century (above).

Raids and threats of invasion were frequent during the 14th century. In September 1336 ships anchored off the island were boarded, and their crews killed. Some of the ships were scuttled and others were taken to be sold as prizes (Sumption 1990, 164; see also Hughes 1994, 123-6 for this and details of other raids). In March 1338 Portsmouth was plundered and almost the whole town burnt, the French fleet then moving on to Jersey (ibid, 226). Later in the year shipping in the channel was attacked, and in October Southampton was plundered and burnt, destroying the whole of the southern half of the town and putting a stop to all commercial activity for a year (ibid, 248). The next year, Philip IV of France was thought to be planning invasion, Hampshire was seen as vulnerable, and troops and supplies were rushed to the Isle of Wight (ibid, 262). In July 1340 an English convoy was attacked, 30 ships were captured, and their crews killed. The next month a force that landed on Isle of Wight was driven off by militia, but only after causing a great deal of damage on the island and heavy casualties including the death of the commander Sir Theobald Russell (ibid, 346-7). In 1342 the French again burnt Portsmouth and the attacking fleet lay offshore for several days causing widespread terror (ibid, 399), and in 1351 a ship in Portsmouth harbour was attacked by a raiding party. There were further predictions of invasion in 1339, 1346, 1352 and 1360, none of which materialised, though in March 1360 Winchelsea was attacked. A period of peace followed.

In 1370 Charles of Navarre's ambassadors landed at Newport on their way to Southampton to be received at Westminster. Following the resumption of hostilities in 1369, Charles had started negotiations with Edward III, ostensibly to enter an alliance, but in reality to strengthen his hand in his dealings with the French king. Not surprisingly the negotiations came to nothing (Sumption 2009, 73, 66, 74). In July 1370 Portsmouth was burnt once again. In spring 1377 garrisons were put into the Isle of Wight and the ports of Devon and Cornwall (ibid, 278) and in June, Rye was attacked. In July 1380 raiders landed in Rye Bay, burned Winchelsea and many surrounding villages, and continued up the Thames estuary (ibid, 385-6). There were threats of invasion that caused widespread panic in 1385 and 1386 but once again nothing happened. In August 1388 a French fleet entered the Solent and did considerable damage to Portsmouth and the Isle of Wight (ibid, 656). The last French attacks of the 14th century took place the following year before a longer truce that lasted until 1415. The infamous French raid on the island in August 1377 was thus the peak of a long period of tension that continued for years.

Ships entering and leaving the Solent and raids on the adjacent coast would have been clearly visible from much of the island (see front cover; Portsmouth is visible in Figure 5), smoke from widespread burning could probably be seen across the

whole of it, and news of raids from further afield is likely to have arrived quickly. This must have caused widespread disquiet and alarm leading to fear and panic at times, prompting a widespread exodus from vulnerable areas of those able to leave, weakening them further. Various orders were issued attempting to ensure people remained (Hughes 1994, 142), though how successfully is questionable. One would have thought that all this might have prompted a flurry of defensive construction but, apart from some work at Winchester, this was not the case. Portsmouth was unwalled at this time and remained so until the end of the 14th century. Southampton was only partially walled and despite instructions to fortify following the 1338 raid nothing coherent was attempted until after 1376 (Sumption 1990, 251).

The Black Death 1348-9

The Black Death arrived in the West Country in August 1348, though which port had the dubious honour of being the first point of entry is uncertain; Melcombe Regis (now part of Weymouth) is most likely (Zeigler 1970, 122-3). It then spread rapidly throughout England and 'in the spring of 1349 ... visited the Isle of Wight and wrought havoc amongst the Newport inhabitants' (Page 1912, 253-65). Overall, 'The Isle of Wight was so reduced in population that, in 1350, the king remitted the tax due from the royal tenants' (Ziegler 1970, 150).

How this translates into figures is uncertain. It is thought to have reduced the population of England by between a third and a half (Cannon 2009, 79). The island may have been at the top end of this range; Zeigler reports that 'almost every benefice in the island became vacant' suggests it was hit even harder than the rest of the diocese where the figure was 49% (Ziegler 1970, 150, 236), though how these figures relate to the lay population is unclear. On Hayling island, just across the Solent, a royal declaration recorded that 'the greater part of the said population died' (ibid), and as a town Newport may have fared worse. Even allowing for contemporary hyperbole, a halving of the population might not be an unreasonable estimate.

There were further national outbreaks of plague in 1361-2 which may have reduced the population by a further quarter, 1368-9 reducing it by perhaps a sixth, and 1375 for which we have no information. A marked change in seasonal mortality however, from predominantly winter to summer, suggests that plague was endemic in the later 14th century (Hatcher 1977, 25-6) and there may well have been local outbreaks.

Despite this the national economy appears to have bounced back and even grown with most agriculture and many towns and branches of industry and commerce befitting; 'within a decade or so of the first plague many towns ... were showing signs of strong recovery' (Hatcher 1977, 34). The massive loss of life during the Black Death and subsequent outbreaks of plague appears to have restored 'a more efficient balance between labour, land and capital' and 'a sharp increase in per capita wealth and consumption' (ibid, 33). Growth began to peter out in the late 14th or early 15th century though and the 15th century can be characterised as one of depression (ibid, 35-6).

The 1377 French raid

The 1377 raid was one of many seen on the south coast during the 14th century and there were also raids on the island in 1340 and 1388, there may have been more. Thomas Walsingham, monk of the Benedictine abbey of St Albans, provides an almost contemporary account of the 1377 raid in his *Chronica Maiora*, which has been described as 'one of the most valuable and vivid narrative histories to survive from later medieval England ... a completely independent narrative, founded for the most part on first-hand reports from a host of high-profile informants' (Clark and Preest 2005, 1). Other contemporary accounts confirm details such as the date and the payment demanded (ibid, n4, 45), but add little information and all subsequent accounts appear to be based on these same limited sources. As such it is worth quoting in full:

> *The French capture the Isle of Wight*
> In order that the English might not be the only ones to meet with triumphs unmixed with disasters, in the same year on 21 August the French took the virtually impregnable Isle of Wight, though more by guile than valour. If it had been properly defended by the garrison it would not have fallen to anyone. But the careless watch kept by the islanders led to destruction for themselves, an unexpected triumph for the French and disgrace and heavy losses for the English. What happened was that the French were driven to its coasts by a storm, and then tried to invade the island, believing that the islanders were unaware of their arrival. In fact the French intention was picked up by the inhabitants, who allowed them to make a landing on their territory, thinking that, when a certain number had landed whom they thought they could handle, they would keep the rest from landing. But it turned out differently from their expectations. A few were let in, as planned, but when the inhabitants tried to stop the rest from landing, their efforts were in vain, since the French poured from their ships in such numbers that time after time they drove back the islanders from their defence of the coastline. In the end the islanders, who had previously believed that they could capture the French pretty well just as they liked, were compelled to flee and look for hiding places, as the French, having got possession of the island in this fashion, roamed everywhere, killing the inhabitants, burning some of their towns and making off with their belongings. The French at last reached the castle on the island [Figure 5]. They imagined that they could capture it with little trouble, but they found there in Sir Hugh Tyrrell, the castellan, a person able to inspire an unbelievably fierce defence. He boldly met the French near the castle, and inflicted great slaughter upon them. So they stopped attacking the castle, and, thinking it unsafe to live alongside such a dragon in the future, they collected as much booty as they could from the island and forced the inhabitants to beg their friends outside the island for a thousand marks [£666] of silver to save their houses from fire and to secure the rest of their possessions. And they only departed after

> they had received an oath of good behaviour from the islanders and a promise that for a whole year they would not keep out the French, whenever it pleased them to land on the island. [The fleet then moved on to Winchelsea.] (Clark and Preest 2005, 45-6 and p45, n4)

The size of the attacking force is uncertain though most agree that there were somewhere around 40 to 50 ships of various sizes, a few thousand men, and several hundred horses. At the time the adult population of the island was only about 5000 with perhaps 1500 able-bodied men so the Wight militia would have been outnumbered, even if the 100 men-at-arms who were paid off at Newchurch in November were on the island, which is far from certain (Jones 2003, 1, 4). Being relatively unopposed it is unsurprising that the foreign force was able to cause considerable damage, particularly around the Yar and Medina estuaries. Inquisitions in 1380 and 1387 reported that Yarmouth, Freshwater, Thorley, and Afton around the Yar, and Northwood, Whippingham, Wootton, Newport, Pan, Shide, Carisbrooke, and Park, around the Medina/Lukely, were burnt. Outlying settlements

Figure 5 – Carisbrooke Castle from the south-west with Mount Joy beyond. The angular outer works are additions of around 1600 and would not have been present in the 14th century. Newport can be seen in the middle distance with the tower of St Thomas's church prominent, In the far distance The Solent and mainland are visible, with Portsmouth just left of centre (June 1997, © Skyscan Balloon Photography, source: Historic England Archive, PLB/K971758)

such as Ashey, Barnsley, and Watchingwell were also burnt, possibly by cavalry, and Arreton may have been attacked too, but the exact sequence of events is uncertain. Some archaeological evidence for the raid has been revealed in a gas trench in High Street in the form of a layer of burnt slates in medieval midden deposits (Tomalin and Scaife 1987, 71, 74). Much of the population fled to Carisbrooke Castle, which the French/Spanish forces besieged, but they seem to have been surprised by the level of resistance they met (ibid, 2). Newport appears to have been involved in this resistance:

> During the siege a party of the French, indiscreetly coming towards the castle, down a narrow lane, fell into an ambuscade, and were mostly cut off. The lane is still called Deadman's lane, and a tumulus where the slain were buried, was exultingly called Noddies Hill. The cause of this denomination was in danger of being lost; the hill being built upon, and forming one of the avenues to Newport, is now corrupted into Node Hill. (Worsley writing in the 18th century, quoted in Jones 2003, 2)

It is generally agreed that Node Hill was an earlier name of Upper St James's Street (Jones 2003, 3) but various locations for Deadman's Lane have been given (below). Nevertheless, it seems clear that although Newport was severely damaged the invaders lost a skirmish which took place somewhere on its south side. Any notion of a 'heroic' defence may have been overplayed; the marauders didn't leave the island until they had secured a large payment and an oath not to resist any further landings (John Stow, quoted in Jones 2003, 2). Having taken the opportunity to cause as much havoc as possible, they left unopposed, largely undefeated, and apparently of their own accord, perhaps conscious of their missed rendezvous at Calais.

The raid apparently resulted in 'the total destruction of [Newport] ... so thoroughly that for nearly two years afterwards the place was deserted' and 'John Sampson, the receiver of the fee farm of the borough at that time, was unable to raise any of the rent from Oct. 1377 to Christmas 1380' (Page 1912, 253-65). 'Although the 1379 return for the Isle of Wight is complete it does not include a list of Taxpayers for Newport. The town was probably exempt because it had been burnt by the French' and in April 1380 'Newport was granted relief from taxation until the following All Saints. A search of the receipt rolls did not reveal any payment from the town.' (Fenwick 1998, 316). What happened to the population is unclear, presumably most fled to Carisbrooke Castle, but some may have been killed, either by the French or by the fires they set. Most of the survivors probably returned quite soon and set about rebuilding; the town appears to have been functioning at some level less than two years later; the May 1379 return mentioned above commences *Hec indentura facta apud Neuport in Insula Vecta iiijto die Julii* (ibid, 329); 'This indenture [was] made at Newport on the Isle of Wight on the fourth day of July'.

Describing the town as deserted for two years is therefore probably overstating the case. Against the background of a booming national economy (above) it may be that the population of Newport was not deprived as such, but that all spare income had to be diverted to reconstruction. It should not be forgotten either that the Black Death had strengthened the economic power of tenants, who were able to get away with

withholding rents to an extent not seen before. The lack of tax returns is therefore likely to be, in part, a reflection of wider social changes than simply a response to the raid. Plus, a natural reluctance to pay tax, combined with a 'good excuse', may also have been a factor.

The 15th century

Across England population levels did not recover from the impacts of the 14th century during the 15th. Overall, the population declined slowly to the middle of the century but then began to grow weakly reaching much the same level at the end of the century as seen at the start (Hatcher 1977, Fig 1, 71). During the reign of Henry VI (1461-83), according to chancery documents, Newport had a population of 800 (Page 1912, 253-65). If the estimate of the population at the end of the 13th century (above) is even approximately correct this indicates a massive reduction in the town population over the preceding 150 years. If this decline reflected the national picture, then most would have occurred in the 14th century.

The economy also stagnated; increasingly acute labour shortages undermined the boom of the latter part of the 14th century, compounded by the impact of war with continental neighbours, and exports declined, leading to reduced receipts from import and export duties through to the middle of the century (Hatcher 1977, 35-6). This must have had an impact on Newport and the construction of a new town hall in 1405–6 appears to be one of the few civic enhancements of the period. The borough 'let a piece of waste ground called the Little Falcon ... to build two shops with a solar for a new Court House for the bailiffs and commonalty to hold their Courts. [It] stood on the north side of the High Street between Watchbell Lane and Holyrood Street' (Page 1912, 253-65).

Trade was a concern. Although the quay was always important to the town, 'the first mention of its regular maintenance occurs in 1413 when an annual due was ordered to be levied "for the support of the key"'. These dues give some sense of the activity at the quay; 'From every boat of this town called a dragger, 4d. From every boat of this town called a passenger containing a freitage of 6 tons or above, 8d. - And for every strange boat as often as they shall come to the same key one halfpenny. And for every 1000 of firewood put upon the same key 2d, and for every freightage of one ton of other goods there put 1d' (Page 1912, 253-65). It is possible that rather than being an indication of good trading conditions, the intention was to make the most of declining revenues.

In the middle of the century Newport does not appear to have been doing too badly though. Over the years the 14th-century tax assessments had gradually became increasingly out of touch with reality and in 1445 an adjustment was made for the whole country, which 'was specifically stated to be an aid for poor towns and villages damaged or destroyed' (Hockey 1982, 148). By implication therefore the higher the reduction the poorer the state of the community in question. Newport received an adjustment of only 9% of its 1334 assessment, well below the island's average reduction of 22.9%, suggesting it was faring reasonably well, particularly when compared to somewhere like Yarmouth whose assessment was more than halved.

Nevertheless, in 1462, the borough decided to conduct an enquiry: 'to note and consider and diligently search and learn of the people within the centon whereupon the cause of the decay of the people hath been grown and how the same may be restored again' (borough documents quoted in Page 1912, 253-65). This was ascribed to the continuing effects of the 1377 raid almost a century earlier though this seems rather simplistic given national patterns and doesn't appear to be reflected in the 1445 tax adjustment.

At the end of the century, in 1490, Henry VII confirmed Isabella's charter and further granted the burgesses the lands and goods of outlaws, felons and fugitives and petty custom in all ports and creeks of the island. This must have extended Newport's jurisdiction across the whole island, and taken revenue from Yarmouth, Newport and Brading. In this charter the borough was first referred to as 'the bailiff, burgesses and inhabitants of the town' rather than the former 'the burgesses of the borough' suggesting a change in its constitution. Perhaps this was an attempt to increase the town's income and encourage growth and may be the point at which Newport became the actual, rather than *de-facto*, capital of the island. This charter was confirmed by Henry VIII in 1531, Edward VI in 1547 and 1549, and Elizabeth in 1559 (Page 1912, 253-65).

The first documentary evidence for potters operating on Crocker Street comes from the 15th century (Eldridge 1952, 31). Following archaeological work on the north-west corner of St James's Street and Crocker Street Tomalin (2016, 24) suggested: 'that cooking pots of a common sagging base style and fabric ... may have once been manufactured or traded in this eponymous medieval street'. He also noted that evidence from the borough ledger confirmed that clay was being dug within the town boundary and on nearby Hunny Hill in the 15th century. Yet 'the firing of pottery was expressly forbidden within the town on account of it "being dangerous in respect of fire. on pain of ten shillings for each offence"' (ibid, quoting Eldridge 1952, 31). He concluded that Potters 'were clearly active or resident within the town yet their day-to--day work was excluded from land within the town gates' (ibid). Perhaps in the 15th century Crocker Street was not formally a part of the town, or their shops/workshops were here but their kilns lay elsewhere. Even placing them a short distance away on the flood plain of the Lukely Brook would considerably reduce the risks.

The 16th century

During the 16th century the population of England began to increase once again, after a prolonged period of stagnation; in 1525 the population was much as it had been in in about 1400, at around 2.5 million (Hatcher 1977, Fig 1, 71). Over the rest of the century it increased to perhaps 4.1 million, albeit with some setbacks (Wrigley and Schofield 1989, Fig 7.1, 207; Table 7.8, 208-9). This pattern is complicated by local variations; looking at individual parishes, Wrigley and Schofield (ibid, 165-6) noted that there was a 'genuine difference ... between fertility and mortality in these urban and marshland communities, and that obtaining in the more isolated and better drained rural parishes', the mortality rate was clearly higher in the former areas than the latter, a situation likely to apply in Newport.

Sir John Oglander (1585-1655; HPO 2010) recorded that until 1532 'there wase no markett for beastes in owre towne of Nuport' (quoted in Page 1912, 253-65). The beast market was in St James's Square (Figure 6) 'and it is probable that here stood the ring for the bull-baiting. It was certainly used as the place for public punishment, a poor woman in the reign of Elizabeth being burnt here as a witch' (Page 1912, 253-65). That it was possible for Newport to sustain several separate markets and to establish a new beast market in the 1530s in the expectation that it would thrive, which it did, is unusual for a relatively small town (Clay 1984, 175), and suggests that there was some level of confidence in Newport's economic prospects at this time. It is also indicative of a shift away from trading at fairs which were particularly important for the sale and purchase of livestock (ibid, 174). It probably marked the start of this process on the island as most fairs survived into the 19th century, though Yarmouth's was a pleasure fair by the late 18th century (Page 1912, 286-92). Brading's fair was of 'small importance' and Newtown's ceased completely in the early 19th century (ibid, 156-70, 265-8).

Despite this, the town allegedly remained depressed 'to such an extent that in 1559 a commission under the direction of Sir Francis Knollys was appointed to inquire into it' (Page 1912, 253-65). In evidence to the enquiry the bailiffs and burgesses blamed the 1377 raid when: 'we loste our habitacons, our people and the full use of our liberties' and stated that the town 'hathe not, nor ys yette fullie builded and recouv'd,' (quoted in Page 1912, 253-65). Nevertheless, at the time of the enquiry the population of Newport had increased to nearly 1300 (Page 1912, 253-65). The burgesses suggested a wide range of remedies to Knolly's enquiry, including

Figure 6 – Historic post card showing St James's Square from the south in around 1905, sheep are penned to the left; other contemporary postcards show cattle tethered along the west (left) side of the square; the square can also be seen in Figure 20 and Figure 23

remitting the lay subsidies and the tax on cloth made within the town, transferring customs from Southampton to Newport, allowing island fishermen to sell wherever they wished and forbidding trade in untanned sheepskins(ibid). Most of these demands were clearly unrealistic and little seems to have been done. The terrier of 1563 (discussed below) records the tenurial pattern of the town at this time in considerable detail and paints a picture of variable occupation levels across the town.

At 'Michaelmas 1583 the plague broke out and carried off over 200 inhabitants. (Page 1912, 253-65), probably bringing the population back down to around 1100 and setting back the recovery of the town again. In October, though, this did led to the consecration of the burial ground south of the town, now known as Church Litten, which has been described as 'the first step towards throwing off the supremacy of Carisbrooke' (ibid)

It is worth mentioning here that the head of the Medina estuary probably took on its current rather narrow appearance during this period: 'The River Medina by the middle of the 16th century had washed down sufficient alluvial deposit to form two marshy tracts east and west of the quay'; that to the west 'was considered of sufficient importance, being opposite the warehouses in Sea Street, to be claimed and annexed to the town, by the 17th century gaining the name of Little London' (Page 1912, 253-65). It is not depicted on Speed's map (which does depict the old St Cross Priory, also to the north of the Lukely Brook) though a bridge suggests development may have begun by 1608 (below). It may have been named from the level of commercial activity (Mills 1996, 66), reflecting local success *like* that of London. At this time however, Southampton trade was mainly conducted by Italian and London based traders, with little of the profits remaining in the town (Dyer 1991, 32) and it is possible that something similar took place here. Perhaps many of the facilities were owned and/or run by London traders who took the profits thereby leaving Newport poorer than the level of trade might suggest, the name Little London reflecting the success *of* London. The area to the east was initially used as the town dump (Martin 2006) again accessed by a bridge depicted by Speed. Setting aside these two areas shows that there was once a more open pool and extensive strand or quayside adjacent to Sea Street, though further research is required to understand and date this process more precisely.

Oglander described Newport in his youth, presumably at the end of the 16th century:

> Since my memory Newport was a very poor town—the houses most thatched, the streets unpaved, and in High Street where now be fair houses were garden plotts. The Baylives themselves but Fishermen and oyster draggers ... the meanest shop now in Newport has far more wares in it than all the shops then had. (quoted in Page 1912, 253-65)

The 17th and 18th centuries

The borough became a corporate body in 1608 under a charter of James I. It was composed of an annually elected mayor and 24 capital burgesses empowered to

make by-laws, as well as a recorder, town clerk and two serjeants-at-mace. There was to be a court of record weekly on Fridays, the 'mayor was to be clerk of the market, and there was to be a gaol in a convenient place in the borough' (Page 1912, 253-65). There is no mention of a jail in the 1563 terrier, nor depicted on Speed's 1611 map (below) so this was probably a new institution underlining the rising status of the town within the island. This may have been 'The old 'clink' at the bottom of Holyrood Street near the river [which] was only lately pulled down to make room for the brewery malting house' (ibid).

The first reasonably accurate map of the town was published by John Speed in 1611 (Figure 7). This was printed as an inset to the map of the Isle of Wight in his *The Theatre of The Empire of Great Britaine, Presenting an exact geography of England, Scotland, and Ireland*. It has a scale of paces, known to distinguish those maps based upon his own surveys from those based upon the work of others. A volume of manuscript draft maps, including Newport, which survives in Merton College, Oxford, indicates that this survey was undertaken on the 21st September 1608 (Bendall 2002). The map shows very little development beyond what is thought to be the medieval core of the town (see town-plan analysis below).

It has been observed that:

> The streets and plots are bounded in places by walls which are represented on the map by double lines. A recent survey of extant stone walls shows a high degree of conformity with those represented (Tomalin and Scaife 1987, 68)

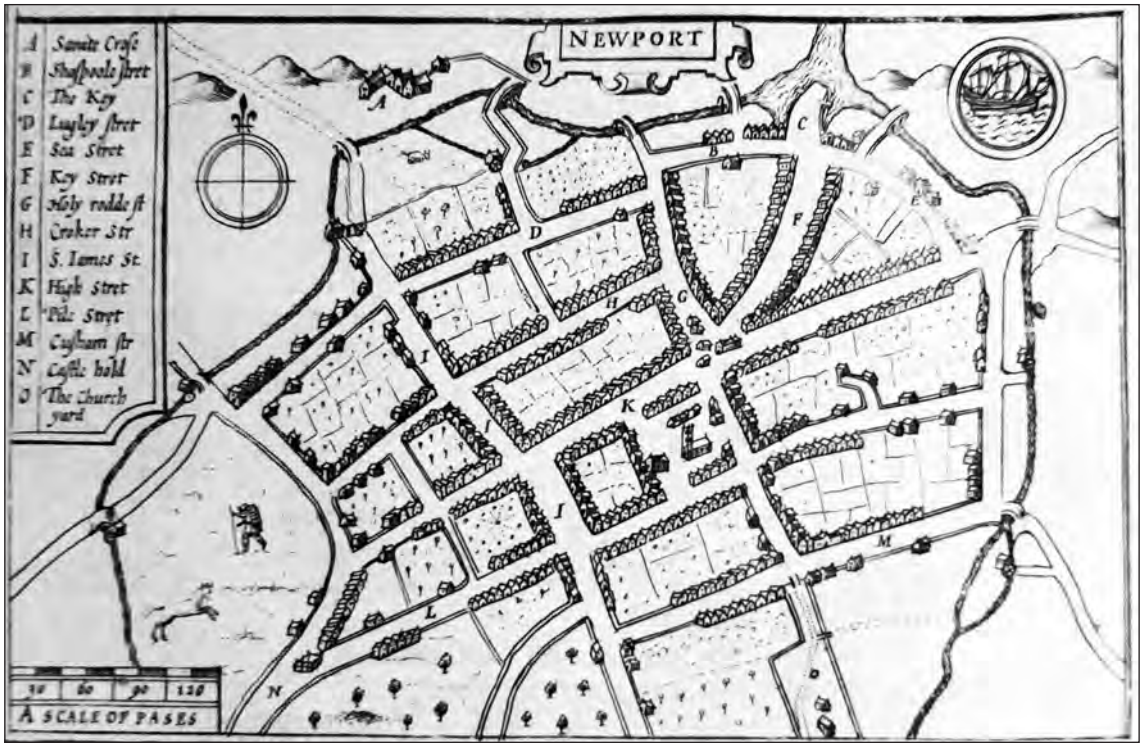

Figure 7 – Speed's map of 1611 (supplied by IWC AHES)

The VCH notes that although 'the 1611 plan shows only one gate, that called the Town Gate at the north end of St James's Street, it is more than probable that other gates existed previous to the French descent in 1377'. A footnote suggests that these lay at 'the west end of High Street, the West or Carisbrooke Gate; and at the east end the gate by Coppins Bridge. St. James Street would have had a South Gate, probably in a line with South Street, and there was a Sea Gate by the quay' (Page 1912, 253-65), but this appears to be based largely upon supposition.

The first attempt to set up a water supply for the town took place in 1618 when a lease:

> was granted Philip Fleming allowing him to break up any of the streets within the borough for the purpose of laying trunks 'for the convenient carrying and conveying of wholesome spring water into this town and so into every man's house that shall compound with the said Philip for the same'. Mr Fleming was to pay sixpence yearly to the Warden of the common box (Page 1912, 253-65)

Prior to this the town was supplied by public wells thought to have been located close to one another: at the junction of St James's and Lugley Streets, mentioned in the terrier (below); in the beast market; and 'at the top of South Street, presumably towards St James's Street. Water was also obtained from the Medina and Lukely Brook though salt water was a problem (Tomalin and Scaife 1987, 69-70). The first project seems to have quickly failed as 'the lease was to be void unless the water was brought into the town within three years' and 'less than five years later licence was granted by the mayor to Mr Andrew James to do the like'. This attempt must have been more successful as remains of wooden pies have been discovered in both High Street and Pyle Street (ibid, 70-1). It doesn't appear to have had a long life though as cisterns were removed from Quay Street in 1652 and the beast market in 1662 by order of the Corporation (Page 1912, 253-65; Tomalin and Scaife 1987, 68), presumably as they were redundant, perhaps due to the decay and collapse of the pipes. Although ultimately failures, such works suggest growing civic confidence.

The town court had been held in the Falcon at the south end of Holyrood Street from the early 15th century and this building survived until the late 16th century (it is recorded in the 1563 terrier, below), if not the early 17th century; it may be depicted on Speed's map. However, in 1687 the town leased a 'shop under the "Loft sometime being the Town Hall ..." on the north side of the High Street' (Page 1912, 253-65) which suggests that by this date it may not have been in use. Also, the 'ancient Audit House' had 'occupied a portion of the site of the present town hall, but by 1618 had to be repaired, and in 1638 it was taken down and rebuilt the next year.' Within 'the square or space at the junction of Quay, High and Holyrood Streets ... facing east and west, was the town hall with the audit house, and probably the Knighten Court House, in close proximity' (ibid), so it would seem that these were separate buildings. Speed shows a large east/west building with two distinct sections, probably 'the town hall with the audit house' though it is unclear if by this date the town hall and the Falcon were still one and the same.

Newport can lay claim to a significant democratic advance: 'Until 1621 the election [of the mayor] took place by "pricking" [the marking with a pin of the preferred name on a list during a meeting], but in that year it was decreed that it should be by ballot' (Page 1912, 253-65). This is:

> One of, if not the earliest instance, of voting by ballot in England. Each burgess was to have a red and a white ball—representing noes and ayes—which he was to drop into the two boxes inscribed with the candidates' names. These boxes and balls are still in existence and were exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries in 1899. (Page 1912, 253-65)

By 1641 the town's population had reached 3000 (Tomalin and Scaife 1987, 69), perhaps doubling from the peak of the previous century.

During the civil war parliament appointed the Earl of Pembroke governor of Carisbrooke Castle, replacing the royalist Earl of Portland (Chamberlin 1985, 7-8). Charles I was imprisoned there from November 1647 eventually departing for Hurst Castle following the Treaty of Newport negotiations, from early September to the end of November 1648. 'During the negotiations the king and his friends occupied the grammar school and the Parliamentary Commissioners the Bull Inn, while the meetings took place in the town hall'. There were 'daily brawls between Cavaliers and Puritans' (Page 1912, 253-65) and the town must have been busy, though surprisingly corporation documents make no reference to this period.

The borough's final charter was granted in 1661 by Charles II and the town was governed by it until 1835 (apart from 5 years when it was surrendered to the Crown as many others were). The structure of the corporation was changed to an annually elected mayor, 11 aldermen, and a recorder forming the borough council, plus 12 capital burgesses, all of whom held office for life. This charter also brought Castlehold into the borough but the inhabitants 'were secured against the imposition of any military duties' (Page 1912, 253-65).

In 1709 'another attempt was made to supply the town with water':

> a lease of a small part of the Beast Market in St. James Square on the west side opposite the present Lamb Inn was granted to a Mr William Arnold for the term of 900 years to build 'a cistern [about 1790, when paving the beast market, the reservoir was brought to light] to convey water into from some part of the river running by the north-west part of the town and from thence to be conveyed by pipes into the principal streets and lanes of the borough to the end that the inhabitants might at easy rates be furnished with river water in their houses upon all occasions and might be supplied with a present remedy in case of any accidental calamitous fire'. This scheme, too, apparently proved abortive, and another century elapsed before the subject was again brought forward. (Page 1912, 253-65 [footnote incorporated])

In the later 17th century 'new ways of conducting business' began to emerge with goods such as grain, sheep and wool, and to a lesser extent cattle, hops, cloth and leather, being traded on a wholesale basis. Merchants 'began to forsake the publicity of the marketplace and to make private deals behind closed doors, away from the prying eyes of neighbours and market officials', typically in urban inns. At the same time, many markets were also losing business to emerging retail shops (Clay 1984, 176-7). That Newport's markets appear to have continued to operate successfully through this period is indicative of its central role on the island. Many of the islands other markets do not appear to have fared so well, Newtown's had ceased by 1559, though other faltered in the 19th century after long periods of decline; Brading's was obsolete by 1859, Yarmouth's by 1875 (Page 1912, 156-70, 286-92).

In the 18th century 'large quantities of flour were shipped from Newport ... to the western counties and the Channel Islands' (Page 1912, 253-65) much of this must have been milled in the watermills around the town. There was also a tide mill on the Medina estuary. This was constructed at the north end of the area of silting to the east of the estuary in around 1700 with an extensive pool to the south. This probably led to further narrowing of the estuary but may have been making use of an existing embanked marshy area. It seems to have gone out of use by the 1790s, but the building may have survived into the 19th century (Martin 2006).

A sketch map of the Isle of Wight made by Ordnance Survey (OS) surveyors in 1793 survives and is sufficiently detailed to show the streets of the town and indicate buildings (Figure 8). This shows little development beyond the historic core, other than Little London to the north, at the bottom of Fairlee Road and Staplers Road to the east, a little way south along St James's Street and to the west of Mill Street and the north-east end of Carisbrooke Road.

At this time the town was a lively place:

> with dramatic performances, a periodical assembly, routs, reviews, and even duels, for the island was full of the military ... The country gentlemen drove in for diversion and many of them had town houses in the principal streets. On market days the town was crowded with farmers' waggons and country people (Page 1912, 253-65).

The 19th and 20th centuries

The 19th century seems to have been a period of prosperity and civic pride marked by the construction of several of the town's most prominent buildings. In 1810 'a building [was] erected as the Isle of Wight Institution, and now occupied by the County Club' at the north-east corner of St James's Square (Listed grade II*; NHLE 1365287). The current town hall, The Guildhall (Listed grade II*; NHLE 1278563), now housing the Guildhall Museum, 'was erected in 1816 from designs by Nash, and a clock tower was added in 1887' at the junction of High Street and Quay Street (Figure 9). This is 'nearly its original position', 'Its [former] position is clearly shown on Speed's map, where it stands as an isolated building' (see Figure 7). St Thomas's Church (Figure 10) was replaced in 1854 (Listed grade I; NHLE 1034494) and the

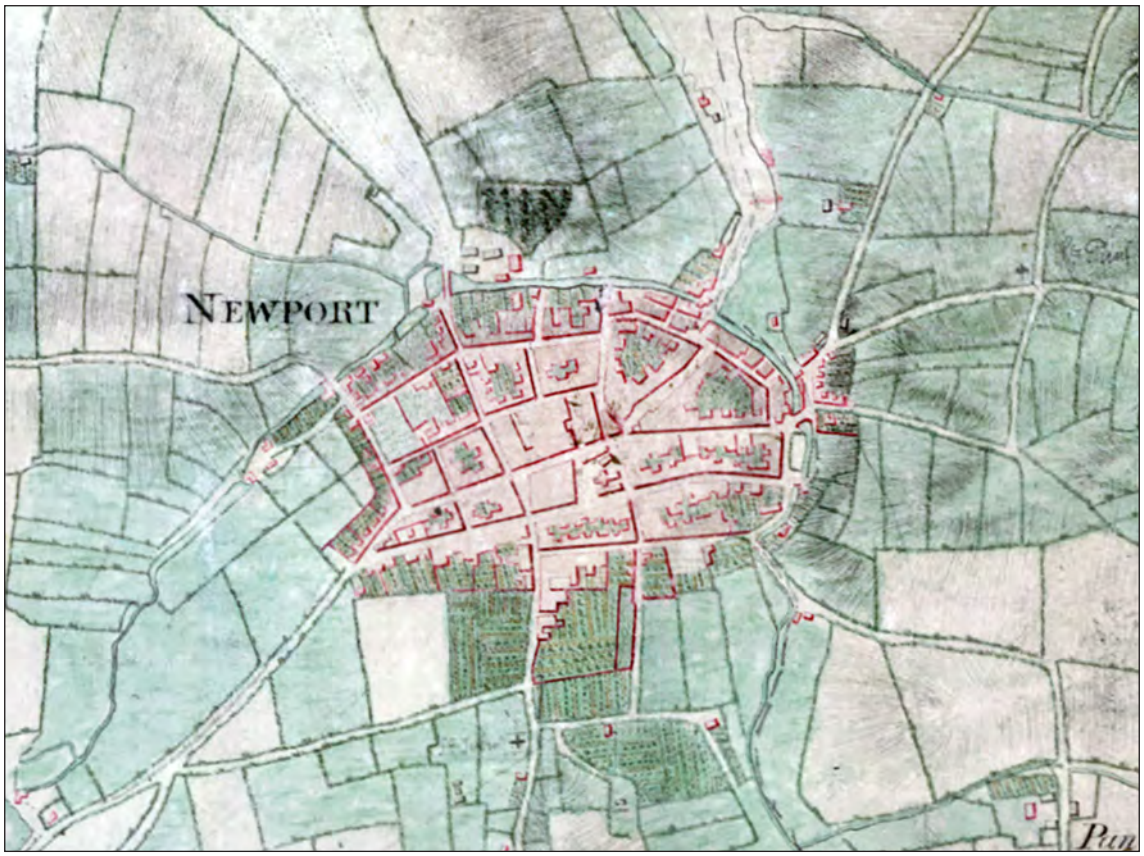

Figure 8 – The 1793 OS surveyor's sketch map, enhanced for clarity (© British Library Board, Newport 27A

Figure 9 – Historic postcard sent in 1905, looking east along High Street towards The Guildhall clock tower; note the changes in the building frontages which indicate the underlying plot boundaries

Figure 10 – Historic postcard showing St Thomas's Square in 1908

Figure 11 – The head of the Medina estuary in 1932, seen from the north. The layout of quays is largely the result of work in the 1850s. The gasometer of the gasworks is visible above centre. Little London lies to the west (right) of the estuary and sheds and sidings of the railway are visible far right, though the station lay just outside the frame. (EPW039658, © Historic England Archive - Aerofilms collection)

corn exchange in St James's Square was built in 1891. Also in St James's Square 'is the island memorial to Queen Victoria, erected in 1901'. (Page 1912, 253-65).

The 1847 Carisbrooke tithe map (Figure 13) shows the town beginning to expand significantly beyond the historic core, particularly to the south where the first blocks of terraced houses in the (appropriately named) New Street and Trafalgar Road area were being laid out and there was similar development towards Carisbrooke. It is also likely there was some expansion to the east, but no contemporary map of this area was available. By the first edition large scale OS maps of 1866, suburban development had expanded east to Cross Lane and Barton, south to Elm Grove, and south-west almost to the castle. Development was limited to the west, the floodplain of the Lukely Brook, and north where it was probably restricted by the new railway.

The town corporation spent £15,000 in the 1850s on estuary improvements; the river was dredged and many of the banks were straightened and quays constructed (Figure 11). These works also included the consolidation of the marshy area to the east, the site of the 18th century tide mill pool, which was infilled. Part of this area was then leased to The Newport (I.W.) Gas Company to construct a gasworks. This allowed the supply of much cheaper gas than its older rival, The Newport Gas Light Company, at Pan Bridge, which was eventually bought out (Martin 2006).

Railways on the Isle of Wight developed from the 1860s with Newport rapidly becoming the main centre. The 'Cowes and Newport line opened 1862; Newport and Ryde 1876; Newport and Sandown 1875; Newport and Freshwater 1889; while a branch via Merston was opened to Ventnor 1897' (Page 1912, 253-65). The station, sheds and workshops were located to the north of the town centre between Hunny Hill and Little London and accessed from the west end of Sea Street (Figure 11).

Industry also continued in and around Newport, notably 'the extensive brewery of Mew, Langton & Co.' on Crocker Street (Page 1912, 253-65). The watermills survived into the early 20th century, in addition to West Mill and Ford Mill, these were 'Home Mill, Westminster Mill, Towngate Mill, St. Cross Mill and Pan Mill'. By this time Newport was 'lighted by gas and electric light from the works by the station' (in fact on the other side of the estuary, see Figure 11) and 'supplied with water from Carisbrooke'.

Other medieval boroughs

At this point it is worthwhile briefly summarising the history of the other boroughs on the island.

Yarmouth was perhaps the earliest to be founded (see Beresford 1967, 449-50); it received its first charter from Baldwin de Redvers II in 1180 x 86 (Bearman 1994, 99). It is in the west of the island, perhaps to make the most of the short crossing to Lymington, another de Redvers borough on the mainland. It has a grid plan, thought to be original, with four gates and was perhaps walled, but lacked any land for the burgesses outside. It had a Monday market and a fair in late July and initially appears to have been successful, a detailed extent of 1300 listed 181 plots held by 141

proprietors. In the 1334 lay subsidy it had an assessment of only 19s so may have been in decline well before the Black Death struck. It was also attacked in the French Raid of 1377 and appears to have suffered considerably; the church was burned down, in the 1379 poll-tax assessment only 35 taxpayers were assessed, and it was let off its taxes in 1380. The town appears to have fared little better in later years; there were many 16th century complaints of decay - in 1543 the church was in ruins and in 1559 it was said that there were only about a dozen houses inhabited. At this time Southampton's dominance of trade was blamed but the decline seems to have had a long history.

Newtown (see Beresford 1967, 445-6) was founded in the Bishop of Winchester's manor of Swainston well after Newport and Yarmouth; the first reference to the borough is in the bishop's account roll for 1254-5 which records work 'in the new borough of Franchville'. The Bishop issued a charter in 1256 which was confirmed by Edward I in 1285 who also granted it a market and three-day fair in July, only a few days before Yarmouth's, perhaps contributing to its decline. It also had a grid plan but seems to have always been smaller, containing 73 plots in the late 13th century, and there are no records of gates or walls. It did have a chapel with a churchyard, but it was always dependent upon Calbourne. In 1334 Swainston, which included Newtown, was assessed for £11 13s tax, and though the contribution of the borough cannot be determined it must have been faring better than Yarmouth at this time. Newtown appears to have suffered in the 1377 raids along with Newport and Yarmouth perhaps marking the beginning of its decline. The chapel was in a state of neglect by the mid-17th century and in too poor a state to be used in the early 18th century (Estcourt 1890, 94-5).

Newport is the most easterly of the three boroughs, apparently leaving the entire eastern half of the island without a medieval centre; Brading however had many of the characteristics of a borough, if not a charter (see Basford 1980, 45). Edward I awarded it a market and fair in 1285, in 1334 it was assessed at £1 16s almost Yarmouth's assessment, and by the end of the 14th century it was administered by its own bailiffs and inhabitants. The official town seal of around 1600 bears the legend 'the Kynges Towne of Brading'. A brief examination of the first edition OS maps suggests that Brading had a 'market based' plan; a common layout with plots concentrated around a marketplace with very few streets other than those accessing the market (Beresford 1967, 153).

Not surprisingly on an island, all four towns stood on coastal inlets. Coastal change may have affected Newtown, as the mouth of the haven is partially closed by a spit 1 km to its north, and at Brading the former tidal inlet has been reclaimed leaving it almost 3km from the sea.

In addition to the towns on the island, there were also new boroughs across the Solent at Portsmouth (1194) and New Lymington (1184-1216). The former was founded by Richard I and the latter was another de Redvers borough; both also had grid plans.

TOWN PLAN ANALYSIS

Anomalies in the town-plan

Newport's plan has been characterised as a regular grid (Beresford 1988, 444), but this is clearly an oversimplification. Whilst the break in the plan in the north-east associated with Quay Street has been noted before (ibid), there are many other irregularities requiring explanation.

Only two of the five east/west streets extend the full width of the grid, Pyle Street and High Street, with the formal market square lying between these two as might be expected, and though broadly parallel to one another, with slight curves to the south at their eastern ends, they converge slightly from east to west. To the south, South Street only extends as far west as Upper St James's Street and is rather more sinuous that Pyle Street, with a notable bend to the north at its west end. To the west of this, Scarrot's Lane runs parallel to Pyle Street though on a more northerly line, acting as a back lane to the south side of the west part of Pyle Street, the only such lane in the town. To the north, Lugley Street and Crocker Street only extend as far east as Holyrood Street and whilst Lugley Street is broadly parallel to High Street, Crocker Street doglegs where it crosses St James's Street and the two halves are on slightly different orientations, neither quite parallel to Lugley Street.

The main north/south streets are also rather awkward in terms of the grid. Both are noticeably more sinuous than the east/west streets and their alignments diverge to the north (Figure 23). That to the east comprises Holyrood Street to the north of the market, which could have continued through the east side of the market square, but the way it broadens as it meets High Street (setting aside the clearly intrusive block here) requires some explanation. To the south of the market its line appears to be picked up by Town Lane and Church Litten, but each is offset slightly relative to the other and it is hard to see this as a continuous through street. The north/south street to the west, St James's Street/Upper St James's Street, is a more obvious through route, but it deviates noticeable to the NNW and features the triangular St James's Square which itself is something of an oddity in the grid plan.

In the north-east, not only does Quay Street cut diagonally through the grid pattern, but it is also by some way the broadest street in the town; in any other context it would be assumed to be a market street (see Tomalin 2016, 28). Sea Street curves around the north-east quarter of the town, probably following the topography, but at both ends it aligns rather awkwardly with the streets of the grid; to the west it meets Holyrood Street to the north of its junction with Crocker Street and to the south it narrows markedly before it meets High Street west of its junction with East Street. East Street itself curves around to meet South Street but again this can probably be explained topographically.

The historic western extent of the town would appear to be defined by Mill Street. This forms a slightly discontinuous curve from a bridge over Lukely Brook at Home Mill in the north and meets High Street at a slightly squint T-junction to the south (more of a Y). Here, High Street turns to the south-west and after a short distance

meets Pyle Street, again contrary to the grid plan. Carisbrooke Road enters the town at this point.

Methodology

Town-plan analysis

Morphological analysis of historic towns was first adopted in the UK by historical geographers in the late 1950s and early 1960s (eg Conzen 1960) but remains in use albeit developed through approaches such as comparative analysis (Larkham 2006) and updated to make use of modern technology such as GPS (Global Positioning System) and GIS (Lilley et al 2005).

The first stage (Baker and Slater 1992 summarises the methodology) is the identification of early features on historic maps to compile a simplified **town-plan** without later elements. The earliest available large-scale map for the town in question is usually taken as the primary source for this, typically the mid to late 19th century first edition OS maps. The process typically starts with the street frontages which define the **blocks** of the town-plan (and conversely the street layout), and then identifies key property divisions running back from these, and significant cross boundaries within the blocks, to define tenurial **plots**. Buildings on the plots are generally omitted as these are thought to be much more susceptible to change. The process is inevitably somewhat subjective as it involves numerous judgements as to significance; what to record and what to omit. The product is a skeletal plan of the town, with much of the detail considered to be extraneous removed, often suggested to represent the layout of the town towards the end of the medieval period, around 1500.

This is then examined to identify **plan-units** that exhibit a unity of form in terms of the street and block layout and within this the size, shape, and orientation of the plots. This is probably an even more subjective process that than of compiling the town-plan and can be problematic. For example, plan-units can be defined at a number of scales from the whole historic core to small intrusive groups of plots, and they may lack uniformity typically having a clear core but less well defined margins leaving it difficult to define boundaries between units (often referred to as **plan-seams**). For this reason, plan-units are usually identified at the level of street or block, though sub-units within each unit may be identified, and multiple units may be amalgamated if thought to form a coherent whole.

Once the plan-units have been identified and defined they then require interpretation. Key to this is attempting to determine the sequence and date at which they were established, though this will rarely be exact and whilst some plan-units may be deliberately laid out in a single programme, others will have evolved over a longer period. Another aspect to interpretation is function, but this is rarely apparent in early periods.

There is some debate about the use of less tangible evidence, such as parish boundaries, in town-plan analysis (Baker and Slater, 1992), but as the intention here

is to use the analysis to provide a narrative history of Newport's development, all available sources have been considered as far as possible.

Newport

An analysis of the town-plan has previously been undertaken by Professor Keith Lilley, now at Queen's University, Belfast (Lilley 1999, 39-50: Lilley 2001). This was part of a larger study, based upon the first edition OS 1:2500 map (Figure 12) and with more limited resources, and therefore had both less time and information available to it. As a result, this present study is more detailed and reaches some different conclusions. Nevertheless, it owes a debt to both Professor Lilley's previous publications on Newport and his support during the research.

The analysis was undertaken within a GIS set up for this project. This used detailed OS data supplied by Historic England's corporate GIS team and free data from sources such as the OS, British Geological Survey, Environment Agency, and so on, to provide background and context. Other sources of relevant information such as HER and Portable Antiquity Scheme data were also added.

The analysis focussed on the historic core which was based upon the parish of Newport as depicted on the 1866 town plan (Figure 14). Earlier maps were also examined, such as Speed's 1611 map (Figure 7), the 1793 OS surveyor's sketch map (Figure 8), and the 1847 Carisbrooke tithe map (Figure 13), to determine the extent

Figure 12 - A sample of the 1st edition 1:2500 OS map published in 1865, showing Castlehold. the limited detail compared to Figure 14 can be seen, not to scale (Historic Ordnance Survey mapping: © and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2021) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024. © Historic England)

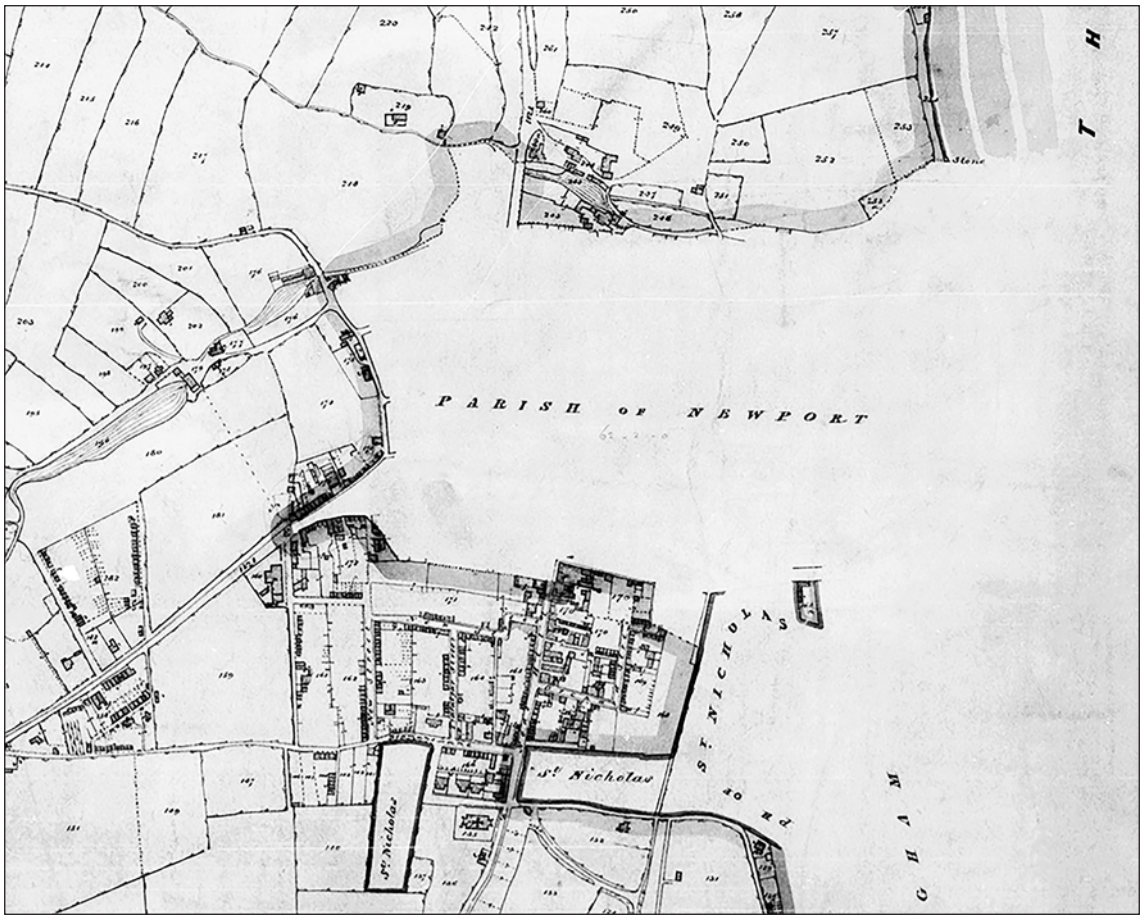

Figure 13 – The 1847 Carisbrooke tithe map (The National Archives, IR29/31/54, with permission)

of the town prior to modern development and the study area modified slightly. To the north it followed the Lukely Brook (or more strictly the properties backing onto it), thereby excluding some land around Towngate Bridge and most of Little London. To the east the study area followed the parish boundary along the River Medina as far as Pan Bridge. The parish boundary then ran along the south side of South Street, but it is clear from the 1563 terrier (below) that there were some borough properties on this side of the street, so these were also examined. To the west of Upper St James's Street, the parish boundary ran along the rear of the properties fronting on to Scarrot's Lane and south of this was open ground, so this was once again treated as the limit of the study area. A spur projecting south-west along Carisbrooke Road did not encompass any properties and was ignored as were properties to the west of Mill Street as none are mentioned in the 1563 terrier and only a few buildings are shown on Speed.

The GIS map was based upon the 1:500 OS town plan for Newport surveyed in 1863 and published in 1866 (Figure 14), supplied by the Historic England GIS team in the form of georeferenced tiles. On close inspection, the location of each tile was found to be slightly 'off' by an average of about 1.5m relative to the modern OS MasterMap, and so each tile was re-referenced to minimise inaccuracies.

Figure 14 – A sample of the 1:500 OS town plan published in 1866 showing the same area as Figure 12, note the higher level of detail, not to scale (Historic Ordnance Survey mapping: © and database right Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Ltd (All rights reserved 2021) Licence numbers 000394 and TP0024. © Historic England)

Within the historic core, the complex urban structure depicted in the 1866 town plan was simplified to highlight the most significant elements. The first step was to digitise the street frontages. This was based upon the OS MasterMap data as this is likely to be the more spatially accurate but where this deviated significantly from the depiction on the town plan (more than approximately 1.0m, making allowances for accuracy), the latter was traced. Slight changes of alignment and particularly points where the frontages stepped forward or backward from the general line were preserved as these may represent differing ownership at the time when one of the adjacent properties was re-fronted/rebuilt. These are not always visible at the scale of the reproduced plans but have been considered.

The main plot divisions were then traced back from the street frontage as far as possible without any significant deviations. Minor doglegs of up to 1.5m were considered acceptable to allow for later boundaries shifting from one side to the other of an earlier, broader boundary, such as a ditch, bank, or hedge (Baker and Slater 1992, 46). Some divisions not depicted could be inferred from the positions of entrances or doorsteps and in some cases, these were confirmed by divisions depicted on the modern mapping. Boundaries at approximate right-angles to the main boundaries running back from the street frontages were then drawn unless they only related to a single plot. Divisions relating to buildings rather than plots, and all minor outbuildings were also omitted at this stage where these were clear. Finally, minor through routes were marked as in some cases these were not immediately obvious from the mapping.

Once all the relevant boundaries were digitised as described above, they were categorised according to their apparent significance and inferred boundaries were identified (Figure 15). The categories consisted of: street frontages; primary (significant lengths of common cross boundaries within blocks, particularly where boundaries to either side did not align, and boundaries that aligned to either side of the above, typically therefore running from street to street); secondary (boundaries running from street frontages or from a primary boundary); tertiary (boundaries likely to be related to buildings rather than plots, obvious subdivisions of larger plots, and discrete insertions like small blocks of terraces or later buildings such as chapels); and inferred (gaps in aligned boundaries, the size of an acceptable gap largely dependent upon the degree of alignment and the significance of the boundary, and inferred from changes in alignment or the stepping forward/backward of frontages where confirmed by other alignments either on the town plan or modern mapping). This was an iterative process. In particular, the process of categorising the boundaries led to a revision of the initial plan detail in several places, including the addition, deletion, and redrawing of boundaries.

Plan-units were then defined (Figure 16), based primarily on streets and the plots to either side, as these appeared to be the core of each, rather than the blocks between streets. In general, the plan-seams were easy to identify as most followed the lines of back-fences. This was not always the case as in places the back-fences appeared to have been broken up by changes over the years, particularly in the north-west of the town. They were also difficult to identify around the Sea Street/Quay Street plan-unit (below).

Figure 15 – The plot pattern derived from the 1:500 OS town plan, see Figure 14

A note on parishes

The parish boundaries around Newport may be traced from the early editions of the large-scale OS maps and these have been digitised as part of this research (Figure 17).

Through most of its history, Newport was a dependent chapelry of Carisbrooke and did not exist as an independent parish until 1858 (Page 1912, 253-65) and it is anachronistic to treat its parish boundary in the same way as other parishes, which were largely defined by the 14th century if not considerably earlier (Winchester 2000, 31-7). It is likely however that the parish largely reflects the borough, though the degree of correspondence is uncertain.

The borough included the whole of the Medina estuary below the high tide mark and about two miles out to sea (which must have created some complex jurisdiction around East and West Cowes). The area of the parish at the head of the estuary, which included Little London and a broader area on the opposite shore, is a remnant of this; these two alluvial areas formed after Newport's foundation (Page 1912, 253-65).

To the east of Newport, the boundary with Whippingham is likely to be medieval in origin, if not earlier, and so reflect the borough. It was a hundredal boundary by the 12th century at the latest, and the extensive parishes to either side, based on Carisbrooke and Arreton, are likely to be even earlier (Sewell 2000). There may however have been some modification to ensure Ford Mill and its associated leats lay entirely within Newport rather than divided by the 'natural' line of the River

Figure 16 – The plan-units, based upon Figure 15

Figure 17 – Parishes

Medina. As this was held by St Cross Priory by the mid-12th century it is likely to be early change.

The boundaries of the detached portions of St Nicholas Parish are also likely to be medieval, but these are limited; around Castlehold at the west end of High Street and Cosham to the south of the eastern half of South Street. The extension of Newport Parish to the south of South Street north of Church Litten may be of a similar age, as Church Litten itself became the town's burial ground in the later 16th century and it seems likely that were the boundary to have been defined after this the graveyard would have been included in the parish. Prior to this Church Litten lay in Cosham, though in the 19th century it was in Carisbrooke; it must have been removed from Cosham for the Newport's use but retained by Carisbrooke.

Elsewhere, there is no certainty that the boundaries with Carisbrooke relate to the borough limits rather than having been defined in the mid-19th century and it may be unwise to attach too much significance to its line. However, as there were developments outside the parish predating this, that clearly related to the expansion of Newport, it seems likely that it marks an earlier boundary, presumably that of the borough.

Description of plan-units

Current street names are used unless a former name appears relevant to the discussion. Roman numerals are those used in Figure 16.

I - Quay Street/Sea Street

This plan unit is based on Quay Street which runs at approximately 45-degrees to the rest of Newport's grid plan, and Sea Street which curves around from Holyrood Street in the north-west, to High Street in the south-east (see Figure 18). Both streets clearly relate to the quay (or perhaps the earlier strand) at the head of the Medina estuary, but it should be noted that the estuary's current narrow form is relatively recent. The east and west banks were recorded as being marshy tracts created by silt washing down the rivers by the mid-16th century (Page 1912, 253-65), but these were probably less substantial prior to the 18th century. The estuary was formerly much wider, particularly to the east, and the tidal reaches also probably extended further up the Medina River and Lukely Brook (Martin 2006). In the medieval period Quay Street was probably approximately centred on the head of the estuary and Sea Street may have run along the top of the natural strand with the quay and plots on the waterside built out into the estuary.

Figure 18 – The area of plan-unit I, seen from the south-east in 1928 (EPW023022, © Historic England Archive - Aerofilms collection).

Internally the plot pattern is not consistent. The plots facing onto the south side of Quay Street are narrow, broadly parallel sided and initially orientated north-west/south-east, approximately perpendicular to the street front, with a turn to the south 6-12m from the street. Although at smaller scales the plots appear to be curved, the northern and southern sections are fairly straight and the change in angle generally quite distinct. Although some of the plots to the north show a similar 'curve' they are more irregular. Most are also initially roughly perpendicular to the street front, and some show a distinct turn to the north about 10m back from the street front, much as seen to the south though in the opposite direction. However, the longer boundaries are not parallel, closing away from the street front and between these some of the plot boundaries show the same turn to the north at a similar distance from the street front, others show a similar turn but much further back (up to 26m), and others are entirely straight. Although to both north and south there is a back-fence line, neither is parallel to Quay Street nor complete straight. They also have several doglegs in their line and in places boundaries appear to run through the back-fence line suggesting the latter may be secondary to the former.

On Sea Street, to the south-east of the quay [Ia], the plots backing onto the river (on the north-east side of the street) are generally deep and rectangular though several show a slight change in orientation, leading to perpendicular frontages to both the street and the river. The plot widths are irregular, though those closer to the quay are generally narrower. The final plot here (opposite the bottom of Quay Street) doesn't conform with those to the east and appears to be later which would make the quay broader and more open. The plots to the south-west are large with straight boundaries and internal divisions. They are rather different to those on Quay Street and High Street and may be related to this plan-subunit, though later, probably 19th century developments make this uncertain. Sea Street narrows noticeably where it meets High Street and to either side are blocks of very regular small plots, fronting onto High Street where it approaches Coppins Bridge, that appear to have been laid out over former plots on Sea Street, perhaps explaining its narrowing. The plan form shown on the 1866 town plan suggest early 19th century terraced housing.

To the immediate north-west of the quay the plots are small and compact, and entirely occupied by warehouses or other maritime buildings. As such it seems that these plots should be considered a part of Little London [Ic], but they may have replaced earlier plots more akin to those to the west [Ib]. These plots are deeper, and some exhibit a similar change in orientation seen in those to the south-east of the quay, albeit reversed due to the different orientation of the street relative to the brook. Note that development associated with the plots to the south-east, particularly the bridge, would have restricted access to the riverside ends of the plots to the west; if the backs of the plots were inaccessible then there would be little benefit in having plots perpendicular to the river, so it seems likely that these plots pre-date those of Little London. To the south of this section of Sea Street there are plots that broadly conform with those on Quay Street which is suggestive of a common origin.

The plot pattern in this area is complex and consequently the plan-seams are hard to define. To some extent where they are drawn will depend upon the chronology of this plan-unit relative to its neighbours; if the plan-unit is thought to be earlier than the

surrounding units one might draw the boundaries more broadly than if it were later than them.

Quay Street/Sea Street was also defined as a plan-unit [III] by Lilley (1999, 44-5). He argued that despite appearing to be an anomaly in Newport's town plan, Quay Street was designed to link the quay with the market, its breadth to allow the transfer of shipped goods; it was therefore 'closely integrated' with the grid of streets around St Thomas's Square and 'possibly' contemporary with them. Perhaps because of this perception he drew the seams quite tightly, describing the plots north of Quay Street as 'squeezed into the triangular space' (ibid).

No parallels for such an arrangement come to mind. As most goods were shifted as packs carried by either people or livestock, such a wide street would be unnecessary, and were it required for some reason, one might expect other streets to be of a similar width to allow onward transit of goods to Carisbrooke Castle. Where the street is broad such as this it is usually the market itself and Lilley notes some infill shown on an 18th century map (not seen for the current research) which would have restricted traffic but is typical of such marketplaces. Lilley also draws numerous parallels with Portsmouth, founded at about the same time and based on a very similar grid plan. Yet here there was a simple wide market street with no special connection to the nearby quayside, which was mainly based upon a narrow, slightly oblique street forming a terminus to several of the streets making up the grid but not cutting thorough any of the blocks (Lilley 1999, 57-61). It therefore seems unlikely that Quay Street could be contemporary with the adjacent plan-units. It also seems equally improbable that it could post-date them. Cutting a new road through an existing plan unit, particularly within the core of a town, is typically thought to require a strong centralised authority, would be highly unusual, and again I can think of no parallels before the road improvements for motor traffic in the post Second World War period. Even had it been done in this case it seems likely that some vestige of the previous layout might remain, such as a back fence a uniform distance from High Street (continuing the line of that to the west perhaps), yet if anything it is traces of the layout of Quay Street plots that appear to project into neighbouring plan-units.

On balance it therefore seems that the Quay Street plan-unit pre-dates the adjacent units and is therefore probably the oldest part of Newport, adjacent plan units being laid out around and possibly over it.

Little London [Ic] is a suburban development secondary to the medieval core. As such it doesn't form a part of this analysis. However, the small plots on Sea Street to the immediate west of the quay are noticeably smaller and more compact than those to the west, and should probably be seen as a part of this suburb, separate from the rest of Sea Street (above).

II - High Street/Pyle Street

High Street and Pyle Street are the only two streets that extend the full width of the historic core. They are close to parallel and in both cases their eastern thirds are very slightly sinuous and run almost exactly east/west with a slight curve to the

south as they approach St Thomas's Square (Figure 19). Pyle Street deviates very slightly further south than High Street as it passes St Thomas's Square so that the block to the east of the square is somewhat deeper than the others between the two streets. After this Pyle Street runs almost completely straight but High Street curves a little to the south as it passes through Castlehold, so that the two streets converge slightly, before it turns more markedly south just before the two streets merge into Carisbrooke Road (though this could be considered part of Mill Street). Both streets are somewhat narrower and a more regular width to the west of St James's Street.

Parallel back-fences run along the blocks between the two streets, as well as to the north, between High Street and Lugley Street, and south, between Pyle Street and South Street. Though they are intermittent in places, apparently due to land exchanges between properties to either side, they generally align closely to either side of any gaps. West of Town Lane the back-fence between Pyle Street and South Street becomes irregular and there is none for the final 60m, the plots apparently running through from Pyle Street to South Street. Cockram's Yard and several of the plot boundaries have short doglegs and another terminates on the probable line of the back-fence, suggesting it once ran through and that the southward extension of the northern plots (or possibly vice versa) is secondary.

These back-fence lines are set back a uniform distance and closely mirror the lines of the associated streets. This clearly indicates a planned origin. Most plots run from

Figure 19 – Central Newport from the east. High Street runs from bottom centre towards the top of the frame with Pyle Street to its south (left). St Thomas's church and square and St James's Square can be seen between the two streets in the centre (29/7/2020, Damian Grady © Historic England 33885/038)

the High Street and Pyle Street frontages to the back-fences described above, and those facing onto the north/south streets and lanes appear to be secondary, smaller plots laid out over earlier plots fronting the east/west streets, indicating that the east/west streets were the favoured frontages and planned as such. High Street and Pyle Street clearly form the planned core of Newport.

Not all plots were necessarily occupied in the medieval period or later. An archaeological evaluation at 97 Pyle Street (on its north side about halfway along the westernmost block) revealed below modern tarmac, concrete and rubble:

> an amorphous brown layer containing large flints. There was no dating evidence from this layer and its origins remain uncertain: it may be that it is part ploughsoil and part levelling. Below this was a layer of colluvium resting on clay of the Hamstead Beds. No features were observed or finds recovered predating the Post-Mediaeval period. (Brading 2001, 2)
> It may be therefore that though 97 Pyle Street is within the Mediaeval boundary of Newport it was an open plot, perhaps given over to the growing of vegetables or cereals. Even by the later date of 1611 Speed's map shows the plot to be undeveloped and it may be that the site was not built on until the 18th century or later. (ibid 9-10)

Elsewhere archaeology has been even less revealing with later work removing early evidence leaving only post-medieval features. For example at 37 Pyle Street (on the north-east corner of Town Lane two evaluation trenches only 'revealed the remains of a post-medieval flagstone floor or path/yard ... Late post-medieval walls ... [and] a red brick built well' (Askew 2001, Summary).

Several areas within this plan-unit do not conform to the pattern described above:

IIa - High Street east, north side

To the north of the east section of High Street there is an irregular and oblique back fence at all, the plan-seam with Quay Street/Sea Street. Here several of the north/south plot boundaries run through the fence line and at several points where they do so the fence line doglegs. Although the plots along this part of High Street seem to be laid out with respect to it, it seems possible that they were laid out over the ends of existing plots related to Quay Street. To the immediate east of this the small regular block of plots on the approach to Coppin's Bridge appear to have been laid out over the southernmost of the Sea Street plots.

IIb - St Thomas's Square

St Thomas's Square was the town's primary marketplace. The current St Thomas's church (Figure 20) is approximately central, but slightly east of centre and not quite aligned on the surrounding frontages, though as it is not the original building it would be unwise to attach too much significance to this. Its position within the marketplace suggests it is a secondary feature of the town plan, but there was a

Figure 20 – A modern aerial view of the marketplaces seen from the WSW. St Thomas's church can be seen in the centre of the image with the intrusive blocks marking the sites of the former shambles to the north (left) and the standings to the south (right)., Quay Street, Holyrood Street and High Street meet above left of centre where the 19th century Guildhall can be seen. St James's Square lies to bottom left (29/7/2020 Damian Grady © Historic England, 33885/002).

chapel in Newport by the 1190s (Bearman 1994, 118). It was a dependent chapel of Carisbrooke until it became a vicarage in 1858 (Page 1912, 253-65). If the church conformed to the development of town chapels and parish churches across the country, then it is likely that the first structure was small and was enlarged and remodelled over the years as changing ritual, population pressure and status demanded, and patronage and finances allowed (Morris 1989, 301). Archaeological evaluation within the church determined that the earliest evidence was from the nave and south aisle of the present building (Dodd 2019), suggesting the centre of the current building is to the north-east of the earlier church altering its relative position within the square.

Two clearly intrusive blocks lie to north and south of the church. That to the north appears to have developed from the flesh and fish shambles, that to the south from standings in the corn market (Page 1912, 253-65). The latter projects slightly south into Pyle Street narrowing it. The plots facing onto the west side of the square are also intrusive though less obviously so. The slightly projecting central building, currently listed as Unity Hall (grade II, NHLE 1233719), was converted into an inn called the Newport Arms from the market house in the mid-19th century (Page 1912, 253-65). The market house was a prominent early feature of the market that is clearly depicted on Speed's 1611 plan of the town as an isolated building and referred to in the 1563 terrier which refers to a place behind it (Hockey 1957). If Unity Hall marks the site of the market house, then the buildings to the north and south must

have been built out from the block to the west enclosing it. The plots to the east may also be intrusive but this is less certain. They all run east/west and face onto the market with a consistent back-fence but may have been created from plots fronting on the street to north and south.

The junction of Holyrood Street, Quay Street and High Street to the north-east of St Thomas's Square was once more open and appears to have also been a marketplace (Figure 21). It was the site of the Cheese Cross (Page 1912, 253-65) so presumably concentrated on dairying. The Speed plan shows several isolated buildings here. The narrow intrusive block extending north along the first part of Holyrood Street may have been the site of the 'Fawkey' or 'Falcon' (but see terrier analysis below) which paid the unusual ground-rent of a glove to be set up in front of the market house during fairs, underscoring its difference from the other places in the town. The Guildhall also appears to be intrusive, though it may be on the site of a smaller building; it replaced the former hall which stood in a more isolated position to the west, as depicted by Speed (Page 1912, 253-65).

IIc - Pyle Street west, south side

The block south of Pyle Street and west of St James's Street is unusual; it is only one plot deep, these plots are quite shallow, and it has a back lane (Scarrot's Lane), the only one in Newport. There is some evidence from the 1563 terrier that the lane may be secondary (part of it may have been laid out over an existing plot as it paid 1d ground rent) and if so the plots on its south side must also be secondary.

To the east, the south side of Pyle Street changes alignment slightly to the north, narrowing the street either side of St James's Street. This looks to be secondary and deliberate but the change is not reflected in the plots to the south, so it seems most likely it is connected with the use of St James's Square as the town beast market, perhaps to make it a little easier to control livestock. This suggests a mid-16th century date for the realignment (below). There is a similar change in alignment on High Street at the north-west corner of the square.

At the west end of this block the parish boundary cuts obliquely though the last few plots and is undefined, though boundary stones are recorded on the 1866 town plan. It seems unlikely that it would cut through these plots in this fashion, were they in place when the boundary was defined. It therefore seems probable that the last few plots are later than those to the east. It seems unlikely though that these plots post-date the creation of Newport Parish in the mid-19th century but they could be late; no buildings are depicted here on Speed's 1611 map and the 1793 OS surveyor's sketch suggests there may have been a gap between properties here. The oblique parish boundary may therefore record the original line of this end of Scarrot's Lane.

IId - Castlehold

Castlehold is the former name of the section of High Street between St James's Street and Mill Street (depicted in Figure 12 and Figure 14). The name is from Middle English *holde* 'possession, tenure' and referred to the 13½ places Isabella de Fortibus

had given to Carisbrooke Castle by the time of her charter to Newport in the later 13th century (Mills 1996, 37). There is no evidence that the castle (or more strictly the chapel) made direct use of the properties here other than as a source of income from the ground rents. It survived as a detached part of the parish of St Nicholas well into the 19th century (Hockey 1982, 4) and can be traced on early OS maps. As such it is not subject to the same uncertainty as Newport's parish boundary and can be relied upon to be historically valid.

To the north of the west end of High Street the back-fence is broken and irregular and cannot be traced from St James's Street to Mill Street. Much of it must once have formed the northern boundary of Castlehold however, shown on the 1:500 OS town plan to have been straight and parallel to High Street. It was marked by boundary stones at the north-east corner, on Post Office Lane, and on Mill Street but was otherwise undefined and did not follow the surviving plot boundaries. This indicates that there had once been a back-fence on the expected line, but that it had been fragmented. It therefore seems likely this block was at least partially abandoned for a time and the plot boundaries redefined on slightly different lines when occupation re-intensified. The plots facing onto High Street retain relatively narrow frontages though, perhaps suggesting more continuous occupation than the larger plots on Lugley Street to the north.

Figure 21 – The junction of High Street (running bottom left to centre right), Quay Street (from top right) and Holyrood Street (from top left), seen from the south-west. The former site of the Cheese Cross and probably a marketplace. The block at the south end of Holyrood Street is intrusive, The Guildhall largely so (29/7/2020 Damian Grady © Historic England, 33885/015).

III - Lugley Street

Lugley street runs from Holyrood Street to Mill Street suggesting that it was secondary to these or laid out at the same time. It runs broadly parallel to High Street but is generally straighter, with a very slight curve to the south at its east end making its junction with Holyrood Street closer to a right angle, again suggesting that it may be secondary (see Figure 22). Like High Street and Pyle Street, it is slightly narrower with a more uniform width to the west of St James's Street.

A parallel back fence runs (or ran, see Castlehold above) between Lugley Street and High Street, but slightly closer to Lugley Street. Although some boundaries to north and south seem to align, the impression is that the plots facing onto Lugley Street are on average slightly wider, perhaps maintaining the same area as those on High Street. Although slight, these differences hint that Lugley Street may be secondary to High Street, though the variation is no greater than some of those seen within the High Street/Pyle Street plan-unit. The plots on the south side of Lugley Street, east of St James's Street are larger and more regular than elsewhere suggesting a period of neglect and redefinition, perhaps more marked than that of the properties to the south fronting onto High Street.

The line of a back-fence can be traced to the north of Lugley Street, though with less confidence. It is clear to the east though it is initially on a line at right angles to Holyrood Street rather than parallel to Lugley Street. It then turns slightly south and runs approximately parallel and mid-way between the latter and Crocker Street. In the approximately centre of this street block is a series of small plots fronting on to Chain Lane that appear to be secondary, laid out over plots fronting onto Lugley Street and Crocker Street. To the west of this the line of the back-fence appears to be continued by the back of plots facing onto Lugley Street but a large yard to the north makes this less certain and to the west the line seems to be pushed slightly north where it meets plots fronting onto St James's Street (below). Archaeological work recorded 19th century buildings incorporating 18th century elements across this block (including at the rear of plots fronting onto Crocker Street) but in addition identified:

> one well, three pits, two gullies, two possible robbed-out walls and one layer of Mediaeval date, and five pits, a gully, three layers (and the stone boundary wall) of Post-Mediaeval date. A locally significant quantity of Mediaeval and Post-Mediaeval pottery, including imports, was also recovered. (Whitehead 2005, 2)

For central Newport this is a significant amount of evidence, particularly as it was recovered during a watching brief. One of the medieval pits suggests that street frontage was not apparently fully built up at the time:

> produced a small assemblage of Mediaeval pottery, including a cooking pot, and also contained butchered animal bone and charred grains, suggesting the disposal of household waste, although its proximity to Lugley Street implies that there was no house there at the time, as its location would have been either in or immediately

> outside any building on the street frontage, and the backyards were generally preferred for rubbish disposal. (Whitehead 2005, 60)

Within the block to the west of St James's Street some plot boundaries appear to align to form a possible back-fence, but this is intermittent and angular, and overall, the plots are much larger than elsewhere with straight, angular boundaries suggestive of replanning, as seen to the south.

IV - Crocker Street

Crocker Street is made up of two distinct sections. Both are straight and a uniform width, but they are at slightly different angles (visible to the right in Figure 19 and left in Figure 22), and where they meet at St James's Street there is a slight dogleg. As such it seems possible that they were laid out at different times. Plots on both sections are less regular than many other parts of town but more of those in the eastern section seem to retain the form seen elsewhere, narrow plots running back from the street to a common back-fence. There are however several larger plots (associated with the brewery, a largely 19th century development (Page 1912, 253-65) as well as small plots running back to a different back-fence line or orientated toward the adjacent north/south streets. On the western section of the street almost all the blocks are quite large, several being square or broader than their depth, with rectilinear boundaries suggestive of lack of occupation and replanning as seen to the south. There is some support for this from an archaeological evaluation on the

Figure 22 – Central Newport from the west. The junction of High Street and Pyle Street is visible at the bottom of the frame, just right of centre, and Mill Street can be traced curving away to the left. Lugley Street is clear to the left of centre running parallel to High Street, with Crocker Street visible to its left (29/7/2020, Damian Grady, © Historic England 33885/036)

north-west corner with St James's Street which failed to find any trace of medieval buildings (Tomalin 2016, 8), but did reveal a 'black garden soil' that contained some medieval sherds and seemed:

> to fulfil the role of an 'urban dark earth', its ancient garbage and faecal content having once represented much of the lifespan of the medieval and post-medieval town.
> Unfortunately this deposit had never accrued to a substantial depth and, as a consequence, its entire profile had been repeatedly dug over. (Tomalin 2016, 20)

A block on the north-east corner of the plan unit, labelled as 'County Police Office & Bridewell' on the 1866 town plan appears to be a late feature and cuts across the 'natural' line of plot boundaries here. A 'bridewell' was a prison and it had probably been founded soon after the 1608 town charter (above), though the police station would be 19th century and the complex as a whole was probably also 19th century. St Cross Mill lay to the immediate north but formed a limit to the town's expansion rather than ever being a part of it.

V - South Street/East Street

East Street runs south from High Street close to where it meets Coppin's Bridge, approximately 30m east of the junction with Sea Street. It runs at a slight angle past Ford Mill and the east end of Pyle Street, where it changes orientation and then curves around to the south-west as far as Pan Bridge (this section was named Mid Lane in 1866) where it becomes South Street which runs broadly west as far as St James's Street.

East Street/Mid Lane's changing orientation would appear to be largely topographically determined, contouring around above the Medina valley floor and bypassing Ford Mill. Plots to the west are all small and secondary and, apart from Ford Mill, plots to its east appear to be recent. Plots to the north-west of Mid Lane run back to meet the back-fence south of Pyle Street but as the street front is oblique, they vary significantly in depth. The plots are also of very variable width suggesting a process of amalgamation, or perhaps some abandonment and reoccupation, which might be expected in this relatively marginal location. An archaeological evaluation here would appear to confirm this; the excavation of two trenches:

> revealed a significant level of Medieval/early post Medieval activity. This included two large pits, which yielded a substantial assemblage of Medieval pottery with a date range of 1350 to 1450AD, two stone walls; one of which was associated with a pottery sherd dated to 1250 to 1400AD and a brick wall. A number of small pits were also revealed, which may also be of Medieval origin ...
> The evidence revealed during this evaluation suggest that the study area was in the vicinity of a short lived pottery production site, dated to around 1400AD. (Michaels 2004)

In the 15th century pottery was being produced on Crocker Street (Historical summary), perhaps superseding works such as this.

South Street runs in a slight 'S' parallel to Pyle Street as far as Town Lane. The plots to the north are a fairly uniform width and most extend to the back-fence south of Pyle Street. There are some obvious amalgamations, and secondary plots on Town Lane; intersecting plots at its corner show the complex history of the development of such prime locations (see for example Slater 1987, Fig 2). Here, South Street is slightly wider than Pyle Street though this may not be significant; where it is broadest there was little development to the south, so perhaps there was less of a tendency to encroach on the street.

West of Town Lane, South Street begins to curve slightly to the north, closer to Pyle Street, and narrows. It narrows further to the west of Cockram's Yard, and the last 60m is only about 6.8m wide, less than half the width of the section to the east. The back fence to the west of Town Lane is slightly irregular, with the plots to the south becoming shorter than those to the east, as though truncated, and there is no back-fence at all for the final 60m, the plots running through from Pyle Street (above).

The area to the south of South Street and east of Church Litten was a part of the manor of Cosham and was not a part of the borough; South Street was also known as Cosham Street. To the west [Va] a group of plots run north/south to a back-fence that aligns with a field boundary to the west, suggesting secondary development over adjacent fields. The eastern of these plots (north of Church Litten) lay within and extension of the Parish boundary southwards; possibly originally the site of the town butts (Page 1912, 253-65). To the west a group of plots face onto St James's Street, orientated east/west, that also respect this east/west boundary, but do not appear to have been laid out over earlier plots facing onto South Street. Speed shows the east/west back-fence as a field boundary with a line of buildings to the east facing onto South Street and a second group of buildings facing onto St James's Street with a gap between the two suggesting these plots were in place at the time.

It is unclear from the plot pattern if South Street is secondary, or if it was an original part of the layout but that the west end has been modified. The lack of any continuation of the street to the west, when there is no topographic reason for it not to have been laid out, suggests the former, but the similarity of plots north and south of the back fence to the east Town Lane, and the way the southern plots appear to have been truncated to the west suggest the latter.

VI - Holyrood Street/Town Lane/Church Litten

Holyrood Street is regularly cited as one of the main north/south routes defining the town's street grid but it is far from uniform and doesn't parallel the alignment of St James's Street to the west, diverging from it to the north (see Figure 23). It runs south from a bridging point on the Lukely Brook that once led to the former site of St Cross Priory (from which it takes its name), to the corner of St Thomas's Square. The 1866 town plan shows this northward access to be rather awkward but the 'County Police Office and Bridewell [prison]' appears to be an intrusive plot constructed across a more direct route northward and part of the north-east corner of the Crocker Street plan-unit (above; the original alignment may be closer to the modern route, visible top right in Figure 23). A second bridge to the east of the likely former

line led to the recently constructed railway station which suggests a context for the realignment of the route. The 1847 Carisbrooke tithe map shows the northern part of a route much as suggested. There doesn't appear to be any obvious destination north of this. South of Lugley Street the 1866 town plan shows Holyrood Street widened noticeably (from 9.3m/30.5ft to 13m/42.6ft) and it continued to widen as far as the junction with Quay Street and High Street where there was an irregular open area at the north-east corner of St Thomas's Square (above). The form and the intrusive block suggest a small marketplace.

Plots to the west of Holyrood Street generally appear to relate to High Street, Lugley Street or Crocker Street, those that do face on to Holyrood Street probably being subdivisions of them. Plots to the east are more clearly related to Holyrood Street, but have an awkward relationship with plots on Quay Street, lack a uniform back-fence and one of the primary plot divisions in that unit aligns with one in this. This is much like the layout seen to the north of the east end of High Street (above) and it also seem possible that some of these plots were also laid out over the ends of plots associated with Quay Street, at least to the south. To the north the plots are larger and more coherent though the relationship with plots facing on to Sea Street is uncertain; a regular layout with straight boundaries suggests these may be late.

Any continuation of the route southwards would have run through the east side of St Thomas's Square. It could then have continued along Town Lane, though in 1866 this was offset slightly to the east and also rather narrow (again averaging less than 4m/13ft in 1866, modern Town Lane is considerably wider, apparently the result of demolition of properties occupying plots along its western side), but it is possible, as noted above, that the plots on the eastern side of the square are intrusive, in which case the through route could have been more direct. Nevertheless, Town Lane doesn't appear to have been any more important than the other minor north/south routes seen in the town such as Castlehold Lane, Post Office Lane or Chain Lane. Beyond South Street this line appears to have been continued by Church Litten, but this was offset to the west relative to Town Lane and beyond the former burial ground this was only a minor track that continued for a short distance and doesn't appear to have led anywhere, and may originally have only led to the burial ground, and before the 1580s to the town butts. South of High Street therefore, it is unclear if this was ever a route of any historical significance and no plan-units have been defined in relation to it.

VII - St James's Street

St James's Street forms a more obviously coherent through route than Holyrood Street (Figure 23) which appears to have connected an area of open common to the north (shown on the 1790 surveyor's sketch, Figure 8) with a route south along the western side of the Medina valley as far as Blackwater. It runs south from Towngate Bridge, on a sinuous line through the west side of St James's Square (which is triangular) and on south becoming St John's Place for a short distance, St John's Road and Watergate Road south of Whitepit Lane/Shide Road. It is shown as Upper St James's Street to the south of St James's Square with St John's Place being the name of a terrace to its west. It may have been known as Nod Hill prior to this (Jones

Figure 23 – The centre of the historic core looking north with High Street clearly visible crossing the frame just below centre. St James's Street runs sinuously from bottom left to cross Towngate Bridge towards the top left continuing up Hunny Hill. Holyrood Street can be seen running north from above the east end of St Thomas's church; note how its line is continued southwards through St Thomas's Square and is picked up by Town Lane towards the bottom of the frame (29/7/2020, Damian Grady, © Historic England 33885/006)

2003), though evidence from the 1563 terrier suggests it could have been known as Deadman's Lane (see Analysis of the 1563 terrier below).

Along most of its length, plots front onto St James's Street, but these generally appear to be secondary, created from the subdivision of north/south plots fronting onto the east/west streets described above. To the north of St James's Square, on the east side of St James's Street, is a block that doesn't conform to this pattern. On the 1866 town plan a narrow alley is shown running north from the north-east corner of the square through to Lugley Street. Some small plots are related to this alley but setting these aside, a group of plots to the west, separated from the alley by a north/south back fence, front onto St James's Street with no evidence for any subdivision of earlier plots. A further group of such plots lie to the north between Lugley Street and Crocker Street, the back-fence of which aligns with that to the south and runs closely parallel to the street frontage. These plots form a coherent plan-unit which cuts through the Lugley Street plan-unit and the south side of Crocker Street. There is no obvious continuation of this plan-unit to the north of Crocker Street.

VIII - Mill Street/Carisbrooke Road

Mill Street would appear to form the western extent of the borough. Speed shows no development on this side of the street, apart from two isolated buildings near

the ends of High Street and Pyle Street. To the north of High Street all the plots to the east relate to the streets running off in that direction and the associated plan-units described above. A plot to the south of Crocker Street narrows Mill Street considerably and must have been encroached at some point.

At the junction of Mill Street/Carisbrooke Road with Castlehold/High Street and Pyle Street, Speed shows a triangular block of plots which lay outside the parish (and probably borough) boundary, but which appear to continue those shown in the south-west of Castlehold. The parish boundary follows clear plot boundaries here and by the time of the 1866 town plan there is a notable change in the alignment of the street frontage that coincides with the parish boundary. This suggests both that the representation on Speed may be a little simplistic and that this triangular block of plots is secondary. Castlehold/High Street and Pyle Street may therefore originally have met at a triangular open area just outside the borough. This may have been related to livestock management and the beast market; Speed shows a small enclosure here, presumably the town pound for stray animals.

Discussion

Continuity of occupation

The town-plan analysis approach rests on a key assumption; that the mid-19th century plan reflects that of earlier periods. In some towns this assumption can be reasonably inferred from a history of continuous occupation, with each generation reinforcing their tenurial claims, but in Newport this cannot be taken for granted due to the raid on the town in 1377 during which the town was said to have been 'utterly burned and destroyed' (Sumption 2009, 286).

Since all the sources for the history of this raid ultimately seem to rely on the same few near contemporary accounts such as Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Maiora* and Jean Froissart's *Chroniques*, it seems unlikely that it will be possible to add any detail to this picture. Portsmouth is however better documented and provides a comparator; it was founded at about the same time as Newport, on a similar scale, with a similar grid plan, and suffered similar, though perhaps more severe, vicissitudes during the early part of the hundred years war being attacked and burnt on several occasions, notably in 1338, 1342 and 1370 (Sumption 1990, 226, 399; Hughes, 1994, 123-6). Unlike Newport, Portsmouth has several reasonably accurate 16th century cartographic depictions, particularly one of about 1584, which show that large parts of the town appear to have been abandoned, particularly the areas away from the commercial core of High Street and the quayside, though the original street grid appears to have survived. Much was later reoccupied though plots in these areas seem to have been larger, more irregular in size and less clearly related to the surrounding street grid, lacking back-fences for example (Lilley, 1999, pp. 56-70).

The 1666 Great Fire of London may provide a second parallel. This was on a wholly different scale of course; the fire raged for three days, destroying 436 acres of the capital including 13,200 houses, 84 churches and many other important buildings. Nevertheless, a week after the fire one citizen had already begun rebuilding on

the site of his old home and Charles II had to ban further rebuilding to consider replanning the city on modern lines. The pressure to rebuild became so intense however that the authorities admitted defeat and London remerged almost entirely on the old lines, albeit with new regulations in place which changed the prospect if not the plan (Aston and Bond 1976, 114-7).

These cases demonstrate the inertia of the town plan. Portsmouth's street grid remained largely intact despite obvious shrinkage and probable medieval plot outlines remain detectable in the commercial core. It also proved to be impossible to replan the capital after almost total destruction in the early modern era, due at least in part to pressure from property owners desperate to rebuild. It is hard to see that Newport would have been any different, and by the time of the 1563 terrier (Hockey 1957) Newport seems to have been considerably more densely occupied than Portsmouth was 20 years later.

Plot sizes

The burgage plots in the town were known as 'places' for which a rental of 12d was paid. It has been assumed that these places were of about ¼ of an acre in extent (Hockey 1957, 238) and it has been suggested that there were 255½ places in the later 13th century (Page 1912, 253-65 note). If so, places of ¼ acre would amount to a total of almost 64 acres, which, allowing for roadways (about 5 acres) and the marketplace (1.2 acres), suggests a town of about 70 acres, significantly larger than the actual historic core of the town, about 53 acres. It therefore seems that either the number of places has been overestimated or that they were much smaller.

We know that in Isabel de Fortibus' charter, 13½ places that had already been gifted to St Nicholas' Chapel in Carisbrooke Castle were removed from the borough's jurisdiction and that these went on to form Castlehold, one of the detached portions of St Nicholas' parish (Page 1912, 257). This survived and can be accurately plotted from early OS maps. The area of this detachment is approximately 9,000m2, from which we can remove the area of the roads (approx. 1,600m2) to give an area for the 13½ places of about 7,400m2 or 550m2 each which equates to 0.136 acres. If we allow for some encroachment upon the roadway (at 10m wide, High Street is narrower within Castlehold than to the east where it broadens to around 13.5m), plus some latitude in definition and measurement over 850 years, then it seems reasonable to believe that the original places were intended to be about 1/8 (0.125) of an acre (505m2). 255½ such places would have occupied about 32 acres which suggests a level of occupation approaching 70% if the town had been fully laid out by this time, not an unreasonable picture.

How does this relate to plot form? Within Castlehold the plots are about 36m deep to the north and 29m deep to the south, becoming much shallower to the west, so perhaps aren't representative of the original plan for the town. The most clearly and consistently planned block (at least as far as can be reconstructed) is that to the east of the market, between High street and Pyle Street. This is about 69m north/south with a back-fence halfway between the two streets and paralleling their slight curve, which suggests that the plots were on average about 34.5m deep (plots elsewhere

vary in depth from 39.5m north of St Thomas's Square to 27-29m at the west end of Pyle Street so this seems representative). This translates into a rather awkward 113.2ft, 37.7yds or 6.85 16½-foot perches, perhaps the result of some encroachment on the roadway. If the plots were intended to be about 1/8 acre in area (505m2) this suggests a street frontage of 14.66m (approximately 48ft, 16 yds or 2.9 perches), or perhaps a little more if encroachment is accepted. This corresponds almost exactly to a street front for each place measured in either feet or yards and is only a foot less than exactly 3 perches. There are several places where plots of about this width can be seen, for example to either side of Town Lane is a run of plots on Pyle Street (ignoring some subdivisions) measuring 15.4m, 15.9m, 14.7m, 13.3m, 14.8m, 15.9m, 15.1m, 14.8m, and 13.4m, an average width of 14.8m, very close to the calculated value, and almost exactly 3 perches.

Historical interpretation

The street plan

Historical sources do not help much with determining the early development of the town. Most of the streets are first referred to in the middle or later 13th century and there is charter evidence that most of those that are not named were in existence at this time. High Street, Pyle Street, Lugley Street, and Sea Street all appear in 13th century corporation documents (Page 1912, 253-65 and note). Although Quay Street does not occur by name before 1504 (Mills 1996), charters from about 1248 and 1250 refer to properties on the 'street from the market to the sea', shown from later sources to have been Quay Street (Hockey 1991, nos 282, 283). Pyle Street was first recorded as such in 1293 (Mills 1996, 85), but again charters from about 1249 refer to properties shown from later sources to have been on it (Hockey 1991, nos 238, 239). Holyrood Street was recorded as *Holirodestrete* in about 1259, a quitclaim of about 1260 refers to 'a house in Crockerstrete', and lease of about 1275 refers to 'two parts of a plot and one messuage, built upon, in *Leggellestrete*' (ibid, nos 251, 278, 267). Today Sea Street curves around from Holyrood Street in the north-west to High Street in the south-east, but the 1563 terrier makes it clear that the section south-east of Quay Street formerly bore the name Shispool (or Shospool) Street (Hockey 1957, Hockey 1991, map 11, xxv, note that Speed shows the north-west section as Shispool Street, but this is an error). A property that must have been on Shispool Street, 'the store house in Newport near the bank of the river Mede', is first referred to in Quarr Abbey charters of about 1250 and Sea Street itself is first mentioned by name in about 1275 (Hockey 1991, nos 260, 260A, 261). South Street is first documented a little later than the other streets; 'a messuage in Suthstrete' is first mentioned in a charter of about 1300 (ibid, no. 272, though Mills (1996, 97) suggests it was recorded in the 13th century this appears to be the same source which Hockey has examined in more detail).

St James's Street/St James's Square seems to be omitted from early sources; it doesn't appear in any Quarr Abbey charters for example (Hockey 1991). Most properties appear to have originally fronted onto the east/west streets and it is dealt with awkwardly in the 1563 terrier (below). As noted above, St James's Street

appears to be an important north/south route that may have pre-dated the town and it is surprising that there are no known medieval references to it.

Mill Street and East Street/Mid Lane also lack early references. Mill Street doesn't appear to have had any early properties on it; those to the east fronted onto the east/west streets of the town and the east was undeveloped. The position was probably the same on East Street, and Mid Lane was probably treated as part of South Street.

The plan-units

Quay/Sea Street (I)

As noted above, this plan-unit has an awkward relationship with the surrounding units which may have been laid out over its margins. Based upon this, it would appear to be the oldest part of Newport, but can this be supported by other evidence?

The strand at the head of the Medina estuary is likely to have been a significant entry point to the heart of the island from at least the Romano-British period; the cluster of known villas in the vicinity is unlikely to be coincidental, and stray finds from the area have been taken to suggest occupation in the vicinity of the quay. In the middle to late Anglo-Saxon period the Bowcombe/Carisbrooke area was also a significant 'central place' probably serving the whole island, albeit of a rather dispersed nature, though a pattern of separate but related jurisdictional, tenurial, exchange, defensive, religious, and funerary centres (see for example Tomalin 2002; Ulmschneider 1999) in this period has been noted elsewhere (Aston and Bond 1976, 58, 60). The Medina estuary is an obvious access point to this area and again stray finds have been reported from the Newport area.

The construction of the castle and the nucleation of previously dispersed functions at Carisbrooke might have provided a further stimulus to the development of a transhipment point and associated trade on the estuary strand and Quay Street/Carisbrooke Road would provide an obvious overland route to the castle and village, when even light river traffic would have been restricted by the mills on the Lukely Brook (detailed in Domesday Book). In addition, Sea Street would have connected St Cross Priory, which pre-dated the creation of Newport as a borough, with Ford Mill which it held in the mid-12th century.

It is quite possible though, that the head of the Medina estuary was more than a landing place, perhaps with some minor associated settlement. Within Bowcombe's Domesday Book entry is a reference to 30s *De theloneo*, 'from toll', which it has been suggested indicates a market (Munby 1982, note IoW1,7). It has generally been assumed that this was in Carisbrooke village yet the evidence for this (Margham 1992) is circumstantial and weak, and 'toll' could relate to the movement and exchange of goods more generally, including by sea and on rivers:

> It is not easy in the surviving [Anglo-Saxon] texts to distinguish tolls levied on buying and selling, from tolls paid by market sellers bringing their goods to market, or by traders bringing their goods

> ashore, or from tolls levied on shipping, on transport, or on transit. (Harmer 1950, 338)

Domesday Book records tolls in the Sussex ports (Martin 2003, 91) and there is a record of a dispute in Southwark, Surrey, where the men testified that 'no one took toll on the strand or on the water front except the king' (Roffe 2007, 152 note 43), a reference to royal control of trade on the Thames with obvious parallels here (Bowcombe was a part of the royal demesne before the Conquest). It therefore seems more likely that the Domesday toll was being levied on transport, goods and/or trade at the head of the Medina estuary than at Carisbrooke. This may date back to earlier in the Anglo-Saxon period as a distinction has been noted between *toll* and *theloneum*, the latter being:

> a royal due which ... appears to have been related to the king's especial protection of the major lines of communication and the establishment of legal markets within boroughs. ... The right to such dues was ... ancient, and their organisation in the later Middle Ages may thus be indicative of earlier political arrangements (Roffe 1986, 112)

This would lend further support to the suggestion that the toll did not relate to Carisbrooke village which, as it is thought to be contemporary with the construction of the first earthwork castle at Carisbrooke Castle probably in the decade after the Conquest (Margham 1992), is probably later than the toll.

The presence of a trade centre at the head of the Medina estuary well before the later 12th century is therefore a reasonable suggestion.

High Street/Pyle Street (II)

These two streets and the plots to their north and south define the most clearly planned part of the town. To the east, High Street led to Coppins Bridge, called Durneford in about 1258 (Mills 1996), and routes from here led north to Whippingham and Wootton and east towards Brading. At the other end of town Pyle Street leads directly (and High Street indirectly) onto the Carisbrooke Road which then led on to Calbourne and the west of the island. The two streets therefore appear to have been laid out slightly across an east/west route that may have pre-dated the town. Such redirecting of through routes when towns develop has been identified in many places, for example at Stamford, Lincs, on the Great North Road (Hoskins 1972, 98-9, figs 4 and 5), and Beresford has suggested that in some new towns it may have been a deliberate strategy 'to bring all passing traffic near the siren song of the town's tradesmen' (Beresford 1988, 176).

St Thomas's Square lay between the two and formed the marketplace for the new town. There are several intrusive blocks around St Thomas's Square, probably including the church itself, the shambles to the north and the standings to the south. The plots to the east of the square are also intrusive, though less obviously so, and those facing onto the east side of the square may also be secondary, a suggestion supported by the analysis of plot sizes above; at approximately 20m east/west it is hard to see them as created from north/south plots around 3 perches (15m) deep,

unless they were both subdivided and extended into the marketplace by about 5m, which is possible. All told, the market may originally have measured as much as 97m east/west, rather than the 63m seen today. As far as can be determined these intrusive plots do not feature in the 1563 terrier, presumably as they didn't pay ground rent.

Another intrusive block survives to the north-east of the square, occupying the south end of Holyrood Street, but probably a part of the pattern of intrusion into marketplaces; this was the site of the cheese cross, so probably the dairy market. This block was formerly known as the Faukey/Fawkey/Falcon, and according to the terrier paid the unusual rent of a glove, to be set up on a pole in the square during fairs, emphasising its difference from the town's places. Speed shows several other intrusive buildings here, one of which was probably the old town hall, replaced in the early 19th century (Page 1912, 253-65).

The layout of the plots in the block to the west of St Thomas's Square probably conformed with the layout of the rest of the plan-unit; north/south plots facing onto High Street and Pyle Street, but this has been obscured both by the intrusive plots to the east and the subdivision of plots to the west to create plots facing onto St James's Square. It is however much smaller than any other block in the town, which is probably the result of being squeezed between St James's Street and the marketplace, the location of which may itself have been restricted by the existing line of Holyrood Street.

The plot pattern to the south of this block doesn't appear to conform to the more general pattern. Here, the back fence seen to the east disappears and the plots run through from Pyle Street to South Street, but this is probably the result of changes to the town-plan. Several small doglegs and changes in direction in plot boundaries appear to align with the back-fence to the east, suggesting its former presence. It is likely these changes relate to South Street, which runs to the north of its expected line in this area and seems to have been realigned; perhaps the smaller blocks were no longer economically viable and were acquired by richer owners to the north.

To the north of the east end of High Street the plots lack a uniform back-fence resulting in plots of variable depth and area. If it is accepted that Quay Street is earlier, then it seems that the plots here had to accommodate the plots on Quay Street somehow, resulting in this awkward layout. A similar pattern can be seen on Holyrood Street (below). The plots on the north side of the approach to Coppins Bridge, either side of Sea Street, are small and uniform, and appear to have been laid out over plots at the south end of Sea Street, relatively late in the history of the town.

Although conforming to the general pattern, the plots appear to have been noticeably smaller to the west of St James's Street, particularly south of High Street. The block south of Pyle street is unusual in only being a single plot deep with a back lane, Scarrot's Lane, which itself has plots on its south side. The 1563 terrier suggests that the lane is secondary as must be the plots to its south but the reasons for the difference in the pattern here is unknown. South Street might be expected to have continued to the west allowing for a plot pattern much as seen to the east, but it

appears never to have done so. Perhaps we are simply seeing a human decision here, a lack of confidence in the new town and its potential for expansion.

North of the west end of High Street (formerly Castlehold) the plot depths appear to have been much as to the west, which suggests similar plot sizes, but as described above, the plots here are generally large and irregular which is suggestive of redefining following a period of neglect, so it is difficult to determine their original size. Castlehold is an intriguing part of Newport and seems to have been something of a den of iniquity. Having been removed from the borough by Isabella de Fortibus' charter of the later 13th century, it was only incorporated into it under Charles II's charter of December 1661, following petitions from the burgesses. In these they claimed that 'the place increaseth much in building and is out of all command of justice, a receptacle for all manner of sectaries, rogues and villains who often fly thither from the face of justice in Newport' (Page 1912, 253-65). The 1866 town plan shows the alley between Pyle Street and High Street, now known as Castlehold Lane, to have been called Paradise Row, in this context, and with two pubs within stumbling distance, likely to be a euphemism rather than a genuine reference to Elysium or the Garden of Eden.

Holyrood Street (VI)

The chronology of this part of the town-plan is uncertain, but as it led to St Cross Priory which pre-dated the borough, and seems to have been laid out to create an open area at the head of Quay Street that served as a secondary marketplace, it seems likely that it was an original part of the High Street/Pyle Street plan-unit. It is also notable that it has a similarly awkward relationship with plots on Quay Street/ Sea Street, albeit resolved differently due to the different relative orientation of the plots. Both were dealing with the same issue though, accommodating the existing plots, and were therefore probably part of the same scheme.

However, to define this street as part of a full grid plan appears to be going beyond the evidence. Whilst a route through the east side of St Thomas's Square and Town Lane is reasonable, particularly if the plots on the east side of the square are secondary (or partially so) as suggested above, there is no evidence that Town Lane was ever a particularly significant through route, and Church Litten may only have led to the burial ground and before this the town butts. These alignments are only approximate and may be coincidental.

Lugley Street (III)

There are hints that the Lugley Street plot pattern differs slightly from that to the south, but this is uncertain and may be no more significant than internal variations in that plan-unit. As Holyrood Street may have been laid out at the same time as High Street (above) it seems likely that Lugley Street was also a part of this plan. In this context any differences observed are probably due to later occupation of plots a little further from the commercial centre. Even if it is secondary, it must have been an early addition to the basic plan, but it is hard to see how the two possible histories would result in a discernible difference in their plan form.

It is noticeable that to the west and north, the plots in this plan-unit generally become larger, and more irregular in size but with straighter boundaries. Their layout also seems to bear less relation to the surrounding streets, back-fences for example are harder to trace. This would appear to be the result of one or more periods of (partial) abandonment where the plot boundaries were neglected and only redefined when occupation resumed, on new or only broadly similar lines. This plan-unit therefore seems to demonstrate both early expansion of the town, and later neglect and reoccupation.

South Street (V)

It is difficult to determine South Street's history from its plot pattern, it could be primary but have had its western end modified, or it could be entirely secondary. There is evidence to support both scenarios, though the former appears more likely.

To the east of Town Lane, South Street is broadly parallel to Pyle Street with an almost continuous back-fence, and in this area the plots are like those to the north, suggesting they were laid out at the same time. The awkward plots to the east are probably the inevitable consequence of the topography of the Medina valley and being some distance from the commercial core were probably less valued and not necessarily continuously occupied, explaining their irregular sizes. To the west of Town Lane however, South Street gradually narrows and curves to the north, the last 60m being half the width of the street to the east. Were South Street to have remained parallel to Pyle Street it would have met St James's Street at a point about 35m to the south of the actual junction, though as most of the east/west streets tend to close slightly to the west this may be exaggerating the distortion of the street plan somewhat. St James's Street narrows about 27m south of the South Street Junction, approximately at the point the two streets may once have met, and there is a slight change in the orientation of the east/west plot boundaries to the north of this, though the significance of this is uncertain. To the north however the back fence remains parallel to Pyle Street (though it was absent for the last 60m it had probably existed) and the plots become shorter as though truncated. This implies that they already existed, and in turn that this was a modification of the existing plan.

On balance therefore it seems likely that South Street was a part of the original plan. It may have marked the limit of the borough in this direction; there was very little development to the south, most of which formed a part of the manor of Cosham and South Street was also known as Cosham Street in the medieval period (Page 1912, 253-65 and note; Hockey 1991, map 11, xxv). Cosham survived as a large, detached portion of St Nicholas Parish (Hockey 1960), which originally included Church Litten, Newport's burial ground (Hockey 1982, 4-5).

Why then was the west end of South Street modified? It seems likely that it may have been to accommodate development of the area to the south which comprises two groups of plots, one facing onto the south side of South Street and one facing onto St James's Street. These appear to have initially been limited to the south by a field boundary that ran from Church Litten to St James's Street, perhaps an early suburb on a field acquired by the borough; properties here are mentioned in the 1563 terrier

and shown on Speed's 1611 map. However, Page (1912, 253-65) asserts in a note that 'St. James Street would have had a South Gate, probably in a line with South Street' but this seems to be an assumption based upon the existence of Town Gate and he presents no evidence for this. Yet if there were a gate then the narrow point noted above might be the best place for it. Perhaps the surrounding development was deliberately encouraged to prevent wheeled traffic bypassing the gate and South Street realigned to move it away from the gate.

Crocker Street (IV)

Crocker Street is more clearly a later part of the town plan that Lugley Street to the south, but as the two halves are not on the same alignment or aligned with one another, it may not have been laid out at one time. Even though it is first mentioned in a quitclaim of 1260, this refers to a plot held by Quarr Abbey that was on the north-east corner of Crocker Street and St James's Street (Hockey 1991, map 11, xxv), so the western section could have been laid out after this.

St James's Street (VII)

This street runs north/south through the plan units based on the east/west streets with many of the plots facing onto it, particularly on its west side and around St James's Square appearing to have been laid out over north/south plots fronting onto those streets. However, a substantial block of plots faced on to St James's Street with no evidence that they were laid out over earlier plots and formed a coherent plan-unit. This extended from north of St James's Square as far as Crocker Street and appeared to have been laid out within a formerly broader street. It is possible that this broad street originally formed a continuation of the tongue of common funnelling in from the north depicted on the 1793 surveyor's sketch, perhaps with a ford before the construction of Towngate Bridge, as seen with Coppins Bridge to the east. It is possible to envisage a process whereby the bridge was built with plots laid out on the north side of Crocker Street to narrow the approach to the town which could then be controlled by the 'town gate', presumably to ensure the payment of market tolls and so on. This may have fixed the line of the road to the west, allowing for the infilling of the eastern side but the date of this is unknown. It is suggested that the town may have reached its medieval peak in around 1300 which may provide a context for such developments.

The markets

It has been suggested above that the form of Quay Street is suggestive of a marketplace, and that it lies in the oldest part of town, probably pre-dating the 'foundation' charter. Such a 'long, broad, ... market place, narrowing a little at the terminal[s]' is 'very common' (Beresford 1988, 155) and numerous parallels could be cited such as High Street/Broad Street, Chipping Sodbury, Glos (over 350m by 30m), Newland Street, Witham, Essex (perhaps 250m by 27m), and Bridge Street, Stratford-upon-Avon, Warks (180m by 27m). This last example is broadly comparable to Quay Street (160m by 20m).

If Quay Street was the town's first market it was replaced when High Street and Pyle Street were laid out by St Thomas's Square, which comprised a flesh and fish shambles to the north of the chapel (the fish shambles lay to the east; Page 1912, 253-65) and the corn market to the south of it. There was also a market around the Cheese Cross at the north east corner of the square, where Quay Street, Holyrood Street and High Street met: 'The position of the Cheese Cross is pretty well determined by an entry in the Corp. Rental Bks. 24 Oct. 1567, re a corner shop on the north side of the fish shambles "against the suth west side of ye Cheese Cross"' (Page 1912, 253-65).

St James's Square was the site of the town beast market well into the 20th century but according to Sir John Oglander, the 17th-century politician and diarist, until 1532 'there wase no markett for beastes in owre towne of Nuport,' (quoted in Page 1912, 253-65 note). This begs the question of where livestock was bought and sold prior to this. Perhaps the sales were conducted directly between buyer and seller, farm to farm, or took place at another centre. If so, Newport must have been conscious that it was losing revenue, so perhaps trade was restricted to the fairs, or perhaps there was simply no *separate* beast market.

At about 80m by 25m (a maximum of 2000m^2) St James's Square appears to be rather small for such a market. Stratford-upon-Avon also had a triangular beast market (Rother Market) on a sinuous through route (see Slater 1987, Fig 1) very like St James's Square but far larger at about 160m by up to about 80m, almost 7000m^2.

ANALYSIS OF THE 1563 TERRIER

This analysis is based on the text of the terrier published by Hockey (1957). It comprises a list of tenurial holdings by street, which Hockey considered 'substantially complete' allowing 'a fairly correct idea of the town properties' (1957, 239). Each entry gives the landlord, a description of the property, usually including its size (most commonly a whole, half, or quarter of a place; the basic tenurial unit of the town, its burgage plots), the ground rent paid (almost always based on a rate of 12d a place 'the normal rent for a place ... as it had been at the foundation of the borough'; ibid, 238), and the tenant, though Hockey suggested that given the number of recurring names these 'can in a large number of cases be only tenants-in chief, responsible for the ground-rents' (ibid, 238).

Hockey noted that the terrier 'contains entries for religious foundations dissolved well before 1563', particularly Newport Chantry, Quarr Abbey, Carisbrooke and Barton priories (a single reference to Appuldurcombe had been deleted). As a result, 'We are obliged to conclude that the Terrier Book is based on earlier lists' (Hockey 1957, 238). Many of the numerous insertions and deletions must have been intended to bring these old lists up to date, but it is likely that anachronisms remain. In the case of Quarr Abbey however this may not be as anachronistic as appears; 'it would certainly have been convenient to keep [them] under that name after 1536, as the town property of the dissolved abbey remained in Crown ownership until the time of Charles I' (ibid, 238). Apparently; 'the considerable chantry property, [was] later largely to become the endowment of the Grammar School' though this seems to need investigation as 'the Foundation Deed speaks only of the Chantry House and two other items' (ibid, 239, n).

Description

Hockey found that the 'bewildering hope of fitting these places and portions of places into the earliest Ordnance Survey map had to be abandoned' (1957, 238), but an attempt is made at this below utilising the town-plan analysis, rather than the early OS maps directly, supported by Speed's 1611 map of Newport.

The Terrier lists the tenurial holdings by street broadly running from south to north and then on to those in the NE of the town (Figure 24). The order of the properties listed in the terrier appears to have been key to the identification of the holdings concerned as the list is divided by headings identifying the street and specifying the side and the end from which the listing starts. There is also at least one case where an entry has been deleted and its exact duplicate inserted a few lines below, apparently correcting a mistaken list order; on the north side of Lugley Street [18], John Harvey held half a place which was leased to Nicholas Bayley; the entry for this has been deleted from above William Howell's entry and inserted below it, in effect swapping the properties. A few other similar, though less clear cut, cases were also identified.

The main headings are supplemented by marginal entries but in Hockey's published version it is not possible to tell exactly which entries they refer to. For example, the

Figure 24 – The terrier sequence, the numbers are those used below

terrier starts with the heading 'South street beginning at the east end upon the north side', and the first marginal entry largely repeats this, 'South Street on the east end on the north side'; but the next marginal entry is, 'the south side of the same street'. As the first marginal entry is some way down the list of landlords it clearly doesn't mark the start of a section and with four entries above it and four below it seems likely that it was vertically centred on the list section it refers to. For this reason, where marginal headings duplicate the preceding section headings they have been omitted, and where they add information, it is assumed they have been centred vertically.

South Street [1-6]

1. The terrier begins at the east end of South Street on the north side, with 12 entries amounting to 9½ places, including a partially legible marginal entry. This is the only east west street where the terrier lists the north side first, perhaps because of the limited development of the south side, or because the development here was secondary to the existing lists the terrier is thought to have been based upon. It is assumed that the entries listed here lay to the east of Town Lane which marked the transition between this section and [3], but the penultimate entry has had '¾' inserted after 'place' and '11d' after the 12d ground rent, and the final entry is for ½ place, so it is possible that some subdivision had occurred and that one or more of the final entries lay on the lane, a pattern seen more certainly in several other areas. Speed's 1611 map (surveyed 1608, see below) depicts a group of 4 buildings to the east opposite Pan Bridge, then a clear gap before a continuous run of perhaps 11 buildings (one appears significantly larger than the others and the depiction of another two are slightly unclear), plus perhaps 3 further buildings in the

south of Town Lane. This suggests significant intensification of occupation in the later 16th century, most probably on Town Lane, but perhaps also near Pan Bridge. The large building depicted by Speed may well post-date the terrier but could be the penultimate entry in this section, that noted above as having '¾' inserted after 'place' and '11d' to the rent perhaps suggesting recent enlargement. If so, then it is unlikely that any of the terrier entries lay on Town Lane.

2. A marginal heading marks a transition from north to south so the exact division between the two is uncertain. As noted above, these headings appear to be centred vertically suggesting there were 4 entries/4½ places here. Speed clearly shows four buildings on the south side of the street to the east of Church Litten, supporting this interpretation.

3. The terrier then returns to the north side of the road, presumably continuing in a westerly direction from Town Lane, and lists 14 entries/8¾ places. As the first few entries are for ½ places it is possible that there had been subdivision and at least one may have been on Town Lane. Speed depicts a building in the south of Town Lane and a further 11 on South Street, but the final section approaching St James's Street is empty; perhaps a few had been lost in this area, which the town-plan analysis suggests may have been modified at some point, perhaps between 1563 and 1608, plots being amalgamated with those to the north.

The terrier now becomes harder to interpret.

4. It continues with 'turn over to the other side' where it details a single ½ place. Speed shows a line of buildings on the opposite side of the street so it seems unlikely that this entry could relate to these. There is however an isolated building on St James's Street opposite the west end of South Street and it would make geographical sense to pick this up here (St James's Street is generally treated quite awkwardly in the terrier).

5. Following this is the heading 'Turn over to Dedmans lane which lane contains 20 feet of breadth on the south side of the same lane', following which are 4 entries totalling 3 places (a marginal entry clarifies that these properties are on 'South Street to Dedmans lane').

6. There are then 5 entries totalling 3 places on the 'south side [of] the east end' (of South Street according to a marginal note).

Taken together [5] and [6] total 9 entries which seems to match the row of nine buildings shown to the east of Church Litten by Speed, if it is accepted that buildings will correlate with entries (there are also two buildings to the west on St James's Street), but this leaves open the location of 'Dedmans lane', and the reason for the two headings. Deadman's Lane is thought to have been named after the site of a skirmish during the 1377 ransacking of the island where several of the raiders were killed (Jones 2003, 2-3), but its identification is uncertain. It is described above

as being 20 feet (6m) wide, half the typical street width shown on the 1866 town plan. As such it was probably one of the minor streets in the area such as Church Litten, Cockram's Yard or Scarrot's Lane. The listing for the south side of Pyle Street [7d] ends with 'The high way turning over at the corner of the house the breadth of 20 foot, going to Dedmans lane out of Pyle street' which strongly suggests that Dedman's Lane was the former name of Scarrot's Lane as shown by Hockey (1991, map 11, xxv; note that some sources suggest it was Trafalgar Road (tithe map, Jones 2003), though as this lies well to the south this seems unlikely). However, the marginal entry 'South Street to Dedmans lane' suggests that Dedmans lane ran off South Street rather than St James's Street. Church Litten would not have been known as such at the time of the terrier as the burial ground was not laid out until 1582 so perhaps this was Deadman's Lane, but it is hard to reconcile this with the reference under Pyle Street. The question remains open and the terrier difficult to interpret here.

Pyle Street [7-9]

7. The terrier then moves on to the next east/west street to the north, Pyle Street, starting at the east end of the south side, and lists 40 entries totalling 29¼ places.

    a. One of these was The Chantry House: 'the offices of the I.W. Rural District Council, was undoubtedly the residence of the priest of the Newport Chantry, the foundation of John Garston and John White in 1449' (Hockey 1957, 238). The 1968 OS 1:2500 map shows these offices to have been at 29-31 Pyle Street (SZ 5005 8910), probably occupying the third place to the east of Town Lane (based on the town-plan analysis). This gives 12 properties to the east and puts the place belonging to the 'heirs of Blacke' (and occupied by John Garland) on the corner of the lane (a total of 15 entries, 13½ places), though there is no mention of it (or any others nearby) being corner plots. This accords well with Speed who shows 14 properties to the east of Town Lane, initially packed together but becoming more open to the east, so the slight discrepancy may be due to the loss of a building in this area, though it could be a simple error. Speed also shows 2 buildings in the north-eastern part of Town Lane, presumably either on the back of John Garland's place or the result of later subdivision.

Note that the terrier contains references to places with 'corners', and with 'corner houses' and it is unclear if there is a distinction between the two. The majority, 21, refer to 'corner houses' with eight references to 'corners' and there is no obvious spatial pattern; in several places opposite corners of the same street are described differently. Perhaps some places had simply not been built upon; William Holbrook's 'piece of ground' [24b] may be one such, albeit not on a corner.

    b. If this is correct then the place on the opposite corner of Town Lane was held by the heirs of Wineate, and the building depicted on Town Lane by Speed was either on the back of this place or the result of

later subdivision. To the west, were a further 10 properties before a half place held by William Sigaines (a total of 12 entries/8 places). This entry has had 'with a corner' inserted in the landlord's details and 7d inserted in the rent column, without the previous 6d entry having been deleted. Overall, the places described can be mapped across onto the town-plan analysis quite closely, apart from a narrow strip of small properties on the east side of St James's Street (Figure 25). It may be that the inserted corner and rent represent recent (sanctioned?) expansion onto St James's Street, on a smaller scale but much as that suggested to the north (see town plan analysis). A further point of note is that Cockram's Yard appears to have been laid out through a place held by the Chantry (the anachronism is noted here and below). The Chantry also held two adjacent ½ places on South Street approximately halfway down the list for the section to the immediate south [3] which may serve to fix these entries as lying to the immediate south of the place on Pyle Street thereby allowing the creation of a secondary through route, the dogleg in the lane the result of a slight offset of the places to either side of the back fence. This probably occurred after 1608 as Speed omits the lane. The number of entries doesn't accord well with Speed, who shows a continuous line of 18 buildings between Town Lane and St James's Street, but there is scope for further subdivision of the full places in the intervening years.

c. West of this are 12 entries/7¾ places all of which, apart from the first 3/1¼, were occupied by Thomas Goter. They end with ½ place with a 'corner house', followed by ¼ place, which must be located on the

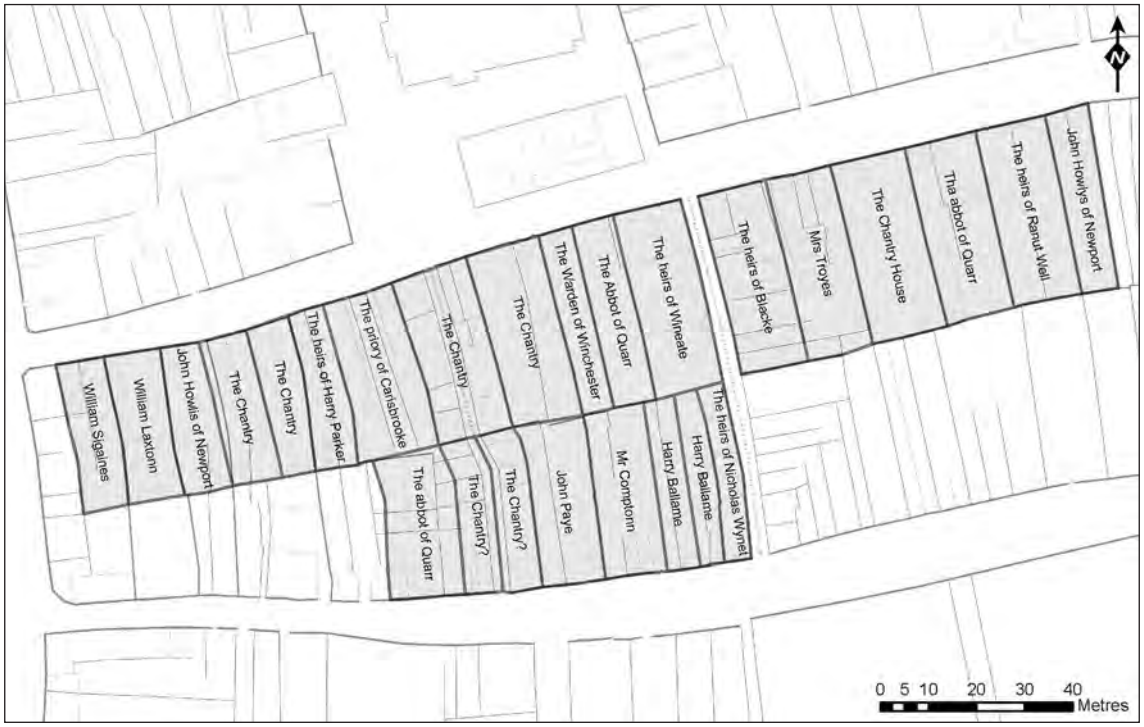

Figure 25 – A reconstruction of the terrier on the south side of Pyle Street

back of a subdivided plot to leave the previous place on a corner. Speed shows a continuous line of 12 buildings running west from the corner of St James's Street, with a gap and then a further continuous line of five buildings, all of which would have been within the borough, plus a further 4 buildings facing onto St James's Street, again suggesting later 16th century intensification. This may mirror that seen in [1] with development on a cross street and in a more peripheral location.

d. The final entry on the south side is for 'The high way turning over at the corner of the house the breadth of 20 foot, going to Dedmans lane out of Pyle street' which paid 1d ground rent and was also occupied by Thomas Goter. Since none of the other streets or alleys are recorded as paying any rent, the 'high way' may have been secondary, the 1d reflecting land taken from a place. Given the extent of lands occupied by Thomas, could he have been the original creator of the lane? This lane would appear to be Scarrott's Lane, running back towards the west end of South Street but it is unclear if Deadman's Lane was Scarrot's lane itself, or if it led to it. Perhaps the most likely explanation is that the terrier entry refers to the short section of lane that ran across a place and therefore paid ground rent (the north/south section) and that the rest of the lane (the east/west section) was known as Deadman's Lane. This makes it no easier to resolve the latter part of the South Street listing, however.

8. The terrier then moves to the north side, again starting from the east end, and itemises 27 entries amounting to 15 places, broadly similar to the number of places on the opposite side of the street (13½ east of Town Lane). This appears to take the listing to St Thomas's Square, but it is unclear if buildings within the marketplace were itemised. Speed only depicts 10 buildings on Pyle Street which is a significant discrepancy. This may in part be explained if the 3 buildings shown on East Street, and some of the buildings in St Thomas's Square were included in the Pyle Street list as seems likely elsewhere ([9] and [11]). This still suggests the loss of at least 11 buildings which is surprising on one of the town's primary streets. This might be reduced still further if the isolated block of 6 buildings to the south of the church was included in the terrier, but it seems highly unlikely that these counted as places, and even if they did, they occupied such small plots that their rents could only have been 1d or 2d whereas the terrier lists no such entries. There is also no indication that the shambles to the north of the church are included in the terrier and here corner plots are mentioned making interpretation more secure.

9. It then turns 'over to the west end of the church to the north side of Pyle Street' and details 21 entries equalling 15¾ places. The first of these is half a place 'behind the market house', the larger, isolated building Speed depicts here (see town-plan analysis). Mistress Pekes place and a quarter with a corner house must be that at the south-west of the marketplace leaving ¼ and ½ places to the north suggesting they had been divided from a

remaining ¼ place which was then added to her place, so that although they clearly must have faced onto the marketplace, they probably originated from the division of a place on Pyle Street. There are a further 12 entries detailed before two places 'with a corner' (a total of 14 entries from one corner to the next including the corners themselves) which must have lain on either side of the same street or lane. Speed suggests that a maximum of 8 entries lay between St Thomas's and St James's squares so these corners must be on either side of Castlehold Lane, and that there was some intensification of occupation in the later 16th century, as suggested to the south ([7b]). If this is correct, then it seems possible that one or both of the fractional places about half way between the corners (¾ of a place held by William Mewes and ¼ place held by Lauraunces Edes; two ½ places held by Thomas Syganies and The Chantry) lay on the corners of St James's Square and had been divided to create plots fronting onto the square rather than Pyle Street as suggested for the fractional places to the east. A total of 5 entries, 4½ places (including the second corner) lay to the west of Castlehold Lane where Speed only shows two buildings, suggesting plot amalgamation which is supported by the town-plan analysis.

High Street [10-15]

10. The terrier again moves on to the next street to the north, High Street, and again starts at the east end of the south side detailing 23 entries/15¾ places, comparable to the 15 places to the south on Pyle Street [8]. Towards the end of the list the college of Winchester held ½ place with a corner house, and it seems likely that this lay on the north-east corner of the marketplace. It is therefore likely that the following ½ place and ¾ place faced west onto the marketplace, reflecting the position seen to the south-west [9], and supporting the suggestion that the final few entries under [8] may also have lain on the square. Speed depicts 24 buildings in this area, a very minor discrepancy possibly due to error.

11. It then turns 'over to the west end of the church side to the belfry door to the corner of the market house' and lists another 8 entries, amounting to 6 places. The first entry is for 1½ place held by John Howlys which is followed by 1 place with a corner house belonging to John Flemynge; the former must have faced east onto the square and the latter been on its north-west corner. The following 6 entries end with 1¼ place with a corner house belonging to Master Comptonn. This must have been on the north-east corner of St James's Square and the number of entries accords well with Speed and the pattern to the south on Pyle Street [9]. However there appears to quite a significant difference in the number of places represented – perhaps 4 to south on Pyle Street, 6 to north o High Street.

12. The terrier then turns 'over against the pound and so on the south side of the same street' detailing a further 4 entries, 3¼ places, beginning with a corner house that must have been on the north-west corner of the square. This may seem a low number but the west end of High Street, 'Castlehold, being of St

Nicholas, does not figure in the lists' (Hockey 1957, 238). Note that Speed doesn't show a pound in St James's Square but at the west end of Pyle Street suggesting it had been moved in the intervening period, though as the terrier contains various anachronisms and was probably based on earlier material (ibid, 238-9), it may be that the pound was moved when the beast market was established in or around 1532 (Page 1912, 253-65).

13. It then returns to the north side of the east end of High Street and lists 23 entries or 12¼ places, plus another paying 4d ($^{1}/_{3}$ place?). In order, this list comprises; 3 entries/1¾ places, a ½ place with a corner, 2 entries/1½ places, a ¾ place with a corner, 15 entries/7¾ places, and ends with a corner, that entry paying 4d. It seems highly likely that the first two corners are those at the south-east end of Sea Street and therefore that the three entries before these lay on the approach to Coppins Bridge, with the entries between representing the subdivision of plots on High Street to create plots on Sea (Shyspolle) Street, as seen around St Thomas's Square. The final small corner plot would have been at the junction with Quay Street. Between Sea Street and Quay Street Speed shows 23 buildings, rather more than the 17 entries in the terrier, again suggesting intensification of occupation in the later 16th century.

14. The listing then turns 'over to the west side of the Faukey' (a marginal entry specifies 'High Street north side') and lists 16 entries/8 places plus a shop. Note that the Faukey was a significant place detailed on Holyrood Street (below). The 16 entries begin with Rychard Jamys shop which paid 2d; this probably lay at the corner with Holyrood Street and taken with another small plot to the north paying 2d [21] may indicate a divided 4d corner plot, as seen elsewhere. This is followed by 12 entries, 6¾ places. There are then two ½ places held by The Chantry, the second of which has a corner house, and it is tempting to wonder if these were formerly a single place divided to create a plot on St James's Street, though where this has been suggested elsewhere the corner plot is listed first. These are followed by a ¼ place and a ½ place, both probably on St James's Street. There are thus 15 entries on the north side of High Street between Holyrood Street and St James's Street: Speed shows 17 buildings, a close match.

15. The terrier then continues by turning 'over right to the west side to the town lands' (confirmed as the north side of High Street by a marginal note) where seven entries probably account for $3^{1}/_{3}$ places (a corner house is valued at 4d, but the size of place is not given). These probably repeat the pattern seen above with three ½ places probably on St James's Street before the corner house, followed by another three ½ places. This contrasts with the 3¼ places on the south side of the street and again excludes Castlehold to the west; the difference between the two sides of the street explained by the asymmetry of the plan of Castlehold which extends further east on the north side of High Street than it does on the south.

Lugley Street [16-20]

16. Lugley Street is the next east/west street to the north and once again the terrier begins on the south side at the east end, listing 15 entries totalling 8¼ places. The list begins with 1¼ place with a corner house which must have been on Holyrood Street. There is no obvious corner plot at the west end of the list and Speed shows a few buildings facing onto St James's Street so perhaps some of the last listed are here. Speed depicts perhaps 17 buildings in this area, including those on St James's Street, with some gaps suggestive of plot amalgamation/building loss.

17. The terrier then turns 'over to the west side of Saint James crese [cross?] by the well' and details 10 entries, 6½ places. Some of these at least must have lain on St James's Street, which is not mentioned elsewhere. Entries listed below [19/20] would appear to account for those properties to the north of Lugley Street, so it seems likely that those listed here were to the south. It is unclear why the west side of the street is itemised first, as the east seems more logical, though this supports the suggestion above that some of the properties listed under [16] lay on the east side of St James's Street. No properties appear to be listed on the south side of Lugley Street to the west of St James's Street, so it is likely some of the entries lay here. The occupation intensity in [16] and [17] (below) supports these suggestions.

18. The terrier then moves back to the east end of the north side of Lugley street and itemises 16 entries/9¼ places. These begin and end with places with corner houses, with a third roughly halfway down the list (8 entries/5 places to the east, 7/3.75 to the west). The first must have been on Holyrood Street, the last on St James's Street and the middle one on Chain Lane, perhaps the west side given the number of entries/places to east and west. Speed shows this part of the street to be fully developed with 11 buildings to either side of Chain Lane.

19. The listing then turns 'down on the east side' of 'the same street' according to a marginal entry, but this appears to refer to St James's Street rather than Lugley Street, and details 2 entries/ 3 places, probably to the north given its place in the terrier and the next heading.

20. The terrier then turns 'over the street to the south west [a marginal entry adds 'side'] and so to the north side of Lugley Street' and lists a further 9 entries or 7¼ places. The position of a marginal entry repeating the main heading suggests that perhaps 6 properties were on St James's Street and 4 on Lugley Street, though Speed depicts only 3 buildings on St James's Street and 10 on Lugley Street.

Holyrood Street [21-22]

The terrier than breaks the pattern and moves on to Holyrood Street rather than Crocker Street. The properties are listed under two headings both apparently

beginning at the south end on the east side of the street. The duplicated headings are obviously problematic but the marginal entry against the first list has had 'east side' deleted and, though no correction has been inserted, it seems likely that an error was recognised. This would also broadly fit with the properties depicted by Speed on each side of the street; perhaps nine on the west side and 13 on the east, plus several isolated buildings forming an island at the south end of the street.

21. The first list comprises 7 entries amounting to 3½ places on the (probable) west side of the street. These must have been situated between the corner plots detailed on High Street [14], Lugley Street [16]/[18], and Crocker Street [23]. Overall, the properties appear to be typical, apart from the first, a 'parcel' of land held by Richard Turner paying 2d ground rent which may represent the division of a corner plot paying 4d [14].

22. The second list details properties that probably actually are on the east side of the street. At the south end are two unusual properties. The first listed is also mentioned as a geographical marker on High Street so must lie at the junction between the two. It is detailed as 'Mr Boreman, a shop called the Fawkey paying a glove by the year at Whitsonday'. It is notable that this property is not described as a place and does not pay a standard monetary rent. The second is listed next as 'The Town, a house and a cellar'. Again, this is not described as a place and pays the unusually high ground rent of 2s 8d, which would equate to $2^{2}/_{3}$ places. These properties are probably later additions to the town plan, perhaps two of the four isolated buildings at the junction of Holyrood Street, Quay Street, and High Street, at the north-east entry to St Thomas's Square. To the north of these are 14 entries amounting to 8½ places. Speed shows 13 buildings here, a close match.

Crocker Street [23-24]

23. The terrier then details Crocker Street with a listing of properties on the south side from the east end amounting to 15 entries/11¾ places.

    a. The list begins with ½ place with a corner house, which must have been on the corner with Holyrood Street, followed by 5 entries totalling 3 places. Speed only shows two buildings here, a significant discrepancy. There is then ¾ place 'with a corner', probably on Chain Lane (which side isn't apparent though Speed shows a building just to the west), followed by 2 entries/2¼ places which agrees with Speed. There are then 3 entries in a row with corners which is difficult to explain; the first reference to a corner is an addition so this is likely to the eastern corner with St James's Street, where Speed depicts a building. Perhaps one of the other 'corners' was an error and should have been deleted; if the following this would place a building on St James's Street itself, though which side is unclear.

    b. However, Speed shows a projection into St James's Street from the west which could in theory permit there to have been three corners

immediately south of the junction. Finally, there are 3 entries/3 places, presumably to the west of St James's Street which agrees with Speed's depiction.

24. This is followed by the listing of 20 entries/12¾ places (+ a 'parcel' paying 4d) on the north side, again starting from the east end.

    a. The first entry is not described as a corner plot, though Speed shows a building on the corner, perhaps a later addition. There are 7 entries/4¾ places before an entry described as 'The warden of Winchester for a mill ~~way~~ ^'with a lane' paying 6d ground rent. 'The mill is undoubtedly St. Cross mill, alienated by the abbot and convent of Tiron to the College in 1390' (Hockley 1957, 238) and the lane therefore St Cross Lane; the entry suggests it was laid out over a place and therefore secondary, as suggested for Scarrot's Lane [7d]. Speed depicts 10 buildings here, a few more than the 8 entries listed suggesting some development.

    b. After an entry for 'a piece of ground' paying 6d (perhaps ½ place not built upon) is an entry for ½ place with a corner house; this is likely to have been on the south-west corner of the lane with the piece of ground to the north, also on the lane. Whilst it is possible that the 'piece' was to the east this seems unlikely as the lane ran through to the mill. There are then 5 entries/4 places before ½ place with a corner house, probably on the north-east corner with St James's Street (given the following 4d property [24c]). Tomalin (2016) however suggests it was on the north-west corner. Speed shows 14 buildings here, plus 2 more on St Cross Lane, quite a significant difference.

        i. Two entries above the ½ place with a corner described above is 1½ place held by Quarr Abbey. Based on various sources, Hockey has identified a plot on the corner of St James's Street as being that referred to in a 1341 charter described as '*one half plot and one quarter of a plot of land with buildings in Crocker Street, Newport, on the northern side, between the tenement which Robert de Compton held from the abbey on the east and the open space on the west leading towards St. Cross Priory*', the 'open space' becoming St James's Street (Hockey 1991, Map 11, xxv, #280). With the plot held by Robert on the east it seems reasonable to believe that this is these plots amalgamated. Yet if the charter is correct then the plot should be on the corner, contrary to the description above. However, the town-plan analysis discusses a plan-unit that infilled St James's Street north of St James's Square and suggested the possibility that plots on the north Side of Crocker Street were also secondary. If correct, this analysis supports this suggestion, and it is noteworthy that the charter refers to 'open space' rather than a road.

c. Following this is a holding valued at 4d; nowhere else in the terrier is there a 4d entry that was not, or could not have been, on a corner plot and it is tempting to suggest that this was also on a corner, as taken with the previous entry they would define the north side of the junction with St James's Street. This seems to be one of eight parcels of land occupied by James Bowler but how these relate to the following entry (12d paid by Foorster of Ste Hellins has been inserted without any description) is unclear. The low rent paid suggests they may not have been built on, perhaps they were garden plots.
The north-west corner of this junction was subject to archaeological excavation by Tomalin (2016) who discusses the history of this small part of Newport in detail. He suggests that the terrier entry for this site is the ½ place with a corner house held by Carisbrooke Priory and occupied by James Bowler suggested above to lie on the north-east corner of St James's Street. This is possible and would place the 8 parcels of land to the west of the corner.
This is followed by 3 further entries amounting to 2 places and several additions suggest there had been recent changes in this area. Speed depicts 9 buildings here plus another on St James's Street, proportionally an even greater discrepancy, perhaps the eight plots had been developed.

Sea Street [25-26]

25. The Terrier then moves on to Sea Street and starting from the west end of the north side lists 6 entries amounting to 2¼ places (including half a place belonging to the town described as 'the coal garden') and ending with the town's Store House which paid 4d ground rent (another corner plot?). This is a reasonable match for Speed who shows eight properties here, all to the east, either side of a gap leading to the bridge to the area later known as Little London.

26. The list then turns back on the west side, suggesting that it doubled back on itself rather than starting again from the north-west end as seen elsewhere, and describes 6 entries totalling 3½ places, followed by a ¼ place with a shop, and 'a piece of ground' paying 2d ground rent. These were probably close to Holyrood Street, if not effectively on it, as this appears to have been a more commercial street that Sea Street. Speed only shows a single property here, a poor match.

Quay Street [27-28]

27. Quay Street has a straightforward listing running first along the north side of the street from the north-east end where there is a corner plot followed by 14 further entries totalling 9½ places, exactly matching Speed's depiction of 14 buildings.

28. It then runs down the south side in the same direction listing 13 entries totalling 7¼ places. The correlation with Speed is less certain, as some buildings at the west end of the street may be on High Street, nevertheless the correspondence is close here too; 15 buildings appear to be shown on Quay Street.

Shispool Street [29-30]

Speed shows 'Shospoole Street' as the western section of Sea Street from Quay Street to Holyrood Street, but the terrier demonstrates that Speed has transposed the two, as he did with Crocker and Lugley Streets, and that Shispool Street was the south-east part of the current Sea Street. The street name is interesting but has not been discussed in any of the usual sources. It is tempting to read it as 'ships' pool' as the level area to the north was previously a part of the estuary, only silting up in the post-medieval period (Historical summary above).

29. The first heading begins 'at the north east end at the key head and so on the east side' so must be describing the part of Sea Street to the south of this. Unfortunately, this section of the terrier lies on the exposed back page of the document and has been worn so is only partially legible. There are at least 7 entries amounting to 5½ places here, but the final entries are only partially legible, rendered by Hockey as:

    The towne a place and half liynge .....
    at Shissepoll xxxxxx with bylldn upp.....
    goinge rounde a bought by the ell (mes howse ?)
    ..... alonge to Ford Brindge with touxxxxx
    R..... xxxx in ye oppozith opp h.....d the bull
    .....xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx and upe to the .....

    Ford Bridge would appear to be that associated with Ford Mill which lay at the east end of Pyle Street, but Speed doesn't show a bridge here, only one on the site of Coppin's Bridge, a name associated with a family first mentioned in 16th century documents (Mills 1996), so perhaps an alternative name at this time. Speed shows 7 buildings along this side of the road (north of High Street, none to the south) which suggests little lost information.

30. The west side of the street is described from 'the alms house on right' (so must also be listed from north to south) and comprises 5 entries amounting to at least 2½ places but again is damaged though not to the same extent. There is however a discrepancy with Speed who only shows a single building here.

Atypical places/valuations

Almost all of the terrier entries are clearly described in terms of 'places' paying a ground rent based on 12d a place. The exact number of valued properties listed is hard to determine due to the additions and deletions noted, and some damage to the original document, but it is very close to 375. Of these, only 23 do not conform to this pattern (see Table 1).

Table 1 - Summary of atypical terrier entries

Section	Street	Landlord	Place	Rent (d)	Occupier
[1]	South n/e	William Porter	1 ^¾	12 ^11	William Ges .....
[7a]	Pyle s/e	William Sigaines	½ ^'a corner'	6 ^7	William Woodford
[7c]	Pyle s/w		The highway...	1	Thomas Goter
[11]	High s/c	Master Comptonn	1¼ 'a corner house'	20	John Fever
[13]	High n/e	The abbot of Quarr	'a corner house'	4	Alle Tetersall
[14]	High n/c	Rychard Jamys	'a shop'	2	Richard Jamys
[14]	High n/c	The Chantry	½ 'a corner house'	12	Nycholas Vasse
[15]	High n/w	John Erellesman	'a corner house'	4	Nycholas Gevens
[17]	St James's/ Lugley	Jamys Howlys	½	6 ^9	John Serlle
[17]	St James's/ Lugley	Thomas Sigines	1	12 ^6	Richard Bishope
[21]	Holyrood w/s	Richard Turner	^'a parcel'	^2	
[22]	Holyrood e/s	Mr Boreman	shop 'called the Fawkey'	a glove	Richard Markes
[22]	Holyrood e/s	The Town	'house & cellar'	2s8d	John Danyell
[22]	Holyrood e/s	The Chantry	¾	4 ob	William Courtys ?
[22]	Holyrood e/s	Thomas Sigynes	1	7	Edmond Brode
[24b]	Crocker n/e	Thomas Ster's heirs	½ 'a corner house'	8	Thomas Grosse
[24c]	Crocker n/e	Thomas Sygines	viii p (. . . . parcells ?)	4	Jamys Bowler
[25]	Sea n/w	The Town	The Store house	4	William Thomas
[26]	Sea w/n	Warden of Win-chester	'a pece of grounde'	2	William Newnam
[27]	Quay n/e	The heirs of Potnall	½ 'corner house'	12	John Kente
[29]	Shispool e/n		The alms house	4 ^4.ob	
[29]	Shispool e/n	The common box	1	6 'to the bailiff'	Thomas Weston

Perhaps the two most significant are both at the south end of Holyrood Street: the 'shop called the Fawkey' which was held by Mr Boreman and occupied by Richard Markes who paid 'a glove by the year at Whitsonday' instead of a cash rent; and the town's 'house and a seller' which paid the very high ground rent of 2s 8d which is not a natural multiple of 12d (2½ places being 2s 6d and 2¾ places 2s 9d). These are clearly exceptional properties that lie outside the normal pattern of burgage tenure. The Fawkey or Falcon, with its rent of a glove which was set up outside the pavilion where the pie powder court was held during the fair, was clearly intimately connected with the borough's jurisdiction. It originated in the early 15th century when 'In 1405–6 the bailiffs let a piece of waste ground called the Little Falcon in High Street to build two shops with a solar for a new Court House for the bailiffs and commonalty to hold their Courts' (Page 1912, 253-65). The house and cellar may have been the commercially rented part of the earlier town hall; 'In 1687 a lease was granted of the shop under the 'Loft sometime being the Town Hall ...' on the north

side of the High Street. The ancient Audit House occupied a portion of the site of the present town hall, but by 1618 had to be repaired, and in 1638 it was taken down and rebuilt the next year' (ibid).

Several plots with corners appear to be paying a higher ground rent than might be expected. On Pyle Street [7a] William Sigaines ½ place 'with a corner' added, also had 7d added to the listed ground rent of 6d, without the existing figure being deleted. It is therefore unclear if the corner should be seen a correction/clarification, or as an additional plot paying an additional rent. In either case the rent appears to be higher than expected, even if only by 1d. On High Street [11] Mr Comptonn's 1¼ place with 'a corner house' paid 20d, 5d more than expected, this probably lay on St James's Square. Also on High Street [14], and again probably on St James's Square, the Chantry's ½ place 'with a corner house' paid 12d, an extra 6d. On Crocker Street [24] Thomas Ster's heirs held ½ place with a 'corner house' for 8d, 2d more than usual. Finally, on Quay Street [27] Potnall's heirs had half a place with a corner house paying 12d rent, twice the expected rate.

There is also a group of smaller properties which were, or could have been, on corners; none have a size specified in terms of place and all seem to have paid 4d ground rent. On High Street [13] the abbot of Quarr held a corner house which paid 4d. On High Street [14] Rychard Jamys held and occupied a shop which paid 2d. This very probably lay on the corner and to the immediate north, on Holyrood Street [21], Richard Turner held a 'parsell of a place' also valued at 2d. Taken together these may be a divided corner plot previously paying 4d. On High Street [15] John Erellesman held 'a corner house' paying 4d. On Crocker Street [24c] Thomas Sygines's rather confusing entry paid 4d, and following on from a corner plot may itself have been on the opposite corner with St James's Street. On Sea Street [25], the town held 'The Store house' which paid 4d, this is the last in the list and possibly on a corner by the quayside. Could these be ¼ places paying extra rent for the benefit of being on a corner? If so, 11 of the known or suspected corner plots, almost 40% of the 29 identified, appear to have paid a higher rent than expected.

A few other low rents appear to be special cases. On Shispool Street [29] 'The common box' held 1 place but only paid 6d 'to the bailiff', presumably some sort of special arrangement. The final entry on the south side of Pyle Street [7d] for 'The highway turning over at the corner of the house the breadth of 20 foot, going to Dedmans lane' paid the minimal rent of 1d, perhaps as it ran over part of a former place.

A few apparently unusual rents may be simple errors. On South Street [1] William Porter's place had ¾ added to it and the 12d rent had 11d added. This may be a simple the transposition of xi for ix, but as the existing text wasn't deleted it isn't clear if this was a correction (and so a reduction from 1 place to ¾ and 12d rent to 11d/9d) or an addition to his holding of an adjacent ¾ place. On Holyrood Street [22], Thomas Sigynes held a place for 7d, apparently 5d below the typical ground rent, perhaps an error, vii for xii, though note the 7d added to William Sigaines ½ place on Pyle Street. There is another entry with unclear addition; William Sigaines ½ place with a corner on Pyle Street [7a] has been mentioned above.

There is no obvious explanation for some exceptions though. On the west side of 'Saint James crese by the well' [17], Jamys Howlys held ½ place for 6d which was deleted and 9d inserted and in the next entry Thomas Sigines held a place for 12d deleted with 6d inserted. In both cases the original ground rent was correct and the reason for the change is unclear. About halfway up the east side of Holyrood Street [22] the Chantry held ¾ place which paid '4d ob'. The meaning of 'ob' is not known but also appears in an entry on the east side of Shispool Street [29] where the 'alms house' had no place specified but paid 4d which was deleted with '4d ob' added, apparently a rather redundant edit unless 'ob' is significant.

Intensity of occupation

The analysis of the terrier above has allowed an assessment of the occupation intensity in the borough at the time of the terrier, though a note of caution should be sounded as not all entries necessarily represent places that had been built upon (see note after [7a] above). Within the GIS it was possible to create polygons for each street listing and determine their area. This could then be compared to the number of entries and a figure calculated for the intensity of occupation. This used the formula *entries/area*500*. The figure of 500(m^2) was used to represent a standard plot size (see town-plan analysis) so that an occupation intensity figure of 1 represented an average intensity of 1 entry per 'place', 2 an average intensity of 2 entries per place or ½ place per entry. This allows a comparison between parts of the town but clearly takes no account of variations within areas. For example, Speed suggests that the east end of the south side of Pyle Street [7a] had few buildings in the east much denser occupation to the west.

The analysis showed considerable variation across the borough, from as high as 2.46 (where the typical entry was ½ place or smaller), down to 0.21 (where only a fifth of the nominal places were occupied) (see Figure 26). Note that as Castlehold [CH] was not included in the terrier it is excluded from this analysis.

It may be stating the obvious but in general central areas have higher occupation intensity than more marginal areas. The short section of High Street between St Thomas's and St James's squares [11], the block diagonally across the junction of High Street and St James's Street [15] and the western side of Holyrood Street [21] all have occupation intensity above 2; here the typical entry was half a place or smaller. Not far behind these are the south side of Quay Street [28] (the deep plots on the north side [27] may have artificially lowered the figure here), the rest of the north side of High Street [13]/[14], the east of the south side of Lugley Street [16], the whole of the north side of Pyle Street[8]/[9], and the west end of the north side of Side of South Street [3].

One notable pattern is a high occupation intensity on the north side of several of the east/west streets, suggesting a preference. This is particularly clear on Pyle Street but was also the case on South Street and most of High Street, apart from the block between St Thomas's and St James's squares. Doubtless the south facing side of the street was preferred by pedestrians and allowed the display of goods in a better light providing a commercial advantage.

Figure 26 – Occupation intensity calculated form the 1563 terrier, numbers refer to terrier headings (see discussion above), CH = Castlehold

The areas with the lowest occupation intensity are the west end of Crocker Street [23b/24c] and the eastern south side of South Street. The former always seems to have been marginal in the borough and the town-plan analysis suggests long periods of low occupation levels/abandonment. The latter was similarly marginal and much probably lay outside the borough in the adjacent manor of Cosham. Other areas of low occupation include the east side of St James's Street [19] and its opposite side and adjacent part of Lugley Street [20], perhaps the western part of the south side of South Street [05/06] (though the interpretation of the terrier is uncertain in this area), Shispool Street [29/[30], the eastern half of Crocker Street [23a/24a/24b], and the block to the east of Town Lane [1/7a] though this may be misleading as Speed suggest there was a noticeable difference in occupation levels between the west and east of the block.

The Speed map

Whilst it may be unwise to attribute too much significance to the details of this map, as it is both half a century later than the terrier and not necessarily accurate, the correspondence between the places described in the terrier and the buildings depicted appears to be quite close and where there are discrepancies they can generally be explained.

The volume of manuscript draft maps in Merton College, Oxford, indicates that the published map was probably based upon a plane table survey undertaken by him in September 1608. Being one of the latest maps in the volume, undertaken towards the end of a three-year campaign that began in 1606, it is possible that the Newport map may be one of Speed's more accurate, benefitting from his experience of at least 26

previous town surveys. At 30 paces to the inch (around 1:850) the draft is also one of the larger scale maps suggesting greater scope for detail, if not accuracy, than most (Bendall 2002).

The depiction of buildings is generally quite uniform, typically being shown as small with simple ridged roofs with a door and two windows indicated on the visible gable end, whether fronting onto the street or not. Most are shown gable end onto the street, which is typical of intensively developed towns as this makes best use of narrow divided plots, but several are shown side on to the street. It seems likely that this was deliberate as it is no more common on north/south than east/west streets and is generally confined to isolated buildings where there is likely to have been less pressure on space.

A few buildings are shown to be different to this. The church is clear in the marketplace, the market house is shown as a larger building standing alone to the west, and some of the buildings in the shambles to the north appear to be noticeably smaller than most. One of the isolated buildings in the open area to the north-east is also larger than most and appears to have two sections with a dividing gable, the rest are perhaps slightly smaller than typical. The watermills on the surrounding watercourses are depicted with wheels and most are associated with bridges, though not all have their leats depicted. These differences are all quite clear but within the rows of buildings shown fronting onto streets are two that appear to be at least twice the size of the others. Both are depicted similarly with a central section with a front to rear ridge and a door in the gable end on the street, much as the smaller buildings, but both appear to have wings with ridges parallel to the street. One lay on the north side of South Street, one building to the east of Town Lane. It is possible that this could be the penultimate entry in this section, a place held by William Porter and occupied by 'William Ges.....' which had divided places to either side and had had ¾ place and 11d rent added to its details, perhaps suggesting the plot had been enlarged; no other entries stand out as unusual in any way. If so, this suggests that none of the entries in this section were on Town Lane. The other lay on the north side of High Street, the third building to the west of St James's Street. The terrier only lists a group of ½ places here and it seems unlikely that this building represents any of these; either it lay in Castlehold or it was a later addition to the town plan.

Occupation intensity

The number of buildings illustrated in each section of the terrier have been incorporated into the description above and are summarised in Table 2. The occupation intensity has been calculated based upon these figures using the formula described above (see Table 3).

Overall the pattern is similar to that in 1563 with central areas being more intensively occupied than peripheral ones, though this simplifies changes between 1563 and the 1608 (compare Figure 26 with Figure 27). Over this period the national population increased by over 40%, from about 2.9 to 4.1 million, marking the end of a long period of stagnation (Wrigley and Schofield 1989, Fig 7.1, 207).

Figure 27 – Occupation intensity in 1608, compare with Figure 26

Separate figures for Hampshire, much less the Isle of Wight or Newport were not available.

Overall occupation intensity increased slightly (by 14% from 1.08 to 1.24). This conceals a slight decrease in the lowest intensity of occupation from 0.21 to 0.15 (the equivalent of about 1 in 5 plots occupied to less than 1 in 6) and the maximum increased from 2.46 to 3.8 (a typical plot size of ½ place or occasionally less, to about ¼ place). This increased range of occupation intensity might indicate increased social differentiation with the poor and trades forced into smaller plots whilst the wealthy are able acquire larger plots or create them by amalgamating plots.

The most intensively occupied areas remain the part of High Street between St Thomas's and St James's squares [11], the block diagonally opposite [15] and the west side of Holyrood Street [21], plus the south side of Quay Street [28]. Other intensely occupied areas include Pyle Street south side centre and west [7b/7c] and High Street to the west of St James's Square [12], both notable increases in intensity, High Street north side east end [13], surprisingly Crocker Street north side between St Cross Lane and St James's Street [24b], Lugley Street east [16/18], and the section of High Street to the immediate south of this [14].

The least intensively occupied areas show more change, only the south side east end of South Street [2] and the south side west end of Crocker Street [23b] remain and are joined by the south/south-west sides of Sea and Shispool streets [26/30] and the south side east end of Crocker Street, all previously with middling occupation intensity.

Table 2 – Summary of terrier entries and Speed's depiction

Section	Location	Terrier entries	Speed buildings
1	South Street, n/e	12	18
2	South Street, s/e	4	4
3	South Street, n/w	14	12
4	?St James's Street	1	1
5	?South Street s/w	4	11
6	?South Street s/w	5	^
7a	Pyle Street, s/e	15	14
7b	Pyle Street, s/c	12	20
7c	Pyle Street, s/w	12	21
7d	Pyle Street, s/highway		
8	Pyle Street, n/e (St Thomas's Square)	27	16
9	(St Thomas's Square) Pyle Street, n/c,w	21	24
10	High Street, s/e (St Thomas's Square)	23	25
11	(St Thomas's Square) High Street, s/c	8	14
12	High Street, s/w	4	8
13	High Street, n/e	23	26
14	High Street, n/c (St James's Street)	16	19
15	(St James's Street) High Street, n/w	7	6
16	Lugley Street, e/s (St James's Street)	15	17
17	(St James's Street) Lugley Street, s/w	10	12
18	Lugley Street, n/e	16	22
19	(St James's Street, e/s) Lugley Street	2	2
20	(St James's Street, w/n) Lugley Street, n/w	9	14
21	Holyrood Street, s/w	7	9
22	Holyrood Street, s/e	12	14
23	Crocker Street, s/e	10	5
23b	Crocker Street, s/w	5	3
24a	Crocker Street, n/e	8	10
24b	Crocker Street, n/c	8	16
24c	Crocker Street, n/w	4	10
25	Sea Street, w/n	6	8
26	Sea Street, s/w	6	1
27	Quay Street, ne/n	15	15
28	Quay Street, ne/s	13	15
29	Shispool Street, n/e	7	7
30	Shispool Street, n/w	5	1

Table 3 – Summary of the occupation intensity figures

Terrier section	Terrier occupation level	Speed occupation level	% difference
1	0.80	1.20	50
2	0.31	0.31	0
3	1.70	1.46	-14
5/6	0.64	0.78	22
7a	0.91	0.85	-7
7b	1.21	2.02	67
7c	1.18	2.06	75
8	1.64	0.97	-41
9	1.53	1.75	14
10	1.26	1.37	9
11	2.17	3.80	75
12	0.94	1.89	100
13	1.75	1.98	13
14	1.52	1.81	19
15	2.46	2.11	-14
16	1.64	1.86	13
17	1.15	1.37	20
18	1.36	1.87	38
19	0.51	0.51	0
20	0.59	0.92	56
21	2.09	2.68	29
22	1.27	1.48	17
23a	0.94	0.43	-55
23b	0.42	0.25	-40
24a	0.88	1.10	25
24b	0.94	1.88	100
24c	0.21	0.53	150
25	1.05	1.40	33
26	0.99	0.16	-83
27	1.30	1.30	0
28	1.83	2.11	15
29	0.70	0.70	0
30	0.76	0.15	-80
Overall	1.08	1.24	14

Figure 28 illustrates the changing occupation intensity across the borough during the later 16th century. Few areas remained much as in 1563, just South Street south side east [2], Pyle Street south side east [7a], High Street south side east [10], St James's Street east side [19], Quay Street north side [27] and Shispool Street east side [29]. These areas are not uniform, some were intensively occupied, some sparsely, and the reasons for their relative stasis are likely to be similarly varied. Some were perhaps already fully developed with limited space for further subdivision and new building, such as Quay Street south side. Others may have been little valued so there was no motivation to intensify occupation, for example Pyle Street south side, east. It is also possible that some saw both new occupation and abandonment, which largely cancelled out.

Most areas increased moderately in occupation intensity, much as the whole borough did. Several areas show a more significant increase: Pyle Street south side centre and west [7b/7c] increased from moderate to high intensity, a noticeable contrast with the east end of the street; High Street south side either side of St James's Square [11/12] the former increased from high to very high, the latter from moderate to high; Lugley Street north side west [20] also increased but remained only moderate intensity; Crocker Street north side centre and west [24b/24c], the former from below average to above, and the latter from very low to moderate, the most significant percentage increase in the whole borough. Overall, this pattern seems to suggest a pull exerted by St James's Street and Square. The preference for the north side of the main east/west streets noted above is far less clear. The pattern remains much the same on High Street and South Street but on Pyle Street the preference has all but

Figure 28 – Percentage change between the terrier (1563) and Speed's map (surveyed 1608, published 1611).

disappeared to the east and in the centre and west has reversed. The reason for this is unknown, but perhaps proximity to St James's Street had become more important.

In contrast, two areas decreased somewhat in occupation intensity and others more so. South Street north side west end decreased from a moderate intensity and the area on the north-west corner of St James's Square [15] decreased slightly but remained one of the most intensely occupied areas. A more significant decrease in occupation intensity took place on Pyle Street north side east [8] from a fairly high level to a moderate level which is rather surprising giving its central position, perhaps suffering from the pull of St James's Square, though this contrasts with the block to the south which either remained the same or intensified slightly. Significant decreases also took place on Crocker Street south side [23a/23b], Sea Street south side [26] and Shispool Street south-west side [30], in all cases from low to very low intensity levels.

Around the whole of the north-east and north sides of the town the inner sides of the streets saw a decrease in occupation intensity and, apart from Shispool Street, the outsides an increase. This could be an example of a preference for the south facing side of the street, noted above, where it was suggested that this provided a commercial advantage. If so, it might suggest an expansion of some commercial activity into these more marginal areas of the town where the need to attract passing trade remained important.

Discussion

The terrier generally follows a geographically logical sequence around the town, from South Street north to Pyle Street, High Street and Lugley Street, in each case beginning at the east end and working west and, apart from South Street, with the south side followed by the north side. It then details Holyrood Street (probably west side followed by east side, there appears to be an error here, and south to north) before moving on to Crocker Street which is treated in the same way as most of the other east/west streets; east to west and south side follow by north. Sea Street then follows but is described north side first from north-west to south-east and then the opposite side in the reverse direction, perhaps unsurprising given that it curves around against the general grid pattern. Quay Street follows and is treated much as the east/west streets, from east to west (though it runs north-east/south-west) and north side followed by south side, following on from Sea Street. Finally, Shispool Street is described from north to south and east side before west.

As such it is easy to determine the approximate position of most of the entries described though the later entries for South Street are confusing; they do not follow an obvious sequence and use Deadman's Lane as a geographical reference and it is unclear where this was. There are various indications, but these appear contradictory, and this area of the town remains obscure. Elsewhere a careful analysis of the entries, based upon the town-plan analysis and with particular reference to the position of entries 'with corners' and some other geographical features has allowed greater precision. This has led to the suggestion that in several

areas, entries listed as being on one of the main streets actually lay on adjacent frontages, particularly around St Thomas's Square and St James's Street.

In some places it has also allowed a tentative reconstruction of the tenurial pattern in more detail. The largest and most successful of these attempts is that for the south side of the central section of Pyle Street, from some way to the east of Town Lane, to St James's Street, and with somewhat less confidence some of the properties on South Street. This is of interest for two main reasons. First, it suggests that Cockram's Yard was laid out through Chantry properties that backed onto one another on either side of the back-fence between the two, and that this this must have post-dated the terrier and very probably Speed's survey, which omits it. Second, the final entry in the list (William Sigaines's ½ place) sits rather awkwardly with the small plots on St James's Street which suggests that these may be secondary, a smaller scale version of the plan-unit identified in the town-plan analysis to the north, and that the additions to the terrier 'with a corner' and 'viid' may be recognising this rather than corrections to the existing entry.

Elsewhere fewer groups of places can be reconstructed with confidence. In some cases, this is because there appear to have been occasional empty plots and it cannot be determined where these would have fallen in a simple listing such as this. Elsewhere there appear to be too many entries/places to fit them in to the space thought to be available. For example, the northern part of the block to the west of St Thomas's Square, a notable contrast to the south of the block. However, most of the identified corner plots have been located, though in some cases it is uncertain exactly which of adjacent corners is being referred to.

The analysis of occupation intensity demonstrates broadly higher levels in more central areas, around St Thomas's and St James's squares, and lower levels in more marginal areas, notable it the north-west of the town. Although this may seem obvious there are a few notable exceptions such as the high level of occupation at the west end of Pyle Street, perhaps as it was on the main road to Carisbrooke (in this context the lack of information about Castlehold is unfortunate), the west end of South Street, the reasons for which are unclear, and the west side of Holyrood Street, perhaps indicating that it was a more important route than would appear to be the case. Another noticeable pattern is a preference for the north side of the main east/west streets, probably as it gave a commercial advantage.

The changes in occupation intensity between the terrier (1563) and Speed (1608) are not huge and do not affect the general pattern. Overall, there was a moderate increase in occupation level but probably in keeping with the overall population changes during the later 16th century. There was however an increase in the spread of values which may suggest an increase in social stratification; the poor crowding into smaller plots, the rich able to expand their holdings. The preference for the south facing sides of east/west streets in the central areas, thought to provide a commercial advantage, seems to have weakened noticeably, perhaps replaced by a need to be close to St James's Square. In these areas the occupation intensity remained broadly the same on the north side of the street but intensified to the south, perhaps as the former was already more fully occupied and the properties more jealously guarded.

However, a preference for the south-facing side can be seen around the north side of the town, perhaps suggesting an expansion of commercial activity reliant on passing trade into more peripheral and open areas.

CONCLUSIONS

Newport is clearly a medieval new town and its first, late 12th-century, charter is well known. Yet it was established within an established landscape, and its creation must have impacted on this much as the construction of Carisbrooke Castle had a century earlier.

Before the foundation of Newport, the River Medina and Lukely Brook were very probably already extensively exploited; there is a close correlation between the mills detailed in Domesday Book and the surviving and historic mill sites. It is also likely that there was a landing place at the head of the Medina Estuary where trade took place. Indeed, it may have been this that attracted the attention of the founder:

> The lord saw an opportunity at a site where roads met, near a church or some other point of attraction, preferably at or near a place where unofficially people already gathered to exchange goods. (Dyer 2003, 96, 98)

There may even have been some existing settlement at Newport. At Newtown, founded in the 1250s, 'tenants continued to hold their old houses adjoining the haven and the new town appears to have been planted around them' (Beresford 1967, 443, 445).

Carisbrooke Castle was built soon after the Conquest and must have provided a stimulus for traffic and trade on the estuary strand. St Cross Priory was founded in around 1120 and by the middle of the century held the adjacent St Cross Mill and Ford Mill on the Medina, as well as land on Hunny Hill and in Shide (Hockey 1982, 47).

These nodes suggest local routes such as from the estuary strand to the castle, and from St Cross Priory to its mills. There may also have been longer routes; perhaps from the east of the island via the former ford at Coppins Bridge to Carisbrooke and the west, and a second from the north (including Parkhurst Forest and an area of open common) to the south coast along the Medina Valley.

Within this framework the landscape would have been exploited for arable and pasture with a range of other land-uses but it may be that the area where Newport was laid out was less agriculturally valuable than adjacent areas. The soils underlying the historic core are of only moderate fertility, whilst soils to the south are more productive (Cranfield University 2021), a difference that was probably more pronounced in the medieval period. Newport might have been deliberately placed upon land that was less productive.

The exact origins of Newport are uncertain. The first charter was granted by Richard de Redvers, 2nd Earl of Devon, soon after the death of his brother Baldwin who had granted a similar charter to Yarmouth. It is undated, but Bearman who has looked at the de Redvers charters in detail gives a narrow range of summer 1189 to Michaelmas (September 29th) 1191 (Bearman 1994, 109), rather later than earlier sources. It has generally been regarded as the town's foundation charter though some

doubts have been raised about this since it 'contains the phrase, *meo confirmavi burgensibus*, that is 'confirmation to my burgesses' (Lilley 2001, 8), and the following phrase *de Novo Burgo meo de Meda*, 'of my new borough of Meda' cannot be regarded as definitive proof of foundation as it was referred to in much the same terms in Isabella de Fortibus's charter of 1262x93 (Ballard and Tait 1923, xxxi). Lilley (2001, 8-9) goes so far as to suggest that Newport, Yarmouth, and Lymington (one of the mainly ports for accessing the Isle of Wight) were in fact created as a coherent group in 1175-80 by Baldwin and Richard's uncle, William de Vernon, who had held their estates before they came of age. Whilst there is good evidence that most of the town streets were in place by the middle of the 13th century, and the exclusion of Castlehold in Isabella's charter indicates that High Street at least must have been its full length later in the century, this still leaves considerable scope for evolution of the town plan from a possible trading settlement on the strand at Domesday, through to the establishment of the borough perhaps as early as 1175, to the majority of the street grid being in place by the mid-13th century.

Sea Street and Quay Street form a coherent if somewhat irregular plan-unit that pre-dates the rest of the town. This may have had its origin as an informal trading settlement on the strand and have gained momentum when Carisbrooke Castle was built. Sea Street may have developed along the high-tide line and/or have served to connect St Cross Priory with Ford Mill. It seems possible that this may have been the first planned borough as the plots on Quay Street appear quite regular and it seems rather too broad to have evolved as such; it may have been planned as the first marketplace but could have simply been left wider to allow for informal exchange. The unusual plot shapes along Quay Street may therefore be the result of their being laid out over a block of open-field furlongs that a new, more direct street cut obliquely through.

The rest of Newport appears to have been laid out around this existing settlement. How else to explain the awkward relationship with plots north of the east end of High Street and East of Holyrood Street than that they were accommodating awkward plots that didn't readily conform to the later and more rigidly conceived grid plan for most of the town? This plan-unit comprised High Street and Pyle Street with the marketplace of St Thomas's Square between them. South Street and Lugley Street were also probably a part of this plan, perhaps occupied a little later, but it is possible that one or both were laid out separately as part of an early expansion of the town. Crocker Street is more certainly later than the other streets and may not have been laid out in one phase, but as noted above, these five streets were all in place by the mid-13th century.

The development of Holyrood Street and St James's Street is less clear cut. Both could pre-date the rest of the street grid, in some form at least, though the laying out of the east/west streets is likely to have led to the formalisation of these north/south routes. The south end of Holyrood Street is complicated by the presence of a secondary marketplace that appears planned but less formal than that of St Thomas's Square. Could there be a hidden period of expansion here? St James's Street has a substantial plan-unit along its eastern side north of St James's Square that doesn't conform with the adjacent plot pattern and suggests a more complex

history than is initially apparent. Perhaps it was filled in when the beast market was established in St James's Square in the mid-16th century, or when the north end of the street was modified, perhaps to increase control of access to the town by the establishment of the town gate.

Such a history of expansion is not unusual:

> the authorities, usually the lords of the towns, could manage growth flexibly, whether by boldly foreseeing the potential of a site and laying out streets at a single creative moment which soon were filled with tenants, or more gradually by imposing plans on existing settlements and adding streets and suburbs as the town outgrew its original allotted space (Dyer 2003, 95)

Newport appears to exhibit both approaches; a possible small early borough around Quay Street, laid out as a single unit, may have been expanded by a substantial gridded element, which itself may have been added to before the mid-13th century resulting a layout much as seen in the early 17th century.

This glosses over the evidence for reduced occupation or abandonment of some areas evident in the town plan. Whilst some streets are densely occupied by small coherent plots divided by (almost) continuous back fences, and show evidence of high values, plot division and continuous occupation, other areas are different in character. Here plots tend to be larger but less regular in size, boundaries straighter, and back-fences irregular and discontinuous or entirely absent. These areas must have seen periods where plots were abandoned, and boundaries neglected. Plots may

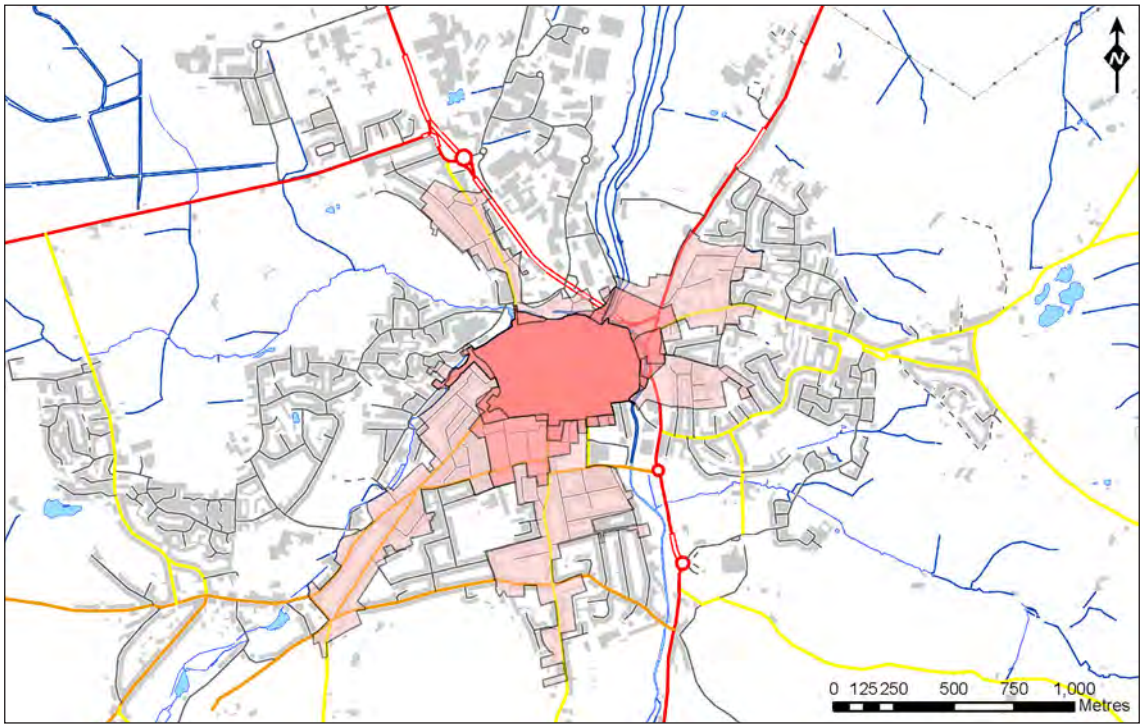

Figure 29 – Post-medieval growth outwards, from 1608 (solid pink), through 1790, 1847, 1909, to 1968 (increasing transparency)

only have been closely defined once again as occupation levels rose, the degree of disconnect between the earlier layout and that which survives probably indicating the extent or duration of the period between the two phases, or perhaps the number of such phases that took place. There appears to be a general pattern that larger plots are more common further from St Thomas's Square, the commercial core of the town, but on much of High Street, Pyle Street, Lugley Street and South Street these appear to be the result of the plot amalgamation within the overall plan (or perhaps that they were never sub-divided) which seems to be indicative of lower property values rather than abandonment. However, in the north-west of the town the plot pattern breaks down. Although the plots within Castlehold are of similar sizes to those to the east, the back-fence to the north is not coherent and the plot pattern becomes increasingly irregular to the north of this. It seems highly likely that many of the plots on Lugley Street and Crocker Street, to the west of St James's Street, were completely abandoned at some point, possibly on multiple occasions and/or for extended periods. With the climatic and economic downturn, the Black Death, and the burning of the town, the 14th century would seem to be the most likely period for this contraction to have taken place. The 1563 terrier and Speed's 1611 map suggest that the town was quite densely occupied by the later 16th century, though probably no larger than its medieval peak around 1300. By the late 18th century, the town was beginning to expand beyond the borders of the borough, a process that accelerated through the 19th and 20th centuries (Figure 29).

Meeting the Aims, Objectives and answering the research questions

The original Aim of this project was to:

> To support the Newport HS HAZ by providing an enhanced historical context and geographic framework, based upon an improved understanding of its historic development.

This was to be met by addressing these Objectives:

A. Develop an improved understanding of Newport's historic development (by answering the research questions set out below)
B. Provide a geographic framework
C. Provide an enhanced historical context
D. Support Newport HS HAZ (activities and community engagement)
E. Support future research
F. Scope the potential for a deposit model of the harbour/riverside areas

Objective A

Answers to the original research questions (see Introduction), as far as is possible to give them, are set out below:

1. a) *What was the medieval extent of the town?* There is no evidence that the medieval town ever extended beyond the historic core of Crocker Street

to South Street and Mill Street to East Street, including Quay Street and Sea Street. In fact it is possible that not all of this area was occupied in the medieval period and there is considerable evidence for an extended period of contraction, particularly in the north and west of the town, and there were still significant open areas in the early 17th century. Only in the later 18th century is there any sign of expansion beyond this.

b) *Is there any evidence for gates or walls?* The only gate for which there is reliable evidence is Towngate, at the north end of St James's Street, though there may have been others. The evidence is circumstantial, but it suggests that it may have been a late (Tudor?) feature more concerned with the control of trade and market tolls than in any way related to the defence of the town. There is no evidence in the town plan for any walls.

c) *How were the medieval burgage plots laid out?* The medieval burgage plots appear to have been approximately an eighth of an acre in area though sizes seem to have varied somewhat across the borough. On a superficial examination the street frontages appear to be more consistent in width, plots becoming smaller in area where streets converge to the west and they become shallower, but without a proper metrological analysis based upon field measurements this is uncertain. The east west streets appear to have been dominant with the narrower sides of the plots fronting onto them and the long axes extending back from the streets at right-angles, or nearly so. Where they faced onto the north/south streets they generally appear to have been the result of sub-division of plots on the east-west streets. In some places, plots on the north/south streets seem to be secondary, but these are rare. The main exception seems to be the east side of St James's Street north of the square where a whole block of plots appears to have been inserted into a former open space.

d) *What was the medieval level of occupation?* The level of occupation within the historic core was variable both chronologically and spatially. Newport probably reach an early maximum population in about 1300 of around 1500 but even at this size it is possible that some parts of the town, and some individual places, were still unoccupied. The population had dropped to 800 in around 1470, though most of this fall probably occurred before 1400, and only slowly recovered to 1300 in 1559. Two hundred people are said to have died in the plague of 1583 and the town's population probably did not reach the level of 1300 again until well after 1600. In this context it is hardly surprising that occupation levels fluctuated. Patterns are discussed in detail above, but it seems clear that the preferred areas, which saw higher levels of occupation more continuously, lay around Quay Street and St Thomas's Square and that parts of the north and west of the town were abandoned probably in the 14th century. In the later 16th century, there are some signs of a shift towards St James's Square and the edges of the town. Levels of occupation were only just reaching levels leading to expansion beyond the historic core in the late 1700s.

e) *What was the balance of formal gardens and productive space?* During this study no evidence emerged to determine the balance between formal gardens and productive space within the historic core. Even the 1866 OS town plan doesn't show the use of the space, though the details make it possible to make some inferences. It is probably true to say however, that until quite recently such a distinction would have been meaningless, particularly within an urban setting. Almost all open space was put to some use, and even such formal gardens as may have existed within Newport were probably also productive in some ways. Oglander's mention of garden plots on High Street in the late 16th century was derogatory and probably referred to productive space, likely to have had the ramshackle appearance of some neglected, modern allotments.

f) *Where were the medieval markets and fairs?* No formal market grant is known but probably in the 1270s Isabella de Fortibus sought confirmation of her rights to a Saturday market and a 3-day Easter fair, though where the latter was held is not known. In fact, Newport may have been based upon an existing informal market around the strand at the head of the Medina estuary, possibly dating back to the Domesday Book if not earlier. Sea Street and Quay Street may have been the original part of the borough to be developed around this focus, Quay Street having the characteristics of a small marketplace. When the formal grid of streets was laid out around this early core St Thomas's Square seems to have taken over as the town's main marketplace, but it remained connected to Quay Street by the open area around the Cheese Cross at the north-east corner of the square, perhaps a secondary market. The beast market in St James's Square appears to have been found in or after 1532 – it is not known where livestock was traded before this. This foundation may have driven the shift of occupation seen in the later part of the century mentioned above, and possibly lead to the infilling of the area to the north of the square and the establishment of the town's gates – to control the livestock trade. The market squares were first paved in 1610.

2. *Can the uncertainties around the chapel of St Mary Magdalene and/or Garston's chantry chapel be resolved?* No evidence relating to these chapels came to light during this project.

3. *What was the nature of development around the quay and on the riverside?* It seems highly likely that there has been almost continuous use of the Medina estuary as a key access point to the heart of the island from at least the Iron Age. Domesday Book suggests that trade was taking place somewhere in the area in the 11th century and possibly from considerably earlier. At this point it would probably have been a simple strand rather than a quay and the trade may have been casual rather than a formal market. Contours suggest that Sea Street may have run along the head of this strand, and as it led from St Cross Priory to Ford Mill, both of which pre-dated the town, so might the road. The town plan analysis suggests that the earliest part of Newport was the north-east quarter adjacent to the head of the estuary and that an existing pattern of trade, and possibly an associated settlement of some form, may have been

a key factor in the town's foundation, and later survival (compare its fortunes with those of Yarmouth, Newtown and Brading for example).
The overall form of the head of the Medina estuary has changed over time, narrowing as it silted up, a process that also seems to have affected the lower reaches of the River Medina and Lukely Brook. It has been reported that most of this had taken place by the mid-16th century, but the timing of this process is not clear.
Most of the properties to the north/east of Sea Street appear to have been constructed on recent (post-medieval) silt deposits but it is unclear to what extent these built up naturally, or semi-naturally as deliberately constructed quays developed or if they were completely artificial. In any case, the tenurial plots between the street and the river/estuary/brook are probably secondary to those within the town. Their development is also uncertain.
The larger eastern area of silting was initially used as a dumping ground for old ships, redundant equipment and so on. It was also the town dump accessed via a bridge shown by Speed. There was a tide mill here in the 18th century which may led further narrowing of the estuary.
Little London developed on the narrower western area of silting, probably to provide additional quayside facilities as trade expanded. A bridge depicted by Speed suggests direct access was required by 1608 and that development had perhaps started, though no buildings are shown. The name is first recorded later in the century.

4. *How did the town's suburbs develop, did they have medieval origins?* There is no evidence that any of the suburbs of Newport are medieval. The town appears to have reached a maximum population (and geographical extent) in about 1300. It then experienced a collapse in the 14th century that probably saw its population halved and it is unlikely that it recovered its former size until well into the 17th century. As such it is unsurprising that the 1563 terrier and Speed's 1611 map show no development outside the historic core other than very occasional isolated buildings and as late as 1790 suburban development remained very limited. The 1847 Carisbrooke tithe map is the first to show significant suburbs with several areas of terraced housing, some clearly in the process of setting out/construction.

5. *Can more light be thrown on the 14th century French raids?* In the 14th century, French raids of the Isle of Wight took place in 1340, 1377 and 1388; there may have been others. It seems highly likely that the 1377 raid was the only one to affect Newport directly, as some record of the others might be expected to have survived, were they to have done so. It may be though that the 1377 raid has become so well-known as it occurred at the time that Thomas Walsingham was writing; he appears to have been an unusually active chronicler of the period. All the historical evidence suggest that Newport was severely damaged by fire and that the population fled to Carisbrooke Castle. It is not known however how many people were killed or injured. Much was made of the long-term effects of the raid but the town appears to have been functioning within a few years and it seems likely (by comparison with Portsmouth and London) that much of the population

returned as soon as they felt safe to, and started to rebuild their lives. In the mid-15th century Newport received only moderate tax relief suggesting that was recovering better than many other parts of the island such as Yarmouth. In fact, Newport's stagnation in the 15th and 16th centuries may have had more to do with other factors, such as Southampton's dominance of Solent trade, Portsmouth's development as one of the country's key naval ports, a national economic depression, and a decline in trade with continental neighbours. Little physical evidence for the raids has been revealed to date, perhaps due to the speed and extent of rebuilding. The Black Death means that initial contraction of the town pre-dated the raid, and the analysis of the town-plan and terrier suggests a pattern of contraction and expansion that may have further increased the difficulty of retrieving evidence; those areas most likely to have been immediately and thoroughly redeveloped, and continuously occupied since, are also those areas where there was likely to have been most damage from the raid.

6. *How did the town develop in the post-medieval period?* By the Tudor period the town had begun to recover; the beast market appears to have been founded in the 1530s and the town gate(s) may have originated at this time. Any recovery was set back by an outbreak of plague in 1583 that resulted in the creation of the town's burial ground, Church Litten. This was on ground to the south, formerly part of Cosham manor, perhaps its first expansion outside the borough and the first step to parochial status.
   The town was granted a new charter in 1608 when it was also surveyed by Speed. Soon after this the jail was probably built, and the first attempts to supply the town with water began in 1618 but had probably failed by 1650. The town hall was rebuilt in 1639 and soon afterwards played a key role in the civil war. By this time, the population had probably recovered to about 1500 people, about the same level as 350 years earlier. Little London probably first developed during this period. At the end of the century the town was still under-occupied and run down with gardens on High Street and mean shops. During the 18th century Newport continued to grow and was trading extensively across the south of England, Channel Islands and near continent. Development appears to have been mainly within the historic core and saw occupation intensifying here rather than expanding much beyond the town's limits.
   In common with the rest of the country, the 19th century was a period of civic pride and expansion in Newport. Most of the town's finest buildings and the first significant suburbs date from this period. The quayside was also extended north on both sides of the estuary.

7. *Can any elements of the 17th century piped water system be inferred?* Time availability and the difficulty of working during the covid-19 pandemic has prevented any detailed examination of the town's early water system. It is known however that pipes ran along High Street and Pyle Street, and that there were cisterns in St James's Square and Quay Street.

Other Objectives

B. Provide a geographic framework:
GIS data will be supplied in a suitable format to the HER and consideration will be given to the creation of an online GIS.

C. Provide an enhanced historical context:
Contained within this report.

D. Support Newport HS HAZ (activities and community engagement):
All relevant materials will be provided to the HS HAZ team and further support and engagement will be discussed.

E. Support future research:
Addressed by the dissemination of this report, the GIS data supplied to the HER, support given to the HS HAZ, and any further outreach opportunities identified.

F. Scope the potential for a deposit model of the harbour/riverside areas:
This has not proven possible in the circumstances of the pandemic and in the time available.

Planning implications

The analyses and discussion above suggest a broad-brush model for the development of Newport but this is just that, a model, and has not been verified archaeologically, though there is some support for it from a few modern evaluations and watching briefs.

Even where the model suggests medieval development was brief or otherwise limited, such as in the north or west, and beyond the immediate limits of the historic core, there may be both remains of earlier periods and evidence for the extent, duration and nature of whatever occupation there was, as well as for the process of late medieval and post-medieval (re)occupation.

Research questions

From the above it is clear that two of the research questions posed at the outset remain unanswered:

- Can the uncertainties around the chapel of St Mary Magdalene and/or Garston's chantry chapel be resolved?
- Can any elements of the 17th century piped water system be inferred?

It has also not proved possible to scope the potential for a deposit model of the harbour/riverside areas which should be a key priority before any development in this area.

It has also generated new questions, for example:

- What is the history of the silting up of the head of the estuary? Can its extent at various points in time be determined? This relates to the deposit modelling.

- Does any evidence of trading at the head of the estuary (i.e. on the strand and adjacent areas) before the foundation of Newport survive?
- When and where was a quay first established? How did it develop?
- Is the Quay Street/Sea Street area the earliest part of the town? When was it first occupied? What is its relationship to the rest of the town?
- Can we date the laying out of High Street and Pyle Street? Does it date from the late 12th century or the later 13th century?
- Is South Street primary (relative to HighStreet/Pyle Street) or secondary? If the latter when was it laid out? Was its west end realigned? If so when?
- When was Scarrot's lane laid out? Where was Deadmans Lane?
- Is Lugley Street primary or secondary? What about Crocker Street? Are the two halves of Crocker Street of different dates?
- Was St James's Street infilled later as suggested? If so when? What was it used for prior to this?
- Does archaeological evidence to develop a picture of occupation patterns in the medieval town survive? What about the Tudor period?

The revised research questions could be used to frame the objectives of any archaeological mitigations in the older parts of the town.

It should be clear from this report, that evidence which could shed light on these questions may survive anywhere within the historic core, and that negative evidence is potentially as important as positive. Even where it is not possible to justify paid interventions, and the IWC Planning Archaeologist has been able to carry out unpaid watching briefs for minor works like extensions, it has been possible to record archaeology and begin to build up a picture of the town's archaeology (Rebecca Loader, pers comm). It is therefore important to take every opportunity to access potential archaeological evidence at whatever scale become available, using the full range of available resources, potentially including a programme of community test pitting.

Given the survival of evidence for both the town's water supply system, and perhaps the 1377 raid, beneath High Street and Pyle Street, all sub-surface works in the streets of the medieval grid should be monitored. Opportunities to date any surfaces uncovered would also be informative about the development of the road system. Early consultation could identify key areas of concern and allow for advance planning to minimise any delays to the programme of works.

In addition to archaeological evidence, opportunities to examine standing buildings should be taken. It has been noted elsewhere in the country, for example Ely (Lane and Adams 2016) that many apparently later houses are based around much earlier cores that have been concealed by later works. Listing decisions and descriptions based upon external examination only, and those where only limited internal access has been possible, may well missing the significance of some buildings, and in others missing their earliest elements. For this reason, all buildings in the historic

core should be inspected prior to significant change or demolition and recorded as appropriate (Lane 2016).

Car parks

The historic core and immediately adjacent areas have numerous areas of parking including on-street, public car parks, private yards, informal use of vacant lots and store parking (see Figure 19 and Figure 22). Advice on the development of these has been sought from Rebecca Loader (Senior Archaeologist, IWC Archaeology and Historic Environment Service) and Martin Gibson (Newport HS HAZ Project Manager, Regeneration Team, IWC).

The smaller private yards and informal parking on vacant lots are too numerous to deal with here and are unlikely to be developed on a significant scale. The general model proposed above could be used to give some indication of the intensity of previous use expected in these areas, and hence the likelihood of encountering significant archaeological remains.

There are several public and larger private car parks within (or impinging upon) the historic core but where development seems to be unlikely. The following will not be considered further:

- The Sainsbury's superstore to the east of Towngate Bridge
- The small car park for offices and the Lidl car park/loading bay to the east of St Cross Mill
- Homewight House retirement housing car park
- Car park for Langley Court off Pyle Street

Development is possible but unlikely at the following:

- Between Lugley Street and Crocker Street, west of St James's Street, much of the rest of this block is also taken up with other smaller private car parks

  The large car park may have development potential, but it is important for the town. There is some potential elsewhere across the block, but complexities of land tenure and the likely cost of development means it's unlikely.
  Likely to be moderately sensitive to development.
  Whilst this area was within the medieval borough, occupation may have been low and/or intermittent in the medieval and later periods with much of the block remaining open into the early 19th century.

- Industrial estate off Chain Lane

  May have future residential potential but would be the whole site not just the car park.
  Likely to be sensitive to development.
  Lying adjacent to Holyrood street and not too far from St Thomas's Square, occupation is likely to have been high in most of this area,

though possibly somewhat lower to the west of Chain Lane.
Part of the area east of Chain Lane has already been the subject of a watching brief during a previous phase of development (Whitehead 2005), though this was intermittent and not all records were available. This revealed a considerable amount of evidence for medieval and post medieval features but suggested the medieval street frontage on Lugley Street was discontinuous.
Investigations across this area could provide evidence for the dates of Lugley Street and Crocker Street.

- Between Scarrot's Lane and Chapel Street

  Some or all of this may have development potential but it is a significant car park.
  Low sensitivity to development.
  The south side of Scarrot's Lane does not appear to have been occupied prior to the mid-19th century, apart from where buildings fronted onto St James's Street.
  It is possible that investigations adjacent to Scarrot's Lane might be able to date its origin.

Definite development potential

- The car hire establishment on the north-west corner of Crocker Street/St James's Street

  Likely to be only moderately sensitive to development.
  Whilst this area was within the medieval borough, occupation may have been low and/or intermittent in the medieval and Tudor periods though it appears to have increased somewhat in the late 16th century.
  This site has already been subject to evaluation and detailed analysis (Tomalin 2016), but if developed a careful watching brief may reveal further information.

- L-shaped, gravel car park on east side of Holyrood Street

  Sensitive to development.
  This area may lie across the plan-seam between plan units I and II. As such it may contain evidence able to help resolve questions about the development of this part of the town.

- Several small gravel car parks off Scarrots Lane

  Development in this area is actively being investigated.
  Low sensitivity to development.
  The south side of Scarrot's Lane does not appear to have been occupied prior to the mid-19th century, apart from where buildings fronted onto St James's Street.

- To the north of Litten Park

The sensitivity to development of this area is unknown.
It is unlikely to have been intensively occupied in the medieval or Tudor periods (it is said to have been the site of the town butts so may have seen recreational activity) but for a time appears to have formed a part Church Litten burial ground so there is the possibility of encountering human remains.

- Open area at east end of the block between Pyle Street and South Street

  This site has expired planning consent for flats, which had archaeological conditions as a potentially a significant site; any new planning application may also have flood risk implications.
  Highly sensitive to development.
  This site straddles plan-units II and V and may provide evidence to help determine if South Street was an original or secondary part of the town plan.
  Previous evaluation (Michaels 2004) has suggested there was a pottery dating to about 1400 in the vicinity and any opportunities to locate and understand this should be taken.

Several carparks in the immediate vicinity of the quay are included in the Newport Harbour Masterplan (Kay Elliott 2020). Whilst not all areas have been identified as having development potential, most of the area has been highlighted as being in need of improvement (ibid, 20, 26).

- Sea Street north-west, north side, west of Little London and adjacent clinic carpark to west.

- Sea Street north-west, south side.

  The areas of these carparks fronting onto Sea Street have both been identified as having development potential for residential use but with carparking retained on the ground floor (in part to mitigate flood risk) and across the rest of the existing carparks. This would however fall into phase 3, 11-15 years from approval of the plan (Kay Elliott 2020, 13, 39, 51).

- Sea Street south-east, north-east side to Medina Way.

  The whole of this car park has been identified as having development potential, with options for a new build commercial/ community centre or hotel to be developed in Phase 1, the first five years of the plan (Kay Elliott 2020, 13, 38, 51).

- County Hall car park

  This has not been identified as having development potential in the Masterplan
  There are also several private car parks adjoining County Hall that area excluded from the Masterplan but which are likely to come under increasing development pressure following any redevelopment of the harbourside

All these areas are subject to a high modern flood risk. Around the north and east sides of Newport, Flood Zone 3 approximates to the 5m contour (see https://flood-map-for-planning.service.gov.uk/). Consequently, it is likely that these car parks lie upon an accumulation of silts; the area was probably also subject to flooding in the past, and hence silt accumulation. Within this area significant archaeological remains are likely to be buried by or incorporated within alluvium. There is also likely to be a sequence of former waterfronts and quays stepping out into the estuary from the natural shoreline with earlier features incorporated into their replacements.

Consequently, the first stage in any mitigation programme should the development of a deposit model in these areas. The BGS holds records of almost 40 boreholes in this general area and there may be confidential client records, so the potential of these should be considered where available. A programme of additional coring specifically for the deposit model will also probably be required.

It is worth noting here, that the extent of the 'Area of high archaeological importance' (Kay Elliott 2020, Fig 14, 23, extracted from the *Newport Harbour Historic Area Assessment*) is probably too limited. The area to the east was used as the town dump for many years and is likely to contain a large amount of significant material, as well as be informative of the silting process of the estuary head, and the entirety of 'Area 1', between Sea Street and Medina Way including the south of Little London, is likely to contain alluvial deposits and waterfront features of the nature described above, and evidence for the dating and nature of occupation in Little London.

Church Litten

Church Litten is the only known burial ground associated with Newport (though interments are known within the present and earlier St Thomas's church; Dodd 2019) and is now a park. It was first laid out in and after 1583 on land lying outside the borough, formerly part of the manor of Cosham, and the site of the town archery butts.

It is first shown on the Speed map surveyed in 1608, about 25 years after it was established (see Figure 7). It contains two buildings, much as depicted elsewhere, and is labelled 'The church yard'. The enclosure comprises a narrow strip of land to the north, starting on South Street opposite Town Lane, though slightly broader than it, with a broader section to the south. Analysis of the project GIS suggests that the northern section may have measured about 46m north/south by 14m east/west. The southern section was a bit over twice as wide, extending perhaps 20m further west, but the south end is not depicted. A path or track ran from South Street through the centre of the north part and then obliquely to run along the west side of the southern part and beyond the extent of the map, with another path running east towards the River Medina from the point at which the enclosure changed width.

On the 1793 OS surveyor's sketch map (Figure 8), the route through the burial ground appears to have been realigned to run to the east of it, apparently immediately outside its boundary. This may have been due to an increasing density of graves. The path or track extended from South Street through to what became

Medina Avenue and must have been on the approximate line of modern Church Litten though the earlier route would have been narrower and probably only took up the western side of the present roadway. The position of the gateway suggests that it did not impinge upon the existing east boundary of the park. The surveyor's sketch shows a slight dogleg in the road at the site of the historic gateway, and it seems possible that the two were part of the same scheme. It has been suggested that the gateway was contemporary with the laying out of the burial ground (Lloyd and Pevsner 2006, 185) but Speed suggests this is unlikely. It is listed grade II (NHLE 1034632) and the brief description dates it to the 17th century so it may have been erected soon after Speed's survey and the path or track through the burial ground realigned at the same time. The sketch map shows the burial ground as a narrow rectangle oriented north/south that did not extend north to South Street suggesting there may not have been any burials in this area. GIS analysis suggest that it extended about 135m north/south, or about 100m to the south of the gateway. The enclosure appears to be narrower than that depicted by Speed, but this is probably due to the draft nature of the map.

The 1847 tithe map (Figure 13) shows the northern part of the burial ground as described above, but the south end to have had an area about 40m north/south by 33m east/west added to the west forming an L-shaped enclosure. The south boundary, around 68m north of the later Medina Avenue, had a small dogleg about 30m west of Church Litten that may have been marking the former south-west corner of the burial ground. The first edition OS maps of the 1860s show a small rectangular feature in this area, like others elsewhere in the burial ground, perhaps a mausoleum. Burials ceased in 1850 apart from in family plots (the last interments took place in 1897), and the burial ground was superseded by the new Mont Joy cemetery in 1858 (IWH).

In the 1840s the area to the south was a detached portion of St Nicholas Parish. The 1860s OS maps show this southern area to have been occupied by St Nicholas Villa, its gardens, and nurseries. By the 1890s OS maps the house had changed its name to Bradley Lodge but the extent of the burial ground remained the same, as it did on the 1907 map, though by 1938 the Technical Institute and Free Library (later Newport Priory girls' school) had been built on the area to the west. was (IWH).

The council began to make plans to turn the burial ground into a park in the early 1940s, perhaps following the demolition of Bradley Lodge during an air raid in April 1943, and in 1944 a plan and record of the known burials, and surviving monuments and inscriptions was made. These have recently been digitised and are available online (IWH). Burials were recorded across the whole of the then existing burial ground though there seem to have been more empty plots in the western extension, perhaps the result of its shorter history of use, or perhaps it was less favoured and saw poorer burials; the average plot size appears small. It is visible in a 1946 AP (Figure 30), with gravestones across the whole burial ground but there are fewer in the western extension, and the south wall still intact. In 1955 the graves were in the process of being cleared but work had been going on for some time at that point and much remained to be done; it was hoped to open the park in late 1956, though delays were anticipated (IWH). Presumably the park was to include the

southern extension, but this is first shown on the first full post war OS maps of 1968, by which time it was named Litten Park.

In terms of sensitivity of burials therefore, the core of the burial ground, where interments were likely to have taken place for perhaps 300 years, including late 16th century plague victims, is the narrow rectangular area from approximately SZ 4999 0883 (south-west) to SZ 5002 0889 (north-east). The area to the north may not have been used for interments but this is not certain. The area to the south-west was probably added in the early 19th century and may have only been in active use for about 50 years. After 1850 there was still some burial in family plots, but most must have taken place in the new Mount Joy cemetery. There is no evidence for any marginal occupation of the burial ground, nor that the area to the south was ever a part of it.

Figure 30 – Detail of a 1946 aerial photograph showing the burial ground from the south, see the front cover for the full image (EAW003000, © Historic England Archive - Aerofilms collection).

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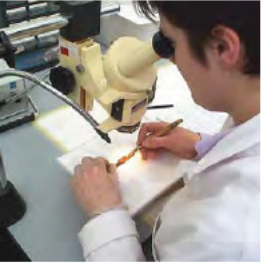




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