

THE CINQUE PORTS IN THE REIGNS OF KING JOHN AND
KING HENRY III, WITH A FOCUS ON THE TWO CIVIL
WARS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

A Master's Thesis

by

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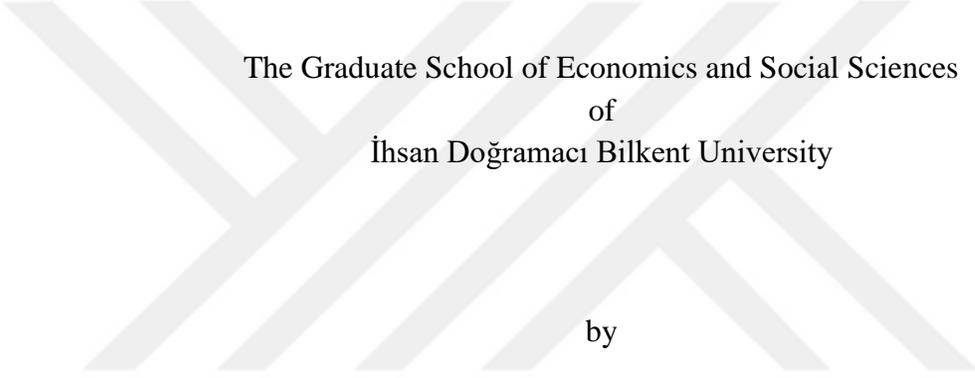
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Bilkent University 2019

To my family

THE CINQUE PORTS IN THE REIGNS OF KING JOHN AND KING HENRY III,
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The Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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by

MUSTAFA ÖZGÜR ELMACIOĞLU

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MASTER OF ARTS IN HISTORY

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
İHSAN DOĞRAMACI BİLKENT UNIVERSITY
ANKARA

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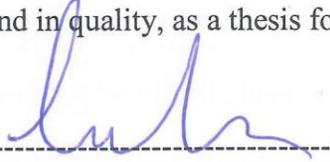
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ABSTRACT

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Situated on the shores of the historic counties of Kent and Sussex on the South-East coast of England, the Cinque Ports were a group of port towns which provided ship service to the kings in exchange for certain privileges in the Middle Ages. Although the organization was originally made up of five port towns; Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney, and Sandwich, later additions were made, the most notable ones being the inclusion of Rye and Winchelsea in the late twelfth century. This thesis is a study of the Cinque Ports in the reigns of King John and King Henry III. The focal point of the study is the involvement of the Cinque Ports in the two civil wars of the thirteenth century, which took place in 1215-17 and 1264-7. The purpose of the thesis is to contextualize the actions of the Cinque Ports by comparing them in the two civil wars. In both of the civil wars, the Cinque Ports became a war zone, and their control was perceived as crucial by the main political actors. However, the difference in the political movements preceding the two civil wars, and the environmental changes in the Cinque Ports coastline led to the distinctness in their participation in the two civil wars.

Key Words: Cinque Ports, Civil War, King Henry III, King John

ÖZET

ON ÜÇÜNCÜ YÜZYILDAKİ İKİ İÇ SAVAŞA ODAKLANARAK KRAL JOHN VE KRAL III. HENRY DÖNEMLERİNDE “CINQUE PORTS” ŞEHİRLERİNİN İNCELENMESİ

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Yüksek Lisans, Tarih Bölümü

Tez Danışmanı: Dr. Öğr. Üyesi Paul Latimer

Ağustos 2019

İngiltere'nin güneydođu kıyısında, tarihi Kent ve Sussex bölgelerinde yer alan “Cinque Ports” şehirleri Ortaçağ'da birtakım ayrıcalıklar karşılığında krallara gemicilik hizmeti sağlamışlardır. Bu şehirler başlangıçta Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney ve Sandwich şehirlerinden oluşsa da, en önemlileri on ikinci yüzyılın sonlarına doğru eklenen Rye ve Winchelsea olmak üzere başka şehirler de zamanla bu topluluğa katılmışlardır. Bu tez Kral John ve Kral III. Henry dönemlerinde “Cinque Ports” şehirlerini incelemektedir. Bu çalışmanın odak noktası “Cinque Ports” şehirlerinin on üçüncü yüzyılda 1215-17 ve 1264-7 yılları arasında yaşanan iki iç savaştaki rolüdür. Bu tez “Cinque Ports” şehirlerinin iki iç savaştaki rolünü karşılaştırarak onların eylemlerini bağlamsallaştırmayı amaçlar. Bu iki iç savaşta da, “Cinque Ports” şehirleri savaş alanı haline gelmiş ve bu şehirlerin kontrolü dönemin önde gelen siyasi aktörleri tarafından oldukça önemli görülmüştür. Ancak, bu iki iç savaşa yol açan siyasi hareketlerdeki farklılıklar ve “Cinque Ports” şehirlerinin kıyı şeridinde yaşanan çevresel değişiklikler sebebiyle bu şehirlerin iki iç savaşa katılımı farklılık göstermiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Cinque Ports, İç Savaş, Kral III. Henry, Kral John



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father Nurullah Elmacıođlu. Their love and encouragement made me the person who I am now, and for that I am ever grateful to them.



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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Watching over the narrowest passage between continental Europe and Britain, the coasts of the south-eastern counties of Kent and Sussex have been points of interaction and of conflict, and thus, have always hosted high-level maritime activity. Cross-channel traffic had existed since the Bronze Age, if not before, as is attested by the hoard found at the site of Langdon Bay, Dover, and also possibly by the Dover Bronze Age boat.¹ Roman expeditions came to this region, one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, the kingdom of Kent, was established here, the first papal mission to the English entered the country on these shores. Later, the Vikings ravaged the area in the ninth and tenth centuries. The Normans under the leadership of William de Conqueror landed at Pevensey in Sussex. After the Norman Conquest of England in 1066, England became a part of a cross-channel political entity with its south-eastern ports as hubs of the constant movement of

¹ Keith Muckelroy, "Middle Bronze Age trade between Britain and Europe: a maritime perspective," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 47 (1981): 275-7; Peter Clark, "Discussion," in *The Dover Bronze Age Boat*, ed. Peter Clark (Swindon: English Heritage, 2004), 316.

peoples, goods, and ideas. Over the course of the next centuries, seaborne activity increased on a gradual basis.

In the high middle ages, a group of south-eastern port towns in the counties of Kent and Sussex, collectively known as the Cinque Ports (“Five Ports”, originally composed of Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney, Sandwich) played an increasingly prominent role in the maritime affairs of England, reaching their zenith at the end of thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth. The aim of this thesis is to investigate the political allegiances of the Cinque Ports in the thirteenth century by comparing their actions in the reigns of King John (1199-1216), and Henry III (1216-1272), focusing on the turbulent years of 1213-17 in King John’s reign and Henry III’s regency, and 1258-67 in Henry III’s reign. In both of these periods, civil war ensued; the involvement of the Cinque Ports resulted in significant outcomes, and their loyalty (or the lack of it) to the crown proved to be of vital importance. This thesis aims to compare the involvement of the Cinque Ports in the two civil wars of the 13th century to find the common and contrasting points in their involvement, and contextualize it within the general political and social developments of the period. The second chapter will provide a definition of the Cinque Ports along with their early history, and describe the area’s geographical features. Chapters three and four will narrate a detailed account of events in the reigns of King John and Henry III, focusing on the years of civil war between 1215-7 and 1264-7, respectively, followed by a conclusion in the last chapter.

The Cinque Ports have been the subject of numerous studies, especially in second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century. Generally, these studies either deal with the municipal history of the Cinque Ports or approach the topic from the

perspective of a naval historian, since they acquired their privileges in exchange for their ship service. There are also studies on the individual towns of the Cinque Ports.

However, none of these deal with the specific topic of the political activities of the Cinque Ports in the two abovementioned civil wars.

The historiography of urban history, until the 1970s, can be grouped under two broad currents. The towns were studied either from a legal approach or from a topographical one.² With the emergence of academic legal history in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the dominant approach to the history of English towns became the legal approach, and remained so until the 1970s. The interest in the historical legal documents, however, pre-dates the late nineteenth century. The antiquarians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries collected, copied and edited primary sources, which enabled the construction of a narrative while also preserving primary sources that otherwise could have been lost.³ Charters of the Cinque Ports were edited and translated by Samuel Jeake, a seventeenth century lawyer and antiquarian from Rye who managed to acquire some important positions in his turbulent urban career.⁴ Starting with Frederic William Maitland's *Township and Borough* in the late nineteenth century, town histories were mostly focused on the legal/municipal aspects of the towns.⁵ According to this

² Susan Reynolds, *An Introduction to the History of English Medieval Towns* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), v.

³ Rosemary Sweet, "Antiquarianism and History", *Institute of Historical Research*, last modified 2008. <http://www.history.ac.uk/makinghistory/resources/articles/antiquarianism.html>

⁴ Michael Hunter, "Jeake, Samuel", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14674>.

⁵ Frederic William Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898). Following Maitland, other works focusing on the how the towns came to acquire their legal status, and on the content of these liberties in the form of borough customs dominated the urban history literature in the first half of the twentieth century. Some major works in this field are: *Borough Customs vol.I*, ed. Mary Bateson (London: Selden Society Publications, 1904); *Borough Customs vol.II*, ed. Mary Bateson (London: Selden Society Publications, 1906); *British Borough Charters 1042-1216*, ed. Adolphus Ballard (1913; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Adolphus Ballard, *The English Borough in the Twelfth Century*

outlook, what distinguished the town from the countryside was its legal status confirmed by charters, and the manifestations of this difference in borough customs. As late as 1973, Beresford and Finberg argued that the concept of the “urban” was an elusive concept, and that they followed Tait when they argued that burgage tenure was the basic requirement for all boroughs.⁶ However, the legal/municipal aspect is just one aspect of the town histories amongst many other themes.⁷ Moreover, even if the records necessary to construct such a history survive, the change in the meaning of the words and concepts in the primary sources has often been overlooked.⁸ This results in an anachronistic legal analysis where “legal exactitude” and teleological preconceptions pervade.⁹ Perhaps, what is even more important than the abovementioned shortcomings of this approach, sometimes the arrangements were not even laid out in a charter, and gaining borough status was not the only way by which the town dwellers pursued their liberties.¹⁰ Hence, this approach is now considered to be outdated as towns are not depicted as “actual places” and “communities of people” but rather defined merely as boroughs or institutions.¹¹ In current historiography, the social and economic aspects of the towns are emphasized.¹² The definition of a town, in the more current literature, would stress the variety of non-agricultural production, and the sense of being a separate community,

(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914); *British Borough Charters 1216-1307*, eds. Adolphus Ballard and James Tait (1923; repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010); James Tait, *The Medieval English Borough* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935).

⁶ Maurice Warwick Beresford and Herbert Patrick Reginald Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs, A Hand-List* (Newton Abbot: David & Charles, 1973), 23-6.

⁷ Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, 91.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 91-98.

⁹ Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, 106; Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 157-81.

¹⁰ Beresford and Finberg, *English Medieval Boroughs*, 23-4; Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, 98.

¹¹ David Michael Palliser, “Introduction,” in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain, vol.I 600-1540*, ed. David Michael Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 6-7.

¹² Palliser, “Introduction,” 4.

held by the townsmen with respect to their neighboring communities in the surrounding countryside.¹³

Montagu Burrows was the first historian to produce a modern history of the Cinque Ports in the late nineteenth century.¹⁴ This work was along the lines of the legal/constitutional approach with a few additions on natural history. After this, J. H. Round wrote on the origins of the Cinque Ports, and although more interested in the naval service of the Cinque Ports, F. W. Brooks also entered the debate about the legal aspect of the Cinque Ports.¹⁵ Katherine M. E. Murray's book on the subject sealed the deal, and set out the constitutional history of the ports definitively.¹⁶ The long persistence of this approach meant that no new works were to be produced on the Cinque Ports as this work covered that aspect of the organization's history masterfully. Since Murray's book, no book that deals with the collective history of the Cinque Ports has been published.¹⁷

¹³ Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, ix-x; Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities*, 156.

¹⁴ Montagu Burrows, *The Cinque Ports* (London, 1892).

¹⁵ John Horace Round, *Feudal England* (London, 1895); F. W. Brooks, "The Cinque Ports," *The Mariner's Mirror* 15, no. 2 (1929): 142-191. This article was reprinted in his *English Naval Forces* (London: A. Brown & Sons, 1935).

¹⁶ Katherine Maud Elizabeth Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935).

¹⁷ Collectively or individually, the Cinque Ports had managed to generate many local guides/histories since the nineteenth century. The common point of these is that they give very few if any references. Although, they make pleasant reading, they were not employed in this thesis. The reason they are included in this footnote is that although new publications emerged after Murray's book, these do not bother with academic discussions but aim to introduce the local history and sites to a wider audience. Some works of this kind are: *The Hythe, Sandgate and Folkestone Guide to Which is Subjoined a Brief History of the Cinque Ports* (Hythe, 1816); *The Hastings Guide: containing a description of that ancient town and port* (Hastings, 1821); William Batcheller, *New History of Dover and Dover Castle During the Roman, Saxon, and Norman Governments: with a short account of the Cinque Ports* (Dover, 1828); Ford Madox Ford, *The Cinque Ports; A Historical and Descriptive Record* (London, 1900); Arthur Granville Bradley, *An Old Gate of England: Rye, Romney Marsh, and the Western Cinque Ports* (London: Robert Scott, 1920; London: Forgotten Books, 2017); Arthur Granville Bradley, *England's Outpost: The Country of the Kentish Cinque Ports* (London: Robert Scott, [1921?]; London: Forgotten Books, 2017); John Bavington Jones, *The Cinque Ports* (Dover: Dover Express & East Kent News, 1937); Stuart Petre Brodie Mais, *The Land of the Cinque Ports* (1949; n.p.: Read Books, 2008); Ronald Jessup and Frank Jessup, *The Cinque*

The individual towns within the organization received scholarly attention in the nineteenth century and after. The main flaw in the early works produced in the nineteenth century is that they followed Samuel Jeake's conclusions, which were created by stretching the evidence from late thirteenth century to pre-Conquest times, not paying attention to different phases the organization went through, without questioning them which, in turn, led them to make the same mistake of not differentiating different steps in the development of the organization and projecting the chartered organization back into pre-Conquest times, which was not the case.¹⁸ William Durant Cooper's book on Winchelsea is different from other town histories of the nineteenth century in the sense that it is still useful.¹⁹ Leopold Amon Vidler's book, which was originally published in 1923, provides a history of the town until the nineteenth century.²⁰ Both of these works reserve only a few chapters at the beginning for the thirteenth century and allocate the majority of their space to later periods. In the late 1990s and 2000s, further works on individual Port towns emerged, incorporating many aspects of the town histories. David Sylvester's work on Winchelsea, collaborative works on Rye and Romney and the book published as a result of the Sandwich Project exemplify the incorporation of the many themes of the town histories as well as many other types of evidence from other

Ports (London: B. T. Batsford, 1952); Margaret Brentnall, *The Cinque Ports and Romney Marsh* (London: John Gifford, 1972); Edward Hinings, *History, People and Places in the Cinque Ports* (Bourne End: Spurbooks Limited, 1975); Edward Body, *The Cinque Ports and their Lords Warden* (Larkfield: Kent Messenger, 1979); Ivan Green, *The Book of the Cinque Ports* (Buckingham: Barracuda Books, 1984); Oliver Matthews, *Cinque Ports* (Shepperton: Town Country Books, 1984); John Manwaring Baines, *Historic Hastings: A Tapestry of Life* (St. Leonards-on-Sea: Cinque Ports Press, 1986); Duncan Forbes, *Hythe Haven* (Hythe: Shearwater Press, 1991).

¹⁸ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 2.

¹⁹ William Durant Cooper, *The History of Winchelsea, one of the ancient towns added to the Cinque Ports* (London: 1850).

²⁰ Leopold Amon Vidler, *A New History of Rye* (Rye: Gouldens, 1971).

disciplines such as archaeology and town planning.²¹ Although these works are much broader in their perspective and include many different aspects of the town histories, they do not try to understand the Cinque Ports in the two civil wars especially. All these works do not seem to question Murray's statement which argues that the Cinque Ports' actions in the thirteenth century was not guided by anything other than "a common desire for plunder" and "maintaining . . . favorable conditions for wholesale piracy."²² However, such essentialist arguments hinder further attempts at contextualizing the Cinque Ports in the thirteenth century, and reduce their involvement to single sentence explanations.

Being situated on the coast and having acquired their privileges in exchange for ship service, the Cinque Ports have also received attention from naval and maritime historians. Notable works of naval history from around the second half of the nineteenth century onwards are as follows. Nicholas Harris Nicolas' book entitled *A History of the Royal Navy from the Earliest Times to the French Revolution* was published in 1847 and discusses the Cinque Ports.²³ As is the case with naval historians of this period, Nicolas treats the Cinque Ports as one of the predecessors of the royal navy. A significance of this work is that it is one of the first works on the subject that does not solely depend on narrative sources but also makes use of the governmental primary sources which were being edited and printed at the time. Only the aspects of the Cinque Ports that are

²¹ David G. Sylvester, "Maritime Communities in Pre-Plague England: Winchelsea and the Cinque Ports," (PhD Thesis, Fordham University, 1999); Gillian Draper, F. M. Meddens, and Philip Armitage, *The Sea and the Marsh: the Medieval Cinque Port of New Romney revealed through archaeological excavations and Historical Research* (London: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2009); Gillian Draper, David Martin, Barbara Martin and Alan Tyler, *Rye: A history of a Sussex Cinque Port to 1660* (Stroud: Phillimore, 2016); Helen Clarke, Sarah Pearson, Mavis Mate and Keith Parfitt, *Sandwich, the 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port from its Origins to 1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).

²² Murray, *Constitutional History*, 59.

²³ Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *A History of the Royal Navy from the Earliest Times to the French Revolution* (London, 1847)

relevant to their nautical affairs are treated in this work. Being in line with the romantic mindset of the period in which it was written, the piratical activities of the Cinque Ports, which they were notorious for, are portrayed as the precursor of admirable qualities such as the “hardihood, skill, adventurous spirit, and contempt of danger” that the British seamen of later times were supposed to have displayed.²⁴ Of the multi-volume work of Laird Clowes, only the first volume deals with the period concerned in this thesis.²⁵

Michael Oppenheim’s *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to Navy* starts in the sixteenth century with the establishment of the royal navy.²⁶ It contains an introductory chapter which surveys the period before then. His more relevant contributions to this thesis, though, can be found in the two *Victoria County History* volumes.²⁷ Works of F. W. Brooks are different from the above in the sense that while the Cinque Ports are generally treated as a prelude to the Royal Navy in the works mentioned above. Brooks approaches the Cinque Ports as a worthy subject matter in their own right without the teleological lens of the authors above. His article entitled “The Cinque Ports” which was published in the *The Mariner’s Mirror* provides an overview of the Cinque Ports, including all aspects of them ranging from the historical narration of the events, to the institutions, officers, and privileges of the organization.²⁸ This article also makes up the sixth chapter of his book, *The English*

²⁴ Nicolas, *History of Royal Navy*, 241-2.

²⁵ Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy: A History From the Earliest Times to the Present*, vol. I (London: 1897).

²⁶ Michael Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy and of Merchant Shipping in Relation to the Navy*, vol.I: MDIX – MDCLX (London: 1896).

²⁷ Michael Oppenheim, “Maritime History,” in *The Victoria History of County of Sussex*, vol. II, ed. William Page (London: Archibald Lewis, 1907); Michael Oppenheim, “Maritime History,” in *The Victoria History of County of Kent*, vol. II, ed. William Page (London: The St. Catherine Press, 1926).

²⁸ F. W. Brooks, “The Cinque Ports,” *The Mariner’s Mirror* 15, no. 2 (1929): 142-91.

Naval Forces 1199-1272.²⁹ Other than this chapter the book has valuable information on practical issues such as shipbuilding, navigation, and varieties of ship types, which can provide glimpses into both the physical and mental world of the seamen of the thirteenth century. The last work of F.W. Brooks to be mentioned is his other article in *The Mariner's Mirror* on the feud of the Cinque Ports with Yarmouth, an ongoing event throughout much of the thirteenth century.³⁰ Nicholas A. M. Rodger's article on the Cinque Ports is the first work to compare the ship service of the Cinque Ports with ship service obligations of other port towns in order to assess their importance for the fleets of the English kings.³¹ Upon his comparison, he argues that their real value lay not in their naval service but rather in their geopolitical position.³² His book, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660-1649*, is the modern standard book on the medieval naval history of Britain.³³

In the rest of this chapter, I will outline the sources employed in the thesis. Historical texts and archaeological reports made up the two main types of primary sources.

Historical texts can be divided into two broad categories: governmental records and the narrative sources.

For the historian, medieval England presents a rewarding case in terms of the quantity of the surviving records. The Norman conquerors, who had taken over an already well developed administration from the Anglo-Saxons, made effective use of writing in

²⁹ F. W. Brooks, *The English Naval Forces 1199-1272* (London: A. Brown & Sons, 1935).

³⁰ F. W. Brooks, "The Cinque Ports' Feud with Yarmouth in the Thirteenth Century," *The Mariner's Mirror* 19, no. 1 (1939): 27-51.

³¹ Nicholas A. M. Rodger, "The Naval Service of the Cinque Ports," *The English Historical Review* 111, no. 42, (1996): 636-651.

³² Rodger, "The Naval Service of the Cinque Ports," 638-651.

³³ Nicholas A. M. Rodger, *The Safeguard of the Sea: A Naval History of Britain, 660-1649* (London: Penguin Books, 2004).

government.³⁴ Moreover, throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the production and use of bureaucratic documents reached a stage that had never been seen in England until that time.³⁵ The records of governmental activity became especially abundant around 1200 when, along with other novelties, copies of outgoing letters began to be preserved in the chancery during the chancellorship of Hubert Walter, who worked under Richard I and King John.³⁶ Fortunately, as a result of the labours of historians, a good number of these documents have been edited and are available in printed format. Most of the primary sources used in this thesis are digital versions of the printed volumes and unless stated otherwise downloaded from the website of Tanner Ritchie Publishing.

The Patent Rolls are composed of copies of administrative letters originally issued and sealed open, and state the king's will on a variety of issues ranging from grants and appointments to orders and payments.³⁷ They begin in the reign of King John and continue to the present day. The Patent Rolls of the King John's reign were edited by Thomas Duffus Hardy in the 1840s and are contained in one volume titled *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*. The starting date for the patent rolls included in this volume is 1201 and not 1199, which was the year when John ascended to the throne. For Henry III's reign, there are six volumes of printed patent rolls which cover the whole reign except the lost rolls like the 23rd and 24th regnal year of Henry

³⁴ Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 56.

³⁵ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 1-2.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 68-70.

³⁷ "Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls." *The National Archives*, accessed April 10, 2019, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3626> .

III.³⁸ While the first volume that includes the Patent Rolls for the years 1216-1225 is printed in full rolls, the rest up to 1272 are printed as a calendar of patent rolls, which give a slightly abbreviated version of each entry in the original roll. The two volumes printed as *Rotuli* and *Patent Rolls* are in Latin while the calendars are printed in English.

The close rolls are very similar to the patent rolls with regard to their content. Their form is, however, different, as they were originally sealed ‘close’ as opposed to ‘patent’, and they tend to be briefer compared to the patent rolls. Their entries are more numerous than those of the patent rolls with seventeen printed volumes in total for the reigns of King John and Henry III. The first volume starts in the year 1204 and ends in 1224 in Henry III’s reign. After the second volume, the close rolls for the years 1227-1272 are printed as calendar of the close rolls. The close rolls are also printed in Latin.

A fine in medieval England was a payment made to the king for a specified favor.³⁹ The rolls on which these were recorded can provide glimpses into the demands of different sections of society and what king was ready to concede.⁴⁰ The fines of Henry III’s reign were originally compiled by the chancery scribes in sixty four rolls.⁴¹ The fine rolls of Henry III are available online on the Fine Rolls of Henry III Project website.⁴²

³⁸ “Chancery and Supreme Court of Judicature: Patent Rolls.” *The National Archives*, accessed April 10, 2019, <https://discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/C3626>.

³⁹ David Carpenter, “Between Magna Carta and the Parliamentary State: Fine Rolls of King Henry III,” in *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III*, eds. David Crook and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 10.

⁴⁰ “Home”, *Henry III Fine Rolls Project*, accessed April 10, 2019, <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/home.html>.

⁴¹ Beth Hartland and Paul Dryburgh, “The Development of the Fine Rolls,” in *Thirteenth Century England XII: Proceedings of the Gregynog Conference*, eds. Janet Burton, Philipp Schofield and Björn Weiler (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 193.

⁴² <https://finerollshenry3.org.uk/home.html>.

During both of the civil wars inspected in this thesis, the papacy supported the crown. Although their overall impact on the course of events may be of questionable importance, papal letters can shed light on the political positioning of the Cinque Ports in these intervals. Papal letters are published in the *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland*.⁴³ The first volume of these, which covers the period 1198-1304 is utilized in this study.

A compilation of “all the public alliances, treatises, and confederacies of England with other countries” was edited by Thomas Rymer, an antiquarian and later royal historiographer, at the end of seventeenth century, and was published in the first years of the eighteenth century.⁴⁴ This compilation is known as *Rymer’s Fœdera*.⁴⁵ As it was published earlier than most primary documents, later publications, such as the Close Rolls, sometimes omit some entries and give reference to their place in *Fœdera*. The first volume of the *Rymer’s Fœdera*, deals with the period 1066-1272, and thus is utilized in the research of this thesis.

Writing a thesis solely built on the governmental records, however, runs the risk of exaggerating the day to day power of the royal government, especially if it is kept in mind that the majority of surviving written material from the period already consists of governmental records.⁴⁶ Narrative sources can be useful as a different type of primary source, in this regard, and can provide some valuable insights which could not be

⁴³ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland, Papal Letters, vol. 1, AD 1198-1304*, ed. William Henry Bliss (Burlington, TannerRitchie Publishing, 2005) [hereafter *Cal. Pap. Reg.*].

⁴⁴ Arthur Sherbo, “Rymer, Thomas”, last modified October 3, 2013, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24426>.

⁴⁵ *Fœdera, Conventiones, Litteræ et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica inter Reges Angliæ et Alios Quosvis Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Principes, vel Communitates Habita Aut Tractata, vol. 1 part 1 : 1066-1272*, ed. Thomas Rymer (Burlington TannerRitchie Publishing, 2006) [hereafter *Fœdera*]

⁴⁶ Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 5-6.

attained from the governmental records. As for the narrative sources, King John's reign comes after the highly productive last years in the reigns of Henry II, and the reign of Richard I, when both secular and religious history writing proliferated.⁴⁷ The high quantity of production of historical works, however, did not continue in the reign of King John. For the last years of King John, our best source is the so-called Barnwell Chronicle, which is almost unanimously praised for its treatment of the last years of John's reign.⁴⁸ Through textual analysis the origin of the text is possibly traced to Peterborough, from where it passed to Crowland, before being copied into the Barnwell manuscript.⁴⁹ The Barnwell manuscript itself was never printed but it is copied almost verbatim in Walter of Coventry's compilation, *Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria*, which was edited by William Stubbs in the nineteenth century.⁵⁰ Another narrative source for King John's reign is the chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury.⁵¹ An important feature of this work is the geographical proximity of its author to the Cinque Ports. Despite the relative decline in the number of historical works, early thirteenth century witnessed the resurgence of annalistic history writing.⁵² In the mid-nineteenth century nine monastic annals and the chronicle of Thomas Wykes were edited by Henry Richards Luard and published in five volumes with the title of *Annales Monastici*.⁵³

⁴⁷ Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c. 550 – c. 1307*, (London & New York: Routledge, 2008), 219.

⁴⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 318; David Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London: Penguin Books, 2015), 86-7; James Clarke Holt, *Magna Carta* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 194; *The Historical Works of Walter of Coventry*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 2, vii. [hereafter *Mem. Walt, Cov.*]

⁴⁹ Richard Kay, "Walter of Coventry and the Barnwell Chronicle," *Traditio* 54 (1999): 141.

⁵⁰ Kay, "Walter of Coventry and the Barnwell Chronicle," 141.

⁵¹ *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, 2 vols. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012). [hereafter *Gervasii Gesta Regum*]

⁵² Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 318.

⁵³ *Annales Monastici*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols (Burlington: Tanner Ritchie Publishing, 2009). [hereafter *Ann. Mon.*]

From the five volumes, the first four include the annals themselves and the last volume includes the index and glossary. *Annales de Monasterii de Theokesberia*, *Annales Monasterii de Burton*, *Annales Monasterii de Waverleia*, *Annales de Dunstaplia*, *Annales Wigornia*, and the chronicle of Thomas Wykes will be used to illuminate both John's and Henry's reign. Thomas Wykes' chronicle is of particular importance as it depicts the events of Henry III's reign from a royalist perspective, unlike the majority of the narrative sources from the period.⁵⁴

For King John's reign, another source of primary importance is the biography of the legendary knight and statesman William Marshal, which was written in verse in the 1220s, most probably between 1224-6, upon the commission of his son William Marshal the Younger, by an anonymous writer.⁵⁵ Although it is biased in favor of William Marshal, as it depicts the earl as an epitome of chivalric virtues and conceals his shortcomings, it is still a valuable source for the turbulent last years of the reign of King John and the civil war. It was written in vernacular verse. A translation by Nigel Bryant is used for this thesis.⁵⁶

The narrative sources used for Henry III's reign are as follows. *Flores Historiarum* is a chronicle written by Roger of Wendover until the year 1235 from whence it was taken over by the famous chronicler of the thirteenth century, Matthew Paris. It was edited by Henry Richards Luard in three volumes. The first volume which covers up to AD 1066

⁵⁴ Margaret Wade Labarge, *Simon de Montfort* (Bath: Cedric Chivers, 1972), 9.

⁵⁵ Nigel Bryant, "Introduction," in *The History of William Marshal* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 1-24. Some historians thought John of Earley, a squire and close companion of William Marshal, to be the author of work. Nigel Bryant, based on his reading of the work, argues that he could not be the author, although, he undoubtedly contributed to the composition of the work. See pp. 22-24 of Bryant's Introduction.

⁵⁶ *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018).

is excluded in this study, while the second and third volumes are consulted.⁵⁷ Its coverage of the King John's reign is also valuable. The chronicle of Bartholomew de Cotton, a monk of Norwich, called *Historia Anglicana*, is an important source since although being made up of extracts from works of other writers in general, it seems to be an independent source for the years 1264 to 1279.⁵⁸

Unfortunately no town histories were produced in the Cinque Ports themselves within the period studied in this thesis.⁵⁹ The earliest surviving charter granted to the Cinque Ports collectively was discovered by F. F. Giraud and published in *Archaeologia Cantiana*.⁶⁰ Although dated to a period later than the scope of this study, the customals of the Cinque Ports, which are the codified versions of the borough customs, can shed some light on the inter- and intra-politics of the towns of the Cinque Ports as they deal with the administrative aspects of the towns, such as the election, and rights of officials, as well as other seigneurial officials acting within the town(s).⁶¹ The earliest of them is dated c.1290. However, borough customs included in the customals may date back to much earlier times, and hence, should not be disregarded for this reason.⁶²

Unfortunately, as they are only available in manuscripts, they could only be glanced through the doctoral thesis of Justin P. Croft.⁶³ It should be noted that this thesis does

⁵⁷ *Flores Historiarum*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, vols. 2-3 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

⁵⁸ Henry Bradley, "Cotton, Bartholomew de," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography vol. 12*, ed. Leslie Stephen (London, 1887), 298.

⁵⁹ Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Kentish Towns: Urban Culture and the Church in Later Middle Ages," in *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540*, ed. Sheila Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 153.

⁶⁰ Francis Frederic Giraud, "Notes on an Early Cinque Ports Charter," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 27, (1905): 37-43.

⁶¹ Justin P. Croft, "The Customals of the Cinque Ports c.1290 – c. 1500: Studies in the Cultural Production of Urban Record" (PhD Thesis, The University of Kent at Canterbury, 1997), 13-28.

⁶² Justin P. Croft, "The Customals of the Cinque Ports", 14.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

not focus completely on the contents of the customs per se, but rather analyzes them within the contexts of literacy, record keeping and writing as an agency of change.

When there is a scarcity of written contemporary primary sources from a certain period and place, focusing solely on governmental and narrative accounts have their drawbacks. Archaeological evidence can provide invaluable insights into the physicality of the towns and their inhabitants. Findings of the New Winchelsea excavations were edited by David Martin and David Rudling.⁶⁴ In addition, although not directly related, the archaeological reports of the Council of British Archaeology numbered 14, 41, 61 and 74 are useful for getting a grasp of the plans and topography of the medieval towns, waterfront archaeology, and the state of urban archaeology in general.⁶⁵

In order to carry out the research for this thesis, an intersection of the different lines of secondary literature needs to be addressed. The literature on the political and administrative history of twelfth and thirteenth century England is a major thread running throughout the thesis, and it is impossible to list all here due to its colossal proportion. However, it should be kept in mind that all through this thesis this political-administrative literature is a guiding strain for the research.

In addition to those naval histories mentioned above, Susan Rose's book on naval warfare, and her book chapter on the value of the Cinque Ports to the crown are of

⁶⁴ David Martin and David Rudling, *Excavations in Winchelsea, Sussex, 1974-2000* (King's Lynn: Heritage Marketing, 2004).

⁶⁵ *CBA Report 14*, ed. M. W. Barley, (The Council for British Archaeology, 1975); *CBA Research Report 41*, eds. Gustav Milne and Brian Hobley (The Council for British Archaeology, 1981); *CBA Research Report 61*, eds. John Schofield and Roger Leech (The Council for British Archaeology, 1987); *CBA Research Report 74*, eds. G. L. Good, R. H. Jones and M. W. Ponsford (The Council for British Archaeology, 1988).

assistance to this thesis.⁶⁶ Piracy is one of the themes that also should be understood in its medieval context as the Cinque Ports were notorious for their piratical activities. Jill Eddison's book, *Medieval Pirates*, and David Sylvester's book chapter on piracy done by the Cinque Ports serve to this purpose.⁶⁷



⁶⁶ Susan Rose, *Medieval Naval Warfare, 1000-1500* (London: Routledge, 2002); Susan Rose, "The Value of the Cinque Ports to the Crown, 1200–1500, in *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England*, ed. Richard Gorski (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2012).

⁶⁷ Jill Eddison, *Medieval Pirates: Pirates, Raiders and Privateers, 1204–1453* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013); David G. Sylvester, "Communal Piracy in Medieval England's Cinque Ports," in *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, eds. Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

CHAPTER II

THE DEFINITION, GEOGRAPHY, AND EARLY HISTORY OF THE CINQUE PORTS

Very briefly, the Cinque Ports were a group of south-eastern ports which provided ship service in exchange for certain privileges from the crown.⁶⁸ The original five main ports, known as the Head Ports, were Dover, Hythe, Romney and Sandwich from the county of Kent, and Hastings from Sussex. Towards the end of the twelfth century, Rye and Winchelsea from Sussex were integrated into the organization, having the duty to support the ship service of Hastings, by a charter of Richard I in 1190.⁶⁹ These two towns were known as “the two Ancient Towns” within the organization. Later, as the responsibilities of the Cinque Ports increased, they started to swallow smaller towns into their own organization. These smaller members of the Cinque Ports were known as

⁶⁸ Brooks, “The Cinque Ports,” 143.

⁶⁹ *Cartae Antiquae Rolls 11-20*, ed. J. Conway Davies (London: Pipe Roll Society Publications, 1957), 101.

“members” or “limbs”. If any of the “members” joined the organization with a charter granted them, they were known as “Corporate Members”.⁷⁰ The towns that were Corporate members retained their independent administration, except in naval and financial matters where they were under the authority of the head port.⁷¹ The Corporate Members were as follows: Pevensey and Seaford were Corporate Members of Hastings’, Tenterden was of Rye, Lydd was a member of Romney, Folkerstone and Faversham were members of Dover, and Fordwich was of Sandwich.⁷² If the towns became members of the organization not through a royal charter but as a result of private agreements, the towns were known as “Non-Corporate Members”, and their administration was totally under the control of the head ports.⁷³ This thesis deals with the actions of the Head Ports and the Two Ancient Ports, although occasional references will be made to some of the members when it is deemed illuminating for the point made. The naming of the members of the organization as heads and limbs signals to the prevalent idea of “body politic” in the Middle Ages. This idea likened a political society to human anatomy by way of an analogy.⁷⁴ Although the idea had already existed by his time, John of Salisbury made important contributions to it.⁷⁵ According to him, the prince would be the head of the “body politic” with other bureaucratic and military components would make up the rest of the body.⁷⁶ Similarly, in the context of the Cinque Ports, the five original members, which assumed a governing position within the

⁷⁰ Katherine Maud Elizabeth Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1935), 1.

⁷¹ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 1.

⁷² *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 1.

⁷⁴ Cary J. Nederman, “John of Salisbury’s Political Theory,” in *A Companion to John of Salisbury*, eds. Christophe Grellard and Frédérique Lachaud (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 273.

⁷⁵ Nederman, “John of Salisbury,” 273.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 274.

organization, are labeled the “Head Ports” while the rest would be the “members” or “limbs” of the whole body.

In order to understand the situation of the Cinque Ports in the thirteenth century, it is crucial to start with the geography since the coastline of the south-east England in the thirteenth century was significantly different from the present one. (see Appendices)

Geographically, England is conventionally divided into lowland and highland zones.

While the South, South-East, and eastern part of England makes up the lowland zones, where the elevation is hardly above 200m, the South-West, North, and North-West fall under the highland zone where the average elevation is over 200m. The counties of Kent and Sussex are situated in the south-eastern lowlands with the highest points around 250m.

The coasts of Kent and Sussex where the Cinque Ports were located historically witnessed substantial changes in the coastline. Readers of modern history may be familiar with the man-made Royal Naval Canal; however, the forces of nature have been shaping and re-shaping the coasts since time immemorial.

The English Channel was formed as a result of the rise of the level of the North Sea, following the melting of glaciers after the last Ice Age around 8500-9000 years ago.⁷⁷

Rising sea levels not only separated England from the continent but also turned the coastal lowlands into marshes, and filled them with small rivers and streams.⁷⁸ This is one of the crucial geographical features of the Cinque Port towns. Due to the difficulty

⁷⁷ Renaud Morieux, *The Channel: England, France and the Construction of a Maritime Border in the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 44.

⁷⁸ James Alexander Williamson, “The Geographical History of the Cinque Ports,” *History, New Series* 11, no. 42 (1926): 97-8.

of traveling through land, waterways were vital elements of communication and maintenance of daily lives.⁷⁹ As it will be seen below, changes in the river courses could have decisive outcomes in the developmental ups and downs of the port towns. Almost all of the Cinque Port towns had rivers running through them which made the connection with further inland easier. Sandwich had the Lesser and Great Stour. Its position at the beginning of the Wantsum Channel also made it a good spot for the ships intending to sail to London without going around the Isle of Thanet. In fact, there are numerous references in the records to ships carrying wine from Sandwich to London.⁸⁰ When the Wantsum Channel began to silt up during the latter half of the eleventh century, the Great Stour maintained connections with further inland.⁸¹ Moreover, the river was navigable even further than Canterbury in the Middle Ages.⁸² The Rivers Rother and Brede made the region around Rye and Winchelsea accessible by water. These two rivers, in the Middle Ages, made some places, which are not on the coast but further inland today and not reachable via waterways such as Appledore, Tenterden, Battle Abbey, approachable by ships.⁸³

Keeping the sea at bay and the silting of waterways have historically been the two biggest challenges faced by maritime communities. The Cinque Ports were no different in this sense, as devastating storms hammered the shore in the thirteenth century. In fact, as a result of a series of storms in the thirteenth century, Winchelsea was totally

⁷⁹ Williamson, "Geographical History," 98.

⁸⁰ James Frederick Edwards, "The Transport System of Medieval England and Wales – A Geographical Synthesis," (PhD Thesis, University of Salford, 1987), 279, 312.

⁸¹ Edwards, "Transport System," 299.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 300

⁸³ Edwards, 300-1; William Page and Louis Francis Salzman, "The Cinque Ports," in *The Victoria History of the County of Sussex, vol. 9*, ed. Louis Francis Salzman (London: Oxford University Press, 1937), 34; Ron Martin, "The Brede Navigation," *Sussex Industrial Archaeology Society*, no. 140 (2008): 12.

submerged in 1287, and a new town had to be built in the reign of Edward I.⁸⁴ However, one peculiar feature of the ports in this area was that, due to a process known as the “Eastward Drift”, the current coming from the Atlantic Ocean, together with strong winds, carried sand and shingle to the coast which resulted in the loss of harbour as a result of silting and retreat of the sea.⁸⁵ Today, some of the towns such as Rye, Romney, Hythe and Sandwich, do not lie on the coast but rather are a few miles inland. The process of silting and loss of harbour due to moving shingle generally occurred from west to east – hence the name “Eastward Drift” – and by the fifteenth century, only the easternmost head Port, Sandwich, retained its position as an important port town, due to its well-protected natural harbour with anchorage liable for large ships.⁸⁶ Hastings was the first town to be afflicted by the “Eastward Drift”, and in fact, Rye and Winchelsea were incorporated to the organization as the burden of ship service was becoming too much for Hastings in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century.⁸⁷ While the main impetus behind the “Eastward Drift” was natural forces, some man-made change exacerbated the situation. These can be grouped under three headings. First, the draining of the marshes surrounding the Ports decreased the area over which the tides could spread and clean out the shingle from the ports.⁸⁸ Second, there is the question of the population levels in the area. Based on the population data in Domesday Book, coastal

⁸⁴ David G. Sylvester, “Shaping the Urban Landscape in Maritime England: the Interests of the King and the Barons in the 1292 founding of the New Winchelsea,” in *Maritime Topography and Medieval Town: Papers from the 5th International Congress on Waterfront Archaeology in Copenhagen, 14-16 May 1998*, eds. Jan Bill and Birthe L. Clausen (Copenhagen: The National Museum, 1999), 154. The town established by Edward I is called the New Winchelsea. The town of Winchelsea featured in this thesis is what is now called Old Winchelsea.

⁸⁵ Montagu Burrows, *The Cinque Ports* (London: 1892), 5-7; Williamson, “Geographical History,” 97-9.

⁸⁶ Rose, “Value of Cinque Ports,” 55; Gillian Draper, “Failing Friaries? The Mendicants in the Cinque Ports,” in *Friars in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 2007 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Nicholas Rogers (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), 299; Williamson, “Geographical History,” 98.

⁸⁷ Burrows, *The Cinque Ports*, 8-9

⁸⁸ Williamson, “Geographical History,” 101.

Sussex and Kent represented one of the most highly populated parts of England.⁸⁹ This meant there was a great need for arable land, and the clearance of forests for this reason, in addition to others made for the Sussex iron industry, had detrimental effects on the rivers and streams in this region, which were crucial for washing away the shingle from the ports.⁹⁰ While the storms caused serious problems for the port towns in the short term, in the long term, the Cinque Ports also had to deal with the results of the silting process which eventually blocked their harbors. Although it is very difficult to document, it must be kept in mind that the fight of the Portsmen against the forces of the nature must have been a constant source of anxiety, the stress of which would play a prominent role in their decision making processes.

From east to west, the five head ports and the two ancient towns of the Cinque Ports studied in this thesis are as follows: Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Rye, Winchelsea and Hastings. Among these towns, the eastern ones developed earlier in the Middle Ages, and seem to have hosted active trade in the seventh and eighth centuries, due to the impulse given by the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Kent as early medieval ports of trade (known as *wics* or *emporia* in the literature) and their proximity to the Continental *wics*.⁹¹ The earliest silver pennies, struck in England in the late seventh century, also come from the region of East Kent, during the reign of King Wihtrred of Kent, appearing at around the same time as their Frankish counterparts.⁹² The later development of the more western Cinque Ports indicates the change of orientation in the trade of England

⁸⁹ Peter Brandon and Brian Short, *The South East from AD 1000* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 36.

⁹⁰ Williamson, "Geographical History," 101.

⁹¹ Barbara Yorke, *Kings and Kingdoms of Early Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Routledge, 1990), 40; Gillian Draper, *Rye: A History of a Sussex Cinque Port Town to 1660* (Stroud: Phillimore, 2016), 4.

⁹² Peter Spufford, *Money and its use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 29.

from the North Sea to the coast of Normandy and the towns in the Seine valley, such as Rouen, Bayeux and Fécamp in the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁹³ Before examining to the early history of the Cinque Ports as an organization, very brief sketches of the early histories of the towns that make up the Cinque Ports will be given.

Prior to the Norman Conquest, Sandwich is the best recorded Cinque Port town. Being situated on the mouth of the Wantsum Channel and the River Stour, Sandwich had water connections with London and Canterbury, which was of prime importance in the development of the town.⁹⁴ There were also two land routes dating from Roman times that ran from Canterbury to Richborough, and from Dover to the south bank of the river Stour, which gave Sandwich useful land connections to its environs as well.⁹⁵ The town does not have Roman origins, although, in its vicinity some settlements of Roman origin such as Dover, Canterbury and Richborough continued into the middle ages.⁹⁶ The name *Sandwic* first appears in the *Life of Wilfred of Northumbria*, when Wilfred came back from Francia and landed there.⁹⁷ In the ninth and tenth centuries, Sandwich suffered from the Viking attacks.⁹⁸ By the beginning of the eleventh century, Sandwich became an assembling point for English ships fighting off the Viking attacks.⁹⁹ In the time of Domesday Book, the Archbishop of Canterbury held the town.¹⁰⁰ The town provided

⁹³ Draper, *Rye*, 4-5.

⁹⁴ Helen Clarke, Sarah Pearson, Mavis Mate and Keith Parfitt, *Sandwich: The 'Completest Medieval Town in England': A Study of the Town and Port from its Origins to 1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010), 1, 11.

⁹⁵ Clarke, Pearson, Mate and Parfitt, *Sandwich*, 12-3.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁹⁷ E. W. Parkin, "The Ancient Cinque Port of Sandwich," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 100 (1984): 189.

⁹⁸ *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. and ed. G. N. Garmonsway (London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1990), 64-5, 126. [hereafter *ASC*]

⁹⁹ *ASC*, 138-9.

¹⁰⁰ *Domesday Book*, ed. John Morris (Chichester: Phillimore, 1975), 2d, 3a. [hereafter *DB*]

cloth and forty thousand herrings to the monks and rendered £40 in revenue annually.¹⁰¹ The town also provided the same ship service as Dover, which was twenty ships for a period of fifteen days.¹⁰² In February 1093, William I confirmed the grants made by Cnut and Edward the Confessor to Archbishop Anselm and to Christchurch Canterbury.¹⁰³

In Roman times, Dover had a fort, and in the seventh century there was still a settlement at that site.¹⁰⁴ By the early tenth century, it also hosted a mint.¹⁰⁵ The king's servants were supposed to pay for horse passage, and the people who permanently lived in the town were exempt from toll throughout England.¹⁰⁶ All the above is recorded to have been "there when King William came to England."¹⁰⁷

Hastings is the only Cinque Port town recorded in the *Burghal Hidage*. This document is basically a list, which includes the *burhs* of the Wessex kings in the late ninth early tenth centuries.¹⁰⁸ *Burhs* were fortified settlements, created by King Alfred and his successors against the Viking invaders. Although there are discussions on the extent of the urban character of the places listed in this document, it is still an important document since it provides us with some clues about town development before the numismatic evidence becomes abundant from the late tenth century onwards.¹⁰⁹ Five hundred hides belong to

¹⁰¹ *DB*, 2d, 3a.

¹⁰² *DB*, 1a, 2d, 3a.

¹⁰³ *Cartae Antiquae, Rolls 1-10*, ed. Lionel London (Burlington: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2015), 97-8.

¹⁰⁴ Gillian Draper, "New Life in Towns, c.800-c.1220," in *Early Medieval Kent, 800-1220*, ed. Sheila Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 76.

¹⁰⁵ Draper, "New life in Towns," 76.

¹⁰⁶ *DB*, 1a.

¹⁰⁷ *DB*, 1a.

¹⁰⁸ Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, 31.

¹⁰⁹ David Hill, "The Burghal Hidage: The Establishment of a Text," *Medieval Archaeology* 13, no. 1 (1969): 84. See Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, 30-34 for the discussion on the urban character of burhs.

Hastings in the list.¹¹⁰ A hide was a medieval unit of land and tax assessment, and hides recorded in this list correspond to the area of surrounding countryside from which the manpower necessary to garrison the settlement would be drawn.¹¹¹ This allows us to have an idea of the size of the burh. On average, approximately 925 hides are allocated to each burh. The towns that have more than one thousand hides are located either on the coast or in the midlands, close to the areas controlled by the Vikings, with the exception of Winchester. Hastings seems to have been a modest town, smaller than other burhs located near or on the southern coastline such as Lewes, Burpham and Chichester, all of which have over a thousand hides.¹¹² Hastings does not appear in Domesday Book.

Hythe's origins seems to date to the mid-ninth century, and from the year 1044 we have coins produced in its mint.¹¹³ Hythe is mentioned in Domesday Book, not in its own right but because its burgesses are featured in entries for some manors. Six burgesses of Hythe belonged to the manor of Lyminge, held by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and two hundred and twenty five of them belonged to the manor of Saltwood which was held by Hugh de Montfort of the Archbishop of Canterbury.¹¹⁴

The earliest written evidence for the existence of Romney is a charter of Aethelberht from the year 741.¹¹⁵ By the mid-eight century, Romney was a fishing settlement with an oratory.¹¹⁶ By the eleventh century, it had a mint.¹¹⁷ Romney is recorded in Domesday Book as having eighty-five burgesses who belonged to one of the manors of

¹¹⁰ Hill, "Burghal Hidage," 87.

¹¹¹ Reynolds, *English Medieval Towns*, 31.

¹¹² Hill, "Burghal Hidage," 87.

¹¹³ Draper, "New life in Towns," 85.

¹¹⁴ *DB*, 4a, 4b, 4c.

¹¹⁵ Draper, "New life in Towns," 85.

¹¹⁶ Draper, *Rye*, 12; Draper, "New life in Towns," 85.

¹¹⁷ Draper, *Rye*, 12; Draper, "New life in Towns," 85.

the Archbishop of Canterbury, Aldington.¹¹⁸ Twenty one more belonged to the manor of Langport held by Robert of Romney from the Archbishop, and fifty more burgesses are recorded under the same Robert, this time in the lands of the Bishop Odo of Bayeux.¹¹⁹ Although it is not specified, the burgesses of Romney, at the time of Domesday Book, seem to have done some ship service, since they were exempt from customary dues except for the dues on theft, highway robbery and breach of the peace.¹²⁰

The towns of Rye and Winchelsea were of later origin from around the time of the Conquest. The land on which these two towns are situated were within the boundaries of the manor of *Rameslie* in Domesday Book.¹²¹ The site on which later Rye was found was a barren rock, which might have been a hundredal gathering site in pre-Conquest times.¹²² The site of Winchelsea was, on the other hand, a low lying inlet, surrounded by water in every direction, except the west, where it had a strip of land connecting it to the mainland.¹²³ The grant of the manor of *Rameslie* to the Abbey of Fécamp was planned by Aethelred II but was actualized by a charter of Cnut.¹²⁴ From the witness list of the charter, Vidler was able to deduce that it must have been granted sometime in the years 1023-33.¹²⁵ In Domesday Book, neither Rye nor Winchelsea is mentioned. A New Burgh is mentioned in the same Domesday entry, which led historians to speculate about

¹¹⁸ *DB*, 4a.

¹¹⁹ *DB*, 4c, 10d, 11a.

¹²⁰ *DB*, 4c, 10d, 11a.

¹²¹ *Domesday Book, Sussex*, eds. John Morris and Janet Mothersill (Chichester: Phillimore, 1976), 17a, 17b [hereafter *DB Sussex*]; Leopold Amon Vidler, *A New History of Rye* (Rye: Gouldens, 1971), 2-3; Cooper, *History of Winchelsea*, 2-3.

¹²² Draper, *Rye*, 2-3; Cooper, *History of Winchelsea*, 1.

¹²³ Williamson, "Geographical History", 106; Cooper, *History of Winchelsea*, 1.

¹²⁴ Charles Homer Haskins, "A Charter of Canute for Fécamp," *The English Historical Review* 33, no. 131 (1918): 343.

¹²⁵ Vidler, *History of Rye*, 2.

the town to which it may have been referring.¹²⁶ Burrows and Williamson thought it was the present day Old Hastings which was established as a result of the detrimental natural forces damaging the previous town.¹²⁷ Cooper thought it must have been Winchelsea, and that it could not be Hastings or Rye.¹²⁸ However, based on charter and numismatic evidence, the New Burgh of the Domesday Book is now thought to be Rye, which was established after the Conquest but before the survey of Domesday, hence the name “New Burgh”.¹²⁹ Having considered the individual ports, the early history of the Cinque Ports as an organization will be discussed.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, different ideas were proposed by historians regarding the origins of the Cinque Ports as an organization. These arguments, basically, differ on two grounds: the chronological origin of the organization, and the motivation behind its formation. Montagu Burrows, the first modern historian to write on the subject, argued that the Cinque Ports went back to pre-Conquest times, to the reign of Edward the Confessor who, having abolished the Danegeld and disbanded the fleet, realized the danger the south-eastern coast faced when Earl Godwin made his return and was received well by the people there.¹³⁰ Although Burrows admits that there is no surviving charter granted to the Cinque Ports from Edward the Confessor’s reign, he bases his claim on an *inspeximus* of Edward I, and unconceivably, argues that the *onus probandi* lies on those who argue that such a charter of Edward the Confessor does not exist.¹³¹ The counter argument to this came from J. H. Round. He argued that the

¹²⁶ *DB Sussex*, 17a,b.

¹²⁷ Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, 27-8; Williamson, “Geographical History”, 104.

¹²⁸ Cooper, *History of Winchelsea*, 4.

¹²⁹ Draper, *Rye*, 6-9.

¹³⁰ Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, 56-60.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 55.

birth of the organization is a post-conquest phenomenon, and its inspiration was from the continental *communes* of the Picardy region.¹³²

After J. H. Round, an alternative suggestion for the origins of the Cinque Ports was put forth by F. W. Brooks. He thought the weakness of Burrows' idea was that no such charter dating from Edward the Confessor's time existed, and Round put too much emphasis on the evidence of communal house destruction, which signaled continental influences according to him.¹³³ Brooks based his argument on the evidence of John's charter to the individual port towns, and a fourteenth-century chronicle account by Henry Knighton, who stated that King John was the first to issue charters to the towns of the Cinque Ports.¹³⁴ He also points out that no pre-twelfth century chronicler mentions the Cinque Ports *eo nomine*.¹³⁵ The debate on the historical origins of the Cinque Ports came to an end with Katherine M. E. Murray's magisterial work. Against Round's argument, she pointed out that the penalty of communal house destruction that he thought to be peculiar to the Cinque Ports actually existed in other towns like Preston, Hereford, Bridport, and some other Scottish, and Irish towns.¹³⁶ Moreover, the towns of the Cinque Ports came together to form this organization only for limited purposes, and all individual towns retained their own administrations, and they were not "sworn associations" like the continental examples.¹³⁷ She also pointed out the weaknesses in Brooks' arguments. She argued that the charters granted by John were mere confirmations of those of Henry II, and the Cinque Ports were *eo nomine* in the Pipe

¹³² John Horace Round, "Communal House Destruction," in *Feudal England* (London: 1895), 559-560.

¹³³ F. W. Brooks, "The Cinque Ports," *The Mariner's Mirror* 15, no. 2 (1929): 144-6.

¹³⁴ Brooks, "Cinque Ports," 144-6.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 146-7.

¹³⁶ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 10.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, 10-11.

Rolls of 7 Henry II and 19 Henry II.¹³⁸ Moreover, she asserts that the chronicle written by Henry Knighton could not be a trustworthy source, as it mistakenly depicts the service of the Cinque Ports as eighty ships for forty days, when, in fact, it was fifty seven ships in total for fifteen days.¹³⁹ Murray calls for a different approach to the problem of origin of the Cinque Ports. For her, instead of having a definite origin, the Cinque Ports, much like the emergence of the medieval universities I would say, came into being after a slow developmental process that started in the reign of Edward the Confessor and continued throughout the Middle Ages. The Cinque Port towns did not constitute a firmly defined federation, but rather they were a group of individual towns which worked together occasionally, for specific purposes.¹⁴⁰

Before concluding this chapter, two important institutions of the Cinque Ports must be explained. The first one is the office of Lord Warden. The Lord Warden was to the Cinque Ports what the sheriffs are to the counties, with some peculiarities. The Lord Warden did not answer at the Exchequer for the whole organization, and upon appointment he had to take an oath to defend the liberties of the organization.¹⁴¹ In the thirteenth century, the office came into being. While more local officers were appointed over the Cinque Ports in the King John's reign, more and more in Henry III's reign, centrally appointed figures presided over the whole Ports as the Lord Warden.¹⁴² The most important officers in this respect were William de Wrotham and Reginald de Cornhill in King John's reign. William de Wrotham was the Archdeacon of Taunton, and, according to Brooks, a clerk in the wardrobe, while Reginald de Cornhill was a

¹³⁸ Ibid., 11-13.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 12.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 26-27.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 77-82.

¹⁴² Ibid., 77.

member of the famous Londoner family of Cornhill, and sheriff of Kent.¹⁴³ In Henry III's reign, many different officers served as the Lord Warden.

The Court of Shepway is the second institution that marks the Cinque Ports as a distinct organization. This was basically a king's court that the men of Cinque Ports had the privilege to be tried, first evidence of which dates back to mid-twelfth century.¹⁴⁴ In 1260, the Cinque Ports received total exception from the summons of the itinerant justices.¹⁴⁵ Although, it was a privilege for the Portsmen, the Court of Shepway also became a tool for the royal government to manage and control the Cinque Ports.¹⁴⁶

In conclusion, the Cinque Ports were a group of south-eastern port towns, originally Dover, Hastings, Hythe, Romney and Sandwich, which rendered ship service to the king, and in return, received several privileges. The towns of Rye and Winchelsea were added to the organization to alleviate the burden of ship service on Hastings. The area on which the port towns were established was characterized by waterways which were formed following the Last Ice Age. The impetus given by the Kingdom of Kent started off the development of the easternmost towns that eventually constituted the organization. In the following centuries, Viking attacks transformed the region. Around the eleventh century, there was a reorientation from the North Sea region to the Seine valley towns, which was completed by the Norman Conquest.¹⁴⁷ By this time, the towns that made up the Cinque Ports, like most towns in Kent, had already displayed urban

¹⁴³ F. W. Brooks, "William de Wrotham and the Office of Keeper of the King's Ports and Galleys," *The English Historical Review* 40, no. 160 (1925): 570-9.

¹⁴⁴ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 60-1.

¹⁴⁵ Giraud, "Notes on an Early Cinque Ports Charter," 38.

¹⁴⁶ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 60

¹⁴⁷ Ian Friel, *Maritime History of Britain and Ireland, c. 400-2001* (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 49.

characteristics exemplified by the existence of defence works, mints, and markets.¹⁴⁸ In the period before the Norman Conquest, all five Head Ports had mints.¹⁴⁹ Following the Norman Conquest, William the Conqueror entrusted the region to his closest followers, such as Odo of Bayeux, Robert, count of Mortain, and Robert, count of Eu.¹⁵⁰ In the twelfth century, Henry II granted the towns of the Cinque Ports charters which secured their places as port towns assisting the crown.¹⁵¹ Different ideas have been put forward regarding the Cinque Ports as an organization. Murray's work clearly shows that looking for a single point of emergence for the organization is futile, and instead, what must be done is to view the development of the Cinque Ports as an organization as a process that spanned three centuries, from the eleventh to the thirteenth.¹⁵² Thus, on the eve of the thirteenth century, the Cinque Ports were ready to play their part in the maritime affairs of England, in terms of both social and economic development and institutional basis.

¹⁴⁸ Sheila Sweetinburgh, "Introduction," in *Early Medieval Kent, 800-1220*, ed. Sheila Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 11.

¹⁴⁹ Brandon and Short, *South East from AD 1000*, 22.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

¹⁵¹ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 12-3.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 26-7.

CHAPTER III

THE CINQUE PORTS DURING THE REIGN OF KING JOHN AND THE CIVIL WAR

King John ascended the throne in 1199, following the death of his brother Richard I during the siege of the castle of Chalus. King John's reign was characterized by the loss of Normandy in 1204 and most of Anjou, the ancestral lands of the dynasty. His financial extortions, generated by the need to fund his continental campaigns to recover his lost dominions, in the end led to the crisis that gave birth to Magna Carta and the civil war. The loss of Normandy resulted in a qualitative change in the position of the Cinque Ports within the politics of the kingdom. This change was twofold: Firstly, there was a general change in the naval situation of England, affecting not only the Cinque Ports but every port in southern England. As King John had to have a fleet to launch a

campaign on the Continent, his dependency on the ports of England increased.¹⁵³ What he had to do in an expedition was either to go to Poitou and organize an attack from the south on Anjou, or land in Normandy which would be resisted by the forces of Philip Augustus there.¹⁵⁴ In addition, the lack of Norman forces in the army meant that more forces from England had to be carried to the Continent, and hence, the increase in the naval workload.¹⁵⁵ The second change was specific to the Cinque Ports due to their strategic position on the English Channel across which the hostile territory of the Capetian kings could muster an invading force at any time.¹⁵⁶ In fact, this threat almost materialized in 1213, and was actualized by the invasion of Louis, the son of Philip Augustus, the future Louis VIII, in 1216, and the threat of invasion had important repercussions both before and after these dates in English politics and the history of the Cinque Ports. Moreover, the lands across the Channel, facing the Cinque Ports were also victims of Philip Augustus' expansionary policies with the County of Boulogne having been incorporated into Capetian domains in 1212, and the County of Flanders having been significantly pressured.¹⁵⁷

For the early years of King John, narrative sources do not offer much on the Cinque Ports, and thus we must rely more on the governmental records for this period. Later in John's reign, the Cinque Ports and their activities appear in the narrative sources more often, and this diversification of sources facilitates a fuller image of the period.

¹⁵³ F. W. Brooks, *The English Naval Forces, 1199-1272* (London: A. Brown and Sons, 1935), 138, 167-8.

¹⁵⁴ Brooks, *English Naval Forces*, 167-8.

¹⁵⁵ F. W. Brooks, "The Cinque Ports," *Mariner's Mirror* 15, no. 2 (1929): 151-2.

¹⁵⁶ Brooks, "The Cinque Ports," 151; Murray, *Constitutional History*, 34-5; Page and Salzman, "The Cinque Ports," 37.

¹⁵⁷ John W. Baldwin, *The Government of Philip Augustus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 196-210.

The letters sent by King John in his early reign to the Cinque Ports are illuminating in showing their duties and privileges at work. These letters demonstrate that the usefulness of the Cinque Ports was much more than their charters would suggest.¹⁵⁸ King John's first letter to the Cinque Ports dates to 24 April 1202, and in it he orders the Cinque Ports to have their service to him ready to be performed as Hubert de Burgh will explain to them.¹⁵⁹ This letter is like a precursor of what will come next, as we will see King John corresponding with the Cinque Ports more and more as his reign progresses concerning his need of their service. On July 21 of the same year, we have a more specific order to the Cinque Ports: they are commanded to attack the French fleet carrying provisions to the French army at Arques.¹⁶⁰ There was a strong castle at Arques that protected the Norman port town of Dieppe.¹⁶¹ This is an example of an order to damage enemy ships with or without specification, cases of which are plentiful when the kings of England and France were at war with each other and the king of England wanted to cause damage to French shipping in the Channel.

Sometime between June 30 and July 20 1203 John gave a group of men safe passage in all ports of England as they went into the king's service with their ships to Rouen, a town not on the sea coast but rather built on the navigable River Seine.¹⁶² Among them were men of Sandwich, Dover, and Hythe. This letter, along with another order to the men of Dover to carry 15 horses and bring them back, is an example of the transport

¹⁵⁸ Rose, "Value of Cinque Ports," 46-7.

¹⁵⁹ *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (Burlington: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2009), 9b. [hereafter *Rot. Litt. Pat.*]

¹⁶⁰ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 15.

¹⁶¹ Frederick Maurice Powicke, *The Loss of Normandy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1913), 222.

¹⁶² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 32.

service that the men of the Cinque Ports provided to the crown.¹⁶³ On the dorse of membrane 10 of the close roll for the year 1205, there exists a list of towns and numbers of galleys opposite them.¹⁶⁴ The list just gives the name of the towns and the number of galleys which are grouped under four officials of the king, namely Reginald de Cornhill, William de Wrotham, William de Marisco and John de la Warre. In the list, Sandwich has three galleys and is grouped under Reginald de Cornhill, Romney, Rye and Winchelsea have four, two and two galleys respectively, grouped under William de Wrotham. This list has created much discussion among English and French naval historians, the details of which will be omitted here.¹⁶⁵ What is important for current purposes is that it shows another aspect of the use of the Cinque Ports as harboring the king's galleys. It seems that two different words are used to distinguish the types of ships in the sources. The Latin word *navis* refers to the sailing ships which were used by fishermen and merchants alike, and which the Cinque Ports supplied when called upon.¹⁶⁶ *Galea*, on the other hand, refers to a type of ship originally propelled by oars though incorporating sails as well by the thirteenth century, which the kings built and used at their own expense. The number of the king's own galleys increased throughout the thirteenth century, and with it increased the king's need for suitable infrastructure to contain them. This was another use of some of the towns of Cinque Ports. The Cinque Ports were also a source of human capital for the crown as they provided seamen of all types to the crown. A letter sent from St. Albans on January 30, 1204 by King John asks for twelve men from the Cinque Ports to do service as the Archbishop of Canterbury,

¹⁶³ *Rotuli Litterarum Clausurum 1204 - 1224*, ed. Thomas Duffus Hardy (Burlington: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2009), 14b. [hereafter *Rot. Litt. Claus.1204 – 1224*].

¹⁶⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus.1204 - 1224*, 33.

¹⁶⁵ Brooks, *English Naval Forces*, 138-140.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 11-13.

Hubert Walter, and Reginald de Cornhill will explain to them.¹⁶⁷ Lastly, a letter from 22 May 1205 exemplifies another recurring theme in the history of the Ports in that attests to their unruly and violent side. In this letter, King John ordered William de Wrotham and Geoffrey de Lucy to release two ships of a certain Reginald Scott, which had been seized at Sandwich.¹⁶⁸ The Cinque Ports were notorious for their indiscriminate and relentless piracy. The piracy of the Cinque Ports was something which was a nuisance for the kings in times of peace, but was encouraged in times of war, and the king took one fifth of the spoils of the piratical activities.¹⁶⁹

To get a glimpse of the economic conditions of the towns of the Cinque Ports in the first years of John's reign, the general customs tax known as the Assize of Winchester can be used. This was a tax levied on all England in the form of a fifteenth on all goods imported and exported.¹⁷⁰ There does not seem to be agreement on its dating among historians, and here I follow the dating proposed by T. H. Lloyd as between 1204 and 1206.¹⁷¹ Its order is recorded on a patent roll and its account was recorded in a pipe roll of 6 John. The returns of the tax were printed in Norman Scott Brien Gras' *The Early English Customs System*.¹⁷² From this account, the relative intensity of the trade activities of the individual ports can be assessed. Thirty-five towns are included in the account. The Head Ports of the Cinque Ports, Dover and Sandwich, and in addition to

¹⁶⁷ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 38b.

¹⁶⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204 – 1224*, 33b.

¹⁶⁹ Brooks, "Cinque Ports," 183.

¹⁷⁰ H. S. Cobb, "The Medieval Royal Customs and their Records," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 6, no. 4 (1979): 227; Norman Scott Brien Gras, "The Origin of the Customs-Revenue of England," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 27, no. 1, (1912): 143; Norman Scott Brien Gras, *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1918), 48.

¹⁷¹ Terrence Henry Lloyd, *The English Wool Trade in the Middle Ages* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 9-12.

¹⁷² Cobb, "Medieval Royal Customs," 227n; Gras, *Early English Customs*, 221-222; Gras, "Origin of the Customs-Revenue," 143;

them the “two ancient towns” of Rye and Winchelsea, and two members, Pevensey and Seaford, are listed in the account.¹⁷³ From these, the highest account belongs to Winchelsea with £62 2s 4d. Dover rendered an account of £32 6s 1d, Sandwich of £16, Seaford of £12 12s 2d, Rye of £10 13s 5½d, and Pevensey of £1 1s 11d. In total they make up £133 34s 23½d which is 2.71 percent of the total £4958 7s 3½d. Compared to London, Southampton, and some other towns on the east coast of England, like Boston, King’s Lynn and Lincoln, the Cinque Ports are dwarfed to a considerable extent. This is one of the indications that their relevance to the crown was not due to their economic importance but rather was due to other factors. This tax was not continued after 1206. Lloyd points out the reluctance of the merchants to pay this as is shown by the London merchants’ 200 marks offer to be quit of it.¹⁷⁴ Another reason may be the terms of the truce made between King John and Philip Augustus which stated that “*sine licentiam Regis Franciae vel nostram.....mercatores ibunt et redibunt per legitimas consuetudines antiquas.*”¹⁷⁵ John’s fifteenth was very experimental, and was anything but customary.¹⁷⁶ It may be the case that the terms of this truce brought an end to an already unpopular tax.

Before moving on to the later years of John’s reign, one type of letter sent by King John to some of the Cinque Ports towns throughout his reign must be described. These are letters in which John demands that the men of Dover, and sometimes those of Sandwich, find a ship for his messengers who are about to cross the channel to the Continent, mostly to Flanders. Flanders had been an ally of England since the Norman Conquest,

¹⁷³ Gras, *Early English Customs*, 222.

¹⁷⁴ Lloyd, *English Wool Trade*, 11.

¹⁷⁵ *Fædera*, 95.

¹⁷⁶ Gras, “Origin of the Customs-Revenue,” 143.

though the relations were precarious and far from perfect.¹⁷⁷ At the heart of the relations stood the demand for English wool by Flanders for its burgeoning textile industry. By the beginning of the thirteenth century, Flanders became highly reliant on England for its wool and food exports.¹⁷⁸ Between the years 1205 and 1215 John wrote to the men of Dover and Sandwich twenty-one times, asking them to find a ship to carry some people, the price of which would be accounted to the men at the Exchequer.¹⁷⁹ Of these letters, only one, which is dated 12 March 1205, is addressed to Sandwich, and another one, which is not dated but issued by Peter des Roches as the justiciar, when John was on his 1214 campaign on the Continent, was addressed to Dover and Sandwich together.¹⁸⁰ The rest are sent to the men of Dover. This shows that King John did not use his own ships to send messengers abroad but asked the men of these two Ports to do it at his own expense. This also shows the prominence of Dover among the other Cinque Ports towns.

Another factor that increased the importance of Dover within the Cinque Ports was the existence of the important castle there. There was already a highly defensible earthwork at the time of the Norman Conquest, and William the Conqueror strengthened it.¹⁸¹ Later kings also acknowledged its critical value, which is shown by Henry II spending over £6400 to build a square stone keep, and Richard I heavily reconstructing it, which is estimated to have cost £7000.¹⁸² As his father and brother did, John also took an interest

¹⁷⁷ David Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (New York: Longman, 1992), 56-76.

¹⁷⁸ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 97.

¹⁷⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204 – 1224*, 22, 22b, 28, 79b, 101, 102b, 108, 108b, 154bis, 174, 175, 177, 181b, 187b, 189, 197, 199, 205b, 227, 235-6.

¹⁸⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204 – 1224*, 22b, 205b.

¹⁸¹ Howard Montagu Colvin, "The Norman Kings 1066-1154," in *The History of the King's Works, vol. I*, ed. Howard Montagu Colvin (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), 20.

¹⁸² Howard Montagu Colvin and R. Allen Brown, "The Angevin Kings 1154-1216," in *The History of the King's Works, vol. I*, ed. Howard Montagu Colvin (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1963), 73-5; R. Allen Brown, "Royal Castle Building in England 1154-1216," *The English Historical Review* 70, no. 206 (1955): 355-7.

in Dover Castle and throughout his reign sent orders and payments for its manning, provisioning, or arming. The arrangements King John made intensified especially after 1212 when the overseas threat from Philip Augustus increased.¹⁸³ As later events will show, Dover Castle was crucial to the defence of England, and as Matthew Paris put the words in the mouth of Hubert de Burgh, it was the “key of England.”¹⁸⁴

The Cinque Ports were summoned to Portsmouth by John for general service in 1206 and 1208.¹⁸⁵ The 1206 campaign was one of the two which John managed to conduct in Poitou after the loss of Normandy, the other being the one in 1214.¹⁸⁶ The summons of 1206 is dated to 12 May, and addressed to five Head Ports.¹⁸⁷ John expected the Head Ports to provide their service as William de Wrotham explained to them, and be at Portsmouth on the eve of Whitsunday (21 May).

In 1208, King John wanted to launch another campaign in Poitou, but was unable to do so because of baronial reluctance to participate in it. King John summoned ships from all ports of England for this campaign.¹⁸⁸ The ships of the Cinque Ports were also called for, this time at John’s own expense, to come to Portsmouth by a letter sent on 17 March 1208.¹⁸⁹ Several peculiarities of this letter must be mentioned. This is the first letter in which John addressed the barons of the Cinque Ports collectively. Previously, for example the 1206 letters were addressed to officials, whether it is barons, bailiffs, or custodians of the ports, of the individual ports separately. In addition, this time John

¹⁸³ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204 – 1224*, 24b, 119b, 120b, 125b, 133b, 141, 152b, 157, 204, 209b.

¹⁸⁴ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 3:28.

¹⁸⁵ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 64b, 80.

¹⁸⁶ Michael T. Clanchy, *England and its Rulers, 1066-1272* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 134.

¹⁸⁷ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 64b.

¹⁸⁸ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 80.

¹⁸⁹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 80.

threatened to seize the ships that did not come to Portsmouth, and stated that unless those who did not come showed a reasonable cause, the lives and chattels of the owners of the ships that did not come would be at his mercy. Following this letter, John sent another one, this time addressed to the barons of Sandwich, Dover, Hythe, Romney, Winchelsea, Rye, Hastings, and Pevensey, to find and select fine and able sailors so that his own galleys would be armed and equipped with them, and be ready to sail.¹⁹⁰

The year 1208 is also the first time that the narrative sources mention the Cinque Ports *eo nomine* in John's reign. While describing the oppressive practices of John's reign, Gervase of Canterbury narrates the suffering endured by the Cinque Ports in this year.¹⁹¹ According to him, King John crushed the men of the Cinque Ports, who defend coasts of the sea from the attack of the enemy, by hanging certain of them, and killing some by sword, and imprisoning many. At the end, they were able to win his favour by giving some hostages and offering money. Burrows mentions a short-lived revolt of the Cinque Ports in 1208. However, as usual, he does not give any reference for his point.¹⁹² However, John's harsh treatment of them may suggest an action by the Cinque Ports which was perceived as defiance by King John.

A year later, we see the men of the Cinque Ports at odds with King John again, this time threatening to leave the kingdom, which would deprive him of their services.¹⁹³

Apparently, this was a bargaining method the Cinque Ports used several times in their

¹⁹⁰ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 80.

¹⁹¹ *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 2:101-102.

¹⁹² Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, 112.

¹⁹³ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:31.

history.¹⁹⁴ Later they recovered the king's favour but the *Annals of Dunstable* do not specify how they did it.¹⁹⁵

There is no further information in the sources on these quarrels between the Cinque Ports and King John. However, these can be contextualized by looking at other signs of discontent in the reign of King John in these years. In 1207, King John levied a general tax on moveable goods in England, which was recorded by the narrative sources of the period and condemned by some of them as being burdensome.¹⁹⁶ This was definitely an extraordinary form of taxation, though not unprecedented as similar taxes based on personal property were taken to help the fight in the Holy Land in 1166 and 1188, outside the usual forms of payments such as county farms, borough farms, amercements, fines, or income from feudal incidents, and set a precedent for more arbitrary practices of taxation that came later.¹⁹⁷ King John asked this in the form of a feudal aid, and although it was not consented to in a council in January 1207, he finally got it in February of the same year.¹⁹⁸ By this tax, John managed to raise a staggering amount of £60000.¹⁹⁹ How exceptional this amount was can be seen when it is compared with the mere £4000, which was generated by the scutage of 1206.²⁰⁰

King John's quarrel with one of his barons, William de Braose had also started in the year 1208. Starting his career under Richard I, William de Braose had received much favour from King John, especially due to his role in supporting King John against the

¹⁹⁴ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 34.

¹⁹⁵ *Ann. Mon.*, 3 :31.

¹⁹⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:29; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:52, 396; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:198; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 2:101; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:133.

¹⁹⁷ Sydney Knox Mitchell, *Studies in taxation under John and Henry III* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1914), 1-2, 5-6, 85.

¹⁹⁸ Mitchell, *Studies in taxation*, 86-7.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 91.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 91.

king's nephew Arthur of Brittany, with whom King John had a succession dispute.²⁰¹ According to a letter written by King John upon his successful attack on Mirebeau, it was William de Braose who captured King John's nephew Arthur of Brittany and delivered to him.²⁰² Especially in King John's early career, William de Braose was one of his closest associates, acting as a "personal agent" for King John.²⁰³ William de Braose was made the lord of Bramber in Sussex, and in exchange for a payment of £3333 which which was to be paid in installments of £666, he was granted the county of Limerick in Ireland.²⁰⁴ However, because he fell behind in his payments, his chattels in Wales were seized by King John.²⁰⁵ The events led to a bitter conflict in which William de Braose found himself forced to flee to Ireland.²⁰⁶ Although most barons disliked de Braose for his ambition, and acquisition of royal favour in such a short time, King John's treatment of him created much fear and distrust among the barons against King John.²⁰⁷ Moreover, de Braose's case was not an isolated one in John's reign. In fact, from 1199 to 1208, baronial indebtedness increased 380 percent.²⁰⁸

Lastly, in the year 1208, King John had his famous quarrel with the papacy over the election of Stephen Langton to the archbishopric of Canterbury, as a result of which England was put under an Interdict by Pope Innocent III.²⁰⁹ In addition to the interdict, the papacy threatened King John with excommunication (which would be actualized the

²⁰¹ Ralph V. Turner, "Briouze [Braose], William de," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified September 28, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3283>.

²⁰² Wilfrid Lewis Warren, *King John* (London: Methuen, 1991), 79.

²⁰³ Warren, *King John*, 107.

²⁰⁴ David Carpenter, *The Struggle for Mastery: Britain, 1066-1284* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003), 279.

²⁰⁵ Carpenter, *Struggle of Mastery*, 279.

²⁰⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 2:261-2.

²⁰⁷ Ralph V. Turner, "Briouze [Braose], William de,"; Warren, *King John*, 108.

²⁰⁸ Carpenter, *Struggle of Mastery*, 272.

²⁰⁹ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:29, 58, 209; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:80; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:30, 451; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:52-3, 396; *Mem. Walt. Cov.* 2:199; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 2:101.

next year). To ensure the loyalty of his subjects, in the case of excommunication, King John took hostages from his barons.²¹⁰ These events signal the increasing arbitrariness of John's rule in the years 1208-9. Although, King John was still in control, in some ways the troubles of 1208-9 were, thematically, a precursor of the events of 1214-5, as a result of which Magna Carta and the Civil war occurred.

The described events above led to what is known as the Oath of Marlborough in the literature. John summoned his subjects to Marlborough and wanted them to do homage to himself and his baby son Henry, who must have been around 2 years old then since he was born on 1 October 1207.²¹¹ The exact date of the event is not given but based on the entries on the Misae rolls, J. R. Maddicott places it between 26-30 September 1209.²¹² Although, oath taking was not something new in John's reign, the Oath of Marlborough was characterized by John's realization of the unpopularity of his rule, and his desire to secure the loyalties of his "non-noble subjects" before his possible excommunication.²¹³ Although we do not have further information on the Cinque Ports' disagreements with King John in 1208 and 1209, the above outlined context puts them among a general wave of discontent throughout the kingdom in those years.

Unfortunately, neither the governmental records nor the narrative accounts tell us anything about the Cinque Ports for the period 1209-1211. For the year 1212, in a passage in the *Annals of Dunstable*, the writer of the annals asserts that, in the year 1212, the king of France captured many ships of England, which landed on his land, and in

²¹⁰ *Flores Historiarum*, 2:136.

²¹¹ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:29, 58, 209; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:80, 259; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:29, 451; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:54; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:199; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 2:101-4; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:135.

²¹² John Robert Maddicott, "The Oath of Marlborough, 1209: Fear, Government and Popular Allegiance in the reign of King John," *The English Historical Review* 126, no. 519 (2011): 287.

²¹³ Maddicott, "Oath of Marlborough," 314-5.

retaliation, many ships were captured for King John by the Cinque Ports.²¹⁴ In addition, the famous pirate, Eustace the Monk, fled from the kingdom of England with five galleys to the king of France, because, apparently, he had an issue with the Count of Boulogne, and wanted to make himself scarce before the count came to England.²¹⁵ According to a romance biography of Eustace the Monk, his contention with Count Renaud of Boulogne was due to his inability to get justice in his court about the murder of his father.²¹⁶ As will be seen later on, he was the leader of the fleet which was carrying reinforcements for Philip Augustus' son, Louis, in 1217. Later in 1212, in a letter sent to Matthew fitz Herbert, King John ordered the seizure of all ships in the ports, a method known as impressment, to be ready to go to his service.²¹⁷ The letter is sent in the same way to the bailiffs of Dover and the Cinque Ports as well.²¹⁸

With the year 1213 came the period in which the weight of the role played by Cinque Ports increased until the end of the civil war in 1217. In a letter sent to Geoffrey fitz Peter and the bailiffs of all ports, dated 25 March 1213, King John summoned the ships which could carry six or more horses from every port to Portsmouth.²¹⁹ Sources do not indicate if King John was preparing yet another campaign to Poitou, but this letter ordering the ships which could carry horses suggests that he was. However, his preparations were cut short by the threat of invasion by the king of France Philip Augustus. In April and May of 1213, a French invasion was being prepared and was backed by the Papacy, since England was still under the Interdict, and the invasion of

²¹⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:34.

²¹⁵ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:34.

²¹⁶ Henry Lewis Cannon, "The Battle of Sandwich and Eustace the Monk," *The English Historical Review* 27, no. 108, (1912): 652.

²¹⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 127b.

²¹⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 127b.

²¹⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 133.

Philip Augustus would “liberate” England and the English church.²²⁰ Hearing this, John immediately collected an army, made the ships assemble at southern ports, and caused his galleys to be manned on the south-eastern coast of England to intercept Philip Augustus in case of an invasion.²²¹ While the preparations for the defence of the kingdom were going on, we are told only by the *Annals of Dunstable*, that, a small fleet was sent by King John to the mouth of Seine, which captured many ships there.²²² This fleet later landed near Fècamp, and from there sailed to the port town of Dieppe, and burnt the town and took captives, none of which made it to England.²²³ Upon returning to England, they victoriously landed at Winchelsea.²²⁴ Although the composition of the fleet was not specified, considering the proximity of the Cinque Ports, and the landing of the fleet at Winchelsea upon return, most probably ships from the Cinque Ports took part in this expedition.

King John waited for six months for Philip’s invasion on the coast.²²⁵ To the question of where he mustered his army, every narrative account gives a different answer.

According to the *Annals of Winchester* he was at Rye with his army. However, the itinerary of King John does not show that he was ever at Rye between April and July 1213.²²⁶ The *Annals of Waverley* do not specify where John and his army were, but just say he was on the coasts of the Cinque Ports on 1 May.²²⁷ 1 May 1213 is a day on which we do not know where King John was. According to his itinerary, in the last days of

²²⁰ *The History of William Marshal*, trans. Nigel Bryant (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2018), 178n, 178-9; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:209.

²²¹ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:209; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:144.

²²² *Ann. Mon.*, 3:35.

²²³ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:35.

²²⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:35.

²²⁵ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:209.

²²⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 2:82; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, a-j.

²²⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, 2:274.

April he was at Winchelsea, and in the first week of May, he was at Rochester and Canterbury.²²⁸ The *Annals of Dunstable* claims he was in Canterbury with his army while the Barnwell chronicler states that he was in Dover.²²⁹ The anonymous writer who wrote the Continuation to Gervase of Canterbury's *Gesta Regum* gives the place name *Berhamdown* which according to the description of a seventeenth century topographer must be the modern day Barham, which is approximately half way between Dover and Canterbury.²³⁰ David Crouch, however, proposed current day Brabourne which is about 10 miles south-west of Barham.²³¹ Wherever John had mustered his army, his itinerary shows that John was traveling very frequently in April and May 1213, during which period the towns of the Cinque Ports must have become important centres of organization.²³²

As John was waiting to repel the invasion of Philip Augustus, there occurred another event of importance in which the Cinque Ports played an important part occurred. While he was at the coast, Philip Augustus launched a campaign into Flanders.²³³ While he was fighting on land, his fleet was at the port of Damme, which was, in the thirteenth century, the port for Bruges. Baldwin IX, the count of Flanders, was one of the participants of the fourth crusade, and was crowned as emperor in Constantinople.²³⁴ He was killed while fighting the Bulgarians at Adrianople in 1205.²³⁵ Following this, his brother, Philippe of Namur, did homage for Flanders to Philip Augustus, and when the

²²⁸ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, a-j.

²²⁹ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:35; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:209.

²³⁰ Richard Kilburne, *A Topographie or Survey of County of Kent* (London: 1659), 22.

²³¹ *The History of William Marshal*, 180n.

²³² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, a-j.

²³³ *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 107.

²³⁴ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 76.

²³⁵ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 76; Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 202-3.

son of King Sancho of Portugal, Ferrand, married Baldwin's daughter, Jeanne of Flanders, in January 1212, with the initiative of Philip Augustus, Flanders acquired a new count.²³⁶ During this process, Philip Augustus took the towns of Aire and Saint Omer, and did not return them when Ferrand became count.²³⁷ The dissatisfaction of Ferrand with Philip Augustus's treatment of him caused him to refrain from supporting Philip on his possible invasion of England, and he decided to side with King John against Philip Augustus.²³⁸ On 28 May 1213, King John headed to Dover, which can be confirmed from his itinerary.²³⁹ On 30 May 1213, a fleet from England, led by William, earl of Salisbury, John's illegitimate brother, and Renaud de Dammartin, the count of Boulogne, managed to inflict heavy damage on the French fleet waiting at Damme.²⁴⁰ Some sources mention numbers regarding the ships involved in the battle but medieval chroniclers are notorious for their neglect of numerical accuracy in their narrative of events. However, we can be fairly certain that this was a heavy blow to the French fleet since Philip Augustus cancelled his plan and retreated, and according to some sources, in a fit of rage, he burnt what ships were left after the attack.²⁴¹ The men of the Cinque Ports had played an important part in averting a foreign invasion, which would happen again 1217.

Meanwhile, on 15 May 1213, King John made peace with the Papacy, and ended the conflict which had started with the appointment of Stephen Langton as Archbishop of

²³⁶ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 152; Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 203.

²³⁷ Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 207-11.

²³⁸ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 152-3; Baldwin, *Government of Philip Augustus*, 207-11.

²³⁹ *The History of William Marshal*, 180n; *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, a-j.

²⁴⁰ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:211; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 107; *The History of William Marshal*, 180; *Ann. Mon.* 3:35-6.

²⁴¹ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:211; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 107-8; *The History of William Marshal*, 180.

Canterbury.²⁴² The support of the papacy to the crown in the conflict following Magna Carta was an important element of the civil war of 1215-17, and thus, the peace must be mentioned here.

Following the victory at Damme, John sent a letter to the bailiffs of Yarmouth on 26 July ordering the release of a Romney man named Reginald Dranek from the prison at Yarmouth.²⁴³ In this letter, we see the names of men from the Cinque Ports, which usually do not occur in the sources. Walter Scott, Alexander of Rye, Lucas de Hastings, Monekinus of Dover, Adam Herbert of Romney, John, son of Alexander of Rye, Joscelin of Biha, Philibertus of Bristol, Jacobus de Cornhea, Benedictus Brunus, John of Hastings, Hugh of Hastings, William de Wyk, Robert of Iham, Alectus, son of Almar, and Alexander son of Robert stood bail for the release of the aforesaid Reginald Dranek. The same day John wrote another letter, this time to the constable of Portchester Castle, again ordering the release of the “faithful men of Dover” who are, namely, William son of John, Wilkelin of London, Ernaldus Carnifex, Hamo of Dover, and Godwin of Dover, kept in the prison of the king at that castle.²⁴⁴ For these men as well, the aforesaid Alexander of Rye and his associates stood bail. King John, either as a reward for the services of the Portsmen in the battle of Damme, or as a way to ensure the loyalty of the ports, must have ordered the release of these men. The feud between Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports went on for quite a while, and was an important catalyst in the formation of

²⁴² *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:210; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 108; *Flores Historiarum*, 145.

²⁴³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 102.

²⁴⁴ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 102.

the Cinque Ports as a confederation, and Portchester Castle was near Portsmouth, which was a town with which Cinque Ports also had a rivalry.²⁴⁵

On 21 August 1213, King John sent a letter to “all sailors and masters of ships of the Cinque Ports,” ordering every ship and man to be ready to go into his service on the day of the Purification of the Blessed Mary in the fifteenth year of his reign (2 February 1214), as Walter Scott would explain on his behalf.²⁴⁶ Before his departure to Poitou in February, John made a few arrangements regarding the Cinque Ports. He granted the custody of the ports of Sandwich, Hythe and Romney to Stephen Langton.²⁴⁷ The rights of the Archbishop of Canterbury over these ports went back to William I’s time when he granted them to Christchurch Canterbury.²⁴⁸ John also hinted at this in his letter by specifying the rights as just as the predecessor of Stephen Langton held it. He ordered the payments of the garrisons in the castles of Dover and Hastings, entrusted them to William de Warenne, and also ordered money to be paid from the treasury for the works on Dover Castle.²⁴⁹ Towards the end of the year 1213, John summoned the Cinque Ports’ service at his expense this time for 1 January 1214.²⁵⁰ Before leaving for the Continent, John took the castle of Hastings from William de Warenne, and appointed the barons of the Cinque Ports, named Walter Scott, Alexander de Norwich, and William Farleg as custodians of the castle.²⁵¹ However, there must have been a problem with the

²⁴⁵ F. W. Brooks, “The Cinque Ports’ Feud with Yarmouth in the Thirteenth Century,” *The Mariner’s Mirror* 19 (1939), 27-8.

²⁴⁶ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 103b.

²⁴⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 152b.

²⁴⁸ *Cartae Antiquae, Rolls 1-10*, 97-8.

²⁴⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 141, 152b, 153.

²⁵⁰ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 106b.

²⁵¹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 106-7.

execution of this order as King John had to send the same order four times between 23 December 1213 and 17 January 1214.²⁵²

King John went to Poitou for his campaign in February 1214 and stayed there until September.²⁵³ The plan was that he would launch his attack on Anjou while his allies Otto of Brunswick, Ferrand, Count of Flanders, and Renaud, Count of Boulogne, together with his half-brother William, earl of Salisbury, attacked from Flanders, forcing Philip Augustus to divide his forces.²⁵⁴ The campaign seems to have started successfully as King John was received well by the magnates in Poitou, regained some lands, and even captured Robert de Dreux, brother of Peter, count of Brittany.²⁵⁵ Philip Augustus went to face John's allies in Flanders, while he sent his son Louis to confront John in the South.²⁵⁶ Philip Augustus managed to defeat John's allies at the Battle of Bouvines.²⁵⁷ One of the many important consequences of the Battle of Bouvines was that Philip Augustus took Ferrand, count of Flanders, captive and did not release him until 1226.²⁵⁸ Trying to secure the release of her husband, Jeanne had to be pro-French after this which meant that England lost an important ally during Louis' invasion in 1216-17.²⁵⁹ Following this, John retreated to England after the feast of St. Michael (29 September).²⁶⁰ While John was on the Continent, Peter des Roches, the bishop of

²⁵² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 106b, 106-7, 108, 108b.

²⁵³ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:215.

²⁵⁴ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:215; *The History of William Marshal*, 181; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:280.

²⁵⁵ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:215; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:82; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:41.

²⁵⁶ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:215-6.

²⁵⁷ *Ann. Mon.* 1:224; *Ann. Mon.* 2:281; *Ann. Mon.* 3:41, *The History of William Marshal*, 181, *Flores Historiarum*, 2:151-2.

²⁵⁸ Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders*, 153.

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 153-5.

²⁶⁰ *Ann. Mon.* 2:280. *Flores Historiarum* gives a later date for John's return, after the feast of St. Simon and Jude, which is on 17 October. *Flores Historiarum*, ii, 148. King John's itinerary shows that he was at La Rochelle on October 2nd, and he was already back at Dartmouth by the October 15th. *Rot. Litt. Pat.* a-j.

Winchester, was made the justiciar of England. During his justiciarship, nothing of much importance happened concerning the Cinque Ports. On several occasions, Peter des Roches made orders regarding the provisioning of Dover castle, ordering the transportation of such commodities as timber and salt.²⁶¹

John's failure in 1214 marked the beginning of the period in which Magna Carta was issued, and following that, the civil war ensued. Already in 1214, some Northern barons had refused to join the campaign and to pay the scutage.²⁶² In 1215, the disagreement grew bigger, and at the end of March 1215, the rebels, armed, marched to Northampton, and in the middle of May captured London.²⁶³ The negotiations of the following months led to the formulation of Magna Carta, which was sealed on June 15.²⁶⁴ The mutual distrust of the parties paved the way to the civil war in the following months. As the civil war proceeded, the barons invited Louis, son of King Philip Augustus of France, to take the throne, and he landed in England in May 1216.²⁶⁵

From the beginning of the civil war, until Louis' arrival, John's letters show that he was trying to win the Cinque Ports over in his war against his barons. Even before the threat of invasion by Louis, John needed the allegiance of the Cinque Ports because he needed to secure the ports to receive his mercenaries coming from the Continent. In the face of

²⁶¹ *Rot. Litt. Claus.* 204, 206, 209b.

²⁶² *Mem. Walt. Cov.* 2:217.

²⁶³ *Mem. Walt. Cov.* 2:219-20; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 2:109-10; *The History of William Marshal*, 185; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:282; *Ann. Mon.* 3:43; *Ann. Mon.* 4:404; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:154.

²⁶⁴ David Carpenter, "The Dating and Making of Magna Carta," in *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), p. 1. Here I follow David Carpenter about the dating of Magna Carta. For the discussion on the dating of the Magna Carta, see the article. Historians also argued that one of the copies of Magna Carta 1215 was actually sent to the Cinque Ports. G. R. C. Davis, *Magna Carta* (London: The British Library, 1996), 15-16; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 10. However, it seems unlikely as the document seems to have been distributed through bishoprics. For the discussion on the copying and distribution of Magna Carta, see Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 368-77.

²⁶⁵ *Ann. Mon.* 1:62, 224; *Ann. Mon.* 2:82, 285; *Ann. Mon.* 3:45, *Ann. Mon.* 4:58-9, 406; *The History of William Marshal*, 185; *Mem. Walt. Cov.* 2:226-7; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:160.

declining manpower due to the desertion of the rebel barons, King John needed mercenaries, which were used by Angevin kings even when they had the magnates on their side, to fight the rebel barons. Indeed, narrative accounts tell us that he sent messengers to acquire foreign aid, and his army in the end was composed of Poitevins, Gascons, Brabantines, and men of Flanders.²⁶⁶ Governmental records seem to confirm this claim as King John, on more than one occasion, asked the men of Dover or Sandwich to ferry men across the Channel as his messengers.²⁶⁷ His itinerary also shows that he was at Sandwich for the last four days of August, and he was at Dover for the first twenty days of September, except for a day trip to Canterbury and back.²⁶⁸ In his efforts to win over the men of the Cinque Ports, King John seems to have employed various methods. In a letter, on 8 May 1215, he plainly asked for their loyalty.²⁶⁹ Later, he ordered a man of Winchelsea to be released, and allowed the men of the Cinque Ports to retain their loot from ships: the salt of men of Yarmouth, and the wine of Auxerre captured by them, as long as it belonged to the merchants of London, which was in rebel hands.²⁷⁰ On 25 June 1215, he entrusted the castle of Dover to Hubert de Burgh, which would be defended heroically against Louis in the following two years.²⁷¹ The men of Yarmouth were told that the barons of Hastings would have their court at Yarmouth as their charter allowed them. Similarly, the barons of Hastings were allowed to arrest the merchants of the land of the Count of Flanders, until the ship of John de Pichepap of

²⁶⁶ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:222-6; *The History of William Marshal*, 185; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:43-4; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:155.

²⁶⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 197, 199, 205b, 227, 235-6.

²⁶⁸ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, a-j.

²⁶⁹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 135.

²⁷⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 215, 215b.

²⁷¹ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 145.

Rye, which had been seized at Damme by the Countess of Flanders was returned, and the loss of £52 of Ralph of Hastings was paid back to him.²⁷²

The great naval historian N. A. M. Rodger claims that the Cinque Ports were “early recruits” for the rebels, but does not give any evidence for his claim.²⁷³ Similarly, F. W. Brooks claims that the Cinque Ports welcomed Louis when he landed on May 1216.²⁷⁴ Similarly, Katherine M. E. Murray refers to *Annals of Dunstable* and the chronicle of Henry Knighton to argue that Louis was received well and was “joined by ‘pirates regis’”.²⁷⁵ However, there does not seem to be direct evidence of their support for the rebellion, and we hear of them having supported Louis only when they returned to the royalist side in the winter of 1216-17. In fact, it will be argued here that, even if he did not evoke a strong sense of loyalty in the Cinque Ports, King John seems to have had a fair control over the south-eastern coast until Louis landed. The *Annals of Dunstable* do not tell much more than Louis landed at Sandwich and addressed those who were there to meet him.²⁷⁶ Knighton’s chronicle mentions the “pirates regis.”²⁷⁷ However, this was a chronicle written in the fourteenth century, and this is the same chronicle Murray criticizes Brooks for using in the debate about the origins of the Cinque Ports, as it gets the number of ships owed to the crown as a part of ship service wrong.²⁷⁸ Another point that raises suspicion regarding the trustworthiness of this source is its usage of the words “pirates regis.” None of the narrative sources, when describing the activities of the

²⁷² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 154b.

²⁷³ Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, 54.

²⁷⁴ Brooks, *English Naval Forces*, 145.

²⁷⁵ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 35.

²⁷⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:45.

²⁷⁷ *Chronicon Henrici Knighton vel Cnitthon, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London, 1889), 197.

²⁷⁸ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 12.

Cinque Ports in King John's reign and the civil war, use the words *pirates* or *piratici*. However, different sources do use these words when they talk about the Cinque Ports in the period of baronial plan and reform.²⁷⁹ Hence, it seems like the writer of the fourteenth-century chronicle took a later wording, and projected it backwards unto the events in the reign of King John.

Governmental records, also, seem to suggest that John exercised some sort of control over the region of the Cinque Ports until Louis's landing. In the autumn of 1215, King John was making appointments in the Cinque Ports region. He gave the custody of the castle of Hastings, and the towns of Winchelsea and Rye to Anfridus de Dane and Geoffrey Craucomb on 9 September 1215.²⁸⁰ He ordered Falkes de Breauté to send twenty five serjeants each to the castles of Hastings and Rye on 17 September 1215.²⁸¹ He sent two different officials to give them orders on 20 September and 6 November.²⁸² He asked the bailiffs of Dover to carry a royal messenger across the Continent.²⁸³ He even ordered a change of a market place in Winchelsea, which was accustomed to be held just outside the town, on the fief of John de Guestling, whose lands in Rye were taken from him and given to Henry Thorel.²⁸⁴ Finally, in March 1216, he issued letters of protection to the men of Dover, and in April, asked the barons of Rye to send him a list of ships which were at their port, demanding further information on their condition, and where the ships which were not in their ports, has sailed to.²⁸⁵ Hence, it seems that

²⁷⁹ *Ann. Mon.*, 4:147, 154, 157; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:499.

²⁸⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 228.

²⁸¹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 228b.

²⁸² *Rot. Litt. Pat.* 155-6, 158.

²⁸³ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 235-6.

²⁸⁴ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 237.

²⁸⁵ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 172; *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 270.

until Louis landed King John possessed some control over the Cinque Ports, even if it was achieved by coercion.

However, the sources do suggest that when Louis landed in England,²⁸⁶ he faced little, if any, resistance, except at Dover.²⁸⁷ When Louis came to England, King John was at Dover and, fearing he did not have the enough forces to face Louis he retreated to Winchester.²⁸⁸ As he was retreating, King John destroyed the castles at Hastings and Pevensey.²⁸⁹ Then, he seems to have sent William de Warenne to the barons of the Cinque Ports, urging them to resist, because he did not “wish that any alien person or master to be brought to them.”²⁹⁰ On 8 June, a letter was sent to Geoffrey de Craucomb, in which John ordered him to hold the two great ships of Rye and Winchelsea, and build walls in the town of Rye to defend it, with the 55 marks he gave to him.²⁹¹ King John sent an interesting letter on 9 June 1216 to the men of Winchelsea, licencing them to pay Louis protection money (*tenseria*), to avoid their town being burnt by him.²⁹² This shows that King John deemed the infrastructure at Winchelsea too valuable to risk it being damaged. He encouraged a man of Rye, called John son of Aldrech, to attack the

²⁸⁶ Sources does not seem to agree where Louis landed, and secondary sources seem to ignore this point. *Annals of the Monastery of Winchester, Annals of Waverley, Annals of Dunstable, the Barnwell annalist, and, the Continuation of Gervase of Canterbury* suggest he landed on the Isle of Thanet. *Ann. Mon.* 2:82, 285; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:45; *Mem. Walt. Cov.* 2:229; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 110. On the other hand, other sources give his landing place as Sandwich. *Ann. Mon.*, 1:62; *Ann. Mon.* 4:406. *Flores Historiarum* gives the landing place as Stonor, which was also on the isle of Thanet just across Sandwich. *Flores Historiarum*, 2:160. *Annals of Dunstable* tells that on the next day Louis landed on Thanet, he advanced to Sandwich and made a kind speech to those who opposed him there. *Ann. Mon.*, 3:45. The fact that Louis went to Sandwich the next day may have been the reason why some contemporary sources thought so, and why secondary sources usually claim.

²⁸⁷ *Ann. Mon.* 3:45; *Ann. Mon.* 4:58-9; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:160.

²⁸⁸ *Mem. Walt. Cov.* 2:230; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:160; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:82; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:46.

²⁸⁹ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:46.

²⁹⁰ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 184.

²⁹¹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 274b.

²⁹² *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 187

ships and men of Damme until he compensated himself for his losses.²⁹³ Lastly, he asked for the loyalty and service of the men of Hastings and Seaford in letters sent in September.²⁹⁴ Louis was also not intercepted at sea before he landed but we know that a storm in May 1216, just before Louis landed, devastated John's fleet waiting Louis.²⁹⁵ Hence, it is quite possible that, with the loss of his ships, King John was deprived of the means to lead/force an interception against Louis at sea, and his retreat when Louis landed in England, left the south-east exposed and defenceless.

King John died at Newark on 19 October 1216, and his nine year old son Henry was crowned as king at Gloucester on 28 October 1216. As he was only nine years old, William Marshal became the regent, and ruled until he died in 1219. One of the first things the new government did was to issue a new version Magna Carta. The loyalty of the Cinque Ports must have been perceived as crucial at this point since, while the Cinque Ports were not mentioned in the Magna Carta of 1215, they were added to the 1216, 1217 and 1225 reissues confirming the liberties of the Cinque Ports along with those of London, and other boroughs in England in the same chapter.²⁹⁶ Two papal admonitions from January 1217 are some of the earliest evidence of the Cinque Ports' allegiance to Louis. Dated 17 and 19 January, the first urges the men of Cinque Ports, with others, to return to Henry III's allegiance and disregard the oaths they had taken to Louis.²⁹⁷ The second one, again sent to multiple actors, encouraged the defence of the boy king and the realm.²⁹⁸ On January 20, William Marshal sent a letter to the men of

²⁹³ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 189.

²⁹⁴ *Rot. Litt. Pat.*, 196.

²⁹⁵ Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, 54; Friel, *Maritime History*, 52.

²⁹⁶ Holt, *Magna Carta*, 504.

²⁹⁷ *Cal. Pap. Reg. 1198-1304*, 43.

²⁹⁸ *Cal. Pap. Reg. 1198-1304*, 43-4.

Kent, Sussex, Surrey, the Weald, and the barons of the Cinque Ports, to be intendant and responsive to Philip D'Aubigny.²⁹⁹ Philip D'Aubigny, (not related to the Aubigny family of the earls of Arundel) was from a family in Brittany and decided to stay with King John when Normandy was lost.³⁰⁰ The Channel Islands were entrusted to Philip d'Aubigny, started with Guernsey and Alderney in 1207, and followed by Jersey in 1212 and Sark in 1214.³⁰¹ In 1214, he also led an expedition against Eustace the Monk who was using Sark as a base for his piratical activities.³⁰² During the civil war made Rye his stronghold, and from there launched attacks on rebels.³⁰³ Simultaneously, a guerilla movement emerged in Kent and Sussex, led by a Kentish nobleman, William Cassingham, who was known as Wilkilin of the Weald.³⁰⁴ Some of the sources mention the deplorable attitudes of the French soldiers who came with Louis, and the native population of England's desire not to see an "alien king" in England.³⁰⁵ The counties of Kent and Sussex were culturally suitable for local patriotic movements, as both had peculiar characteristics which were the manifestations of their historical and cultural uniqueness. Sussex, in its organization of the local administration in rapes, instead of in hundreds as it is in other counties, and Kent, likewise, in its local organization into lathes, and in its unique customs, the *lex Kantiae*, showed their distinctive features.³⁰⁶

²⁹⁹ *Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1225* (Burlington: TannerRitchie, 2004), PDF e-book, 16. [hereafter *PR 1216-1225*]

³⁰⁰ Nicholas Vincent, "Aubigny, Philip d' [Philip Daubeney]," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified May 25, 2006, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/47227>.

³⁰¹ Nicholas Vincent, "Aubigny, Philip d' [Philip Daubeney];" Wendy B. Stevenson, "England and Normandy, 1204-1259 (PhD Thesis, University of Leeds, 1974), 264.

³⁰² Stevenson, "England and Normandy," 264.

³⁰³ Nicholas Vincent, "Aubigny, Philip d' [Philip Daubeney];" *The History of William Marshal*, 192.

³⁰⁴ *Ann. Mon.* 3:48; *The History of William Marshal*, 185n.

³⁰⁵ *Ann. Mon.* 2:287, *Ann. Mon.* 3:47; *The History of William Marshal*, 185.

³⁰⁶ John Horace Round and Louis Francis Salzman, "Sussex in Domesday Survey," in *Victoria County History of Sussex, vol. I*, ed. William Page (London: Archibald Constable, 1905), 351; Frederick Pollock and Frederic William Maitland, *The History of the English Law Before the Time of Edward I, vol. I* (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange Ltd, 1999), 186-8.

Royalist forces managed to corner Louis at Winchelsea, from where he barely escaped to France.³⁰⁷ The relief force to get Louis out of Winchelsea was sent from Boulogne.³⁰⁸ This again shows the decisive nature of the proximity of the Cinque Ports to the Continent. Louis returned to England in late April, and upon landing at Sandwich, he burnt the town since he claimed that he had suffered a lot from the men of the town who had changed sides and manned the king's galleys.³⁰⁹ The last evidence of the Cinque Ports' support for Louis comes from *The History of William Marshal*, as William Marshal tries to convince the men of the Cinque Ports to return their allegiance with promises of rewards.³¹⁰ When they agreed to join the royalist side and help William Marshal, they complained about the past wrongs and damages inflicted on them by King John.³¹¹ After the battle of Lincoln was won by the royalists, the hopes of Louis of conquering England were completely crushed when on 24 August 1217, in the naval battle of Sandwich (also called the Battle of Dover), the French fleet, which had been raised by Blanche of Castile and led by Eustace the Monk to carry reinforcements to Louis, was defeated by the royalist fleet led by Hubert de Burgh.³¹² The fact that the county of Kent was on the royal side, and Sandwich was held by Hubert de Burgh, compelled the French fleet to go into the Thames.³¹³ The day after the battle, William Marshal wrote to the Cinque Ports, confirming their liberties, and sending two men to

³⁰⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, 4:407; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:48

³⁰⁸ Thomas Frederick Tout, *The History of England from the Accession of Henry III to the death of Edward III (1216-1377)* (Frankfurt am Main: Outlook Verlag, 2018), 12.

³⁰⁹ *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:236.

³¹⁰ *The History of William Marshal*, 206.

³¹¹ *The History of William Marshal*, 206-7.

³¹² *Ann. Mon.*, 1:63, 224; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:83, 287-8; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:50-1; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:408; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:238; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 111; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:165; *The History of William Marshal*, 207.

³¹³ Tout, *History of England*, 15.

take the king's share of the spoils of the battle of the previous day.³¹⁴ On September 1, the men of the Cinque Ports were ordered to be at the Thames, probably to force Louis, who was still in London, to force him to begin peace talks.³¹⁵ A truce was made between Louis and William Marshal, and Louis left England on 29 September.³¹⁶ On the same day, William Marshal notified the men of the Cinque Ports of the truce and ordered them to release the prisoners.³¹⁷

To conclude, as attested by his letters, King John made increasing use of the Cinque Ports in his reign on a variety of matters. When King John faced general discontent within the country in years 1208-1209, King John's harsh treatment of the Cinque Ports may signal to a deviant action by them. In 1213, they made successful attacks at Dieppe and Damme. In the literature, the Cinque Ports is portrayed as being on the rebel side from early on. However, none of the primary sources explicitly says that, and we hear the Cinque Ports' support for Louis only when they switch back to the royalist side in the winter of 1216-17. Only one source from the fourteenth century mentions "pirates regis" receiving Louis well. However, this is a source of dubious quality which Murray herself criticizes Brooks for using in the debate about the origins of the Cinque Ports as an organization. While it is true that Louis was able to land in England unopposed and seems to have faced little resistance in the south-east, this may be because of that the storm prior to Louis' coming perished the ships of King John which could be used to intercept him at sea, and because King John did not stand his ground and retreated to Winchester upon Louis' landing. Based on the fact that non one of the narrative sources

³¹⁴ *PR 1216-1225*, 88.

³¹⁵ *PR 1216-1225*, 89.

³¹⁶ *Fædera*, 147.

³¹⁷ *PR 1216-1225*, 96.

explicitly mention Cinque Ports' support when King John was still alive, and the governmental records which show the different arrangements made by King John on the Cinque Port towns, I argue here that until Louis landed in England. King John seems to have had a fair amount of control over the Cinque Ports, although this was perhaps more due to coercion instead of feelings of loyalty as the grievances of the men of the Cinque Ports against King John made their way into *The History of William Marshal*, when Earl Marshal convinced them to return their their allegiance to the royalist side in late 1216.

CHAPTER IV

THE CINQUE PORTS IN THE REIGN OF HENRY III

Henry III ascended to the throne when he was only nine years old. Having been crowned as a king in childhood, his reign lasted fifty six years until his death in 1272. For such a long reign, an almost yearly analysis such as is done in the previous chapter is not feasible. Hence, an overview of the Cinque Ports up to the start of the baronial reform movement in 1258 will be followed by a more detailed yearly account from 1258 to 1267.

The first phase of this long reign is the minority of Henry III which lasted almost ten years from 28 October 1217 to January 1227 when Henry III started to use his personal seal.³¹⁸ However, even after Henry became of age, powerful figures of the minority, like Hubert de Burgh and Peter des Roches, continued to dominate the politics of the

³¹⁸ Clanchy, *England and its Rulers*, 147; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 310.

kingdom. Hence, in the periodization of Henry III's reign, his personal rule is generally regarded as having started from the year 1234, when Henry ousted Peter des Roches, and was free from all the tutelage, that had lingered on since his minority.³¹⁹

During the first phase of the reign, several different council governments ruled the kingdom. The main characteristic of these governments was that, although they had prominent figures of the period in them, they governed by council, and rested on the belief of the magnates that councils work, which was going to be the source of the main argument against Henry's personal rule, and of the demands from the king in these years.³²⁰ The minority period was one of recovery following the civil war of 1215-7. One of the main problems the minority governments faced was that of having authority over the localities in which the weakness of the boy king's rule was seen as an opportunity by local individuals or communities to further their interests.³²¹

This lack of royal authority is also the case for the Cinque Ports in the minority of Henry III. Narrative sources, as in the first years of King John's reign, do not tell us anything on the Cinque Ports in the early years of Henry III's reign, governmental records are the only sources that give us this impression of royal weakness. Following William Marshal's order to release the prisoners on 30 September, the order to release the prisoners taken from Louis's side had to be sent to Hubert de Burgh and the barons of the Cinque Ports again on 2 December, as prisoners taken from England were at Wissand on the coast of Northern France, and these prisoners were awaiting "no other

³¹⁹ Carpenter, "The Fall of Hubert de Burgh," *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 45.

³²⁰ Carpenter, *The Minority of Henry III* (London: Methuen, 1990), 402.

³²¹ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 19, 50-1.

thing except the liberation of Louis's prisoners" to come back to England.³²² On 25 June 1218, the justiciar Hubert de Burgh was ordered again to release the prisoners from Louis's forces, captured and detained in Dover, Sandwich, Bulverhythe, and Hastings, without ransom if possible, and if not, with a ransom not exceeding 100 marks, so that the hostages of the Cinque Ports which Louis held in his lands could be liberated.³²³

How much this ransoming was profitable for the Cinque Ports may be glimpsed from a letter written in 1226. In this letter, the king informed the barons of the exchequer that from the £1,189 7s 8d which William earl of Warenne owes, they must deduct 1060 marks which is owed by the crown to him for the release of prisoners captured after the defeat of the French at sea (most probably referring to the battle of Sandwich on 24 August 1217) and the truce with Louis.³²⁴ In addition to the reluctance to release the prisoners, the Cinque Ports also engaged in attacks on foreign ships, which was against the truce made with Louis at the end of the war. In a letter sent to the barons of Romney on 2 December 1220, they were asked to make emends to the community of Calais.³²⁵

From the same letter we learn that they had been ordered to do justice and make emends to the men of Calais before, through the constable of Dover, Robert de Nereford.

However, thus far, "nothing had been done" and if they continued not to address the issue, the government would take action at the "cost of your [the barons'] honor."

Around the same time, writs sent to the men of the Cinque Ports made it clear that if they wanted to preserve their liberties, they must heed those of the king.³²⁶ In late

July/August 1223, an order was sent to the bailiffs of ports all around England to seize

³²² *PR 1216-1225*, 129.

³²³ *PR 1216-1225*, 158-9.

³²⁴ *Rot. Lit. Claus. 1224-1227*, 142b.

³²⁵ *Fædera*, 165.

³²⁶ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 237.

ships and send them to Portsmouth to the king's service.³²⁷ This order was used as a pretext by the Cinque Ports to seize the ships of foreign merchants and fishing vessels. On 16 August, the bailiffs of Winchelsea were ordered to let go two ships of the merchants of St. Michel and St. Omer.³²⁸ Next day, a letter whose copies were sent to bailiffs of Dover, Romney, Rye, Sandwich, and Winchelsea, ordered the bailiffs to release all foreign ships and fishing vessels seized by the men of these ports.³²⁹ An even more decisive sign of the piratical activities of the Cinque Ports during the early years of the minority of Henry III comes from a letter sent on December 12 1223.³³⁰

In 1223, King Philip Augustus of France died and his son Louis, who had attempted the invasion of England earlier, succeeded him as Louis VIII.³³¹ To renew the truce made earlier with Philip Augustus, messengers were sent to France, and part of the negotiations were about the violations of the truce previously made with Philip Augustus. Hence, in the letter mentioned above, the bailiffs of Dover are notified about a summons to the court of Shepway. In the *schedula* attached to the letter, 24 men from Sandwich by name, and some others from the same town, the men of Rye, four men from Winchelsea, two men from Romney, the constable of Dover Castle, Robert de Nereford, bailiffs of Dover, and Philip d'Aubigny and Geoffrey de Neville are summoned to the court of Shepway.³³² Most of the offences are either seizing property or killing men of Calais, sometimes both. It seems that the Cinque Ports used the relative weakness and the inability of the central government to impose order as an opportunity

³²⁷ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 569-70.

³²⁸ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 559.

³²⁹ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 559b.

³³⁰ *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 629b.

³³¹ *Ann. Mon.*, 2:84, 298; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:81; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:63, 415; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:177; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 2:113; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 2:252.

³³² *Rot. Litt. Claus. 1204-1224*, 629b, 630.

to engage in piratical activities. This issue would come up again in the years following 1258 when the Cinque Ports again took advantage of disturbance and civil war in the realm.

The following year, in 1224, the five year truce in Poitou which had been renewed in 1220 was about to expire, and upon disagreement on the extension of the truce, the new King of France, Louis VIII launched a campaign into Poitou.³³³ Having received the homage of Count of Marche, Hugh de Lusignan, who was also the second husband of Henry's mother, Isabella of Angoulême, Louis VIII quickly captured the castle of Niort, and the soldiers in St. Jean D'Angely surrendered without fighting.³³⁴ Louis, then, proceeded to take the port town of La Rochelle, which was guarded by the officials of the king of England, Savary de Meulon, Richard de Gray, and Geoffrey de Neville.³³⁵ They put up a firm resistance but it was not enough, and Poitou was lost.³³⁶ King Henry could not intervene to stop the loss of La Rochelle because meanwhile he had to deal with a baronial schism in his court and the uprising of Falkes de Bréauté, a soldier brought to England by King John, and who had acquired important offices and substantial land by seizing the opportunities during the war of 1215-7, but was reluctant to return royal castles during the restoration process in Henry III's minority.³³⁷ With the loss of Poitou, the center of gravity of politics shifted even more to insular affairs, although recovering the lost possessions in France remained one of the principal aims

³³³ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:56, 86.

³³⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:86.

³³⁵ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:86.

³³⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:67; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:299; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:180.

³³⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:67; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:299-300; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:86-7, 456; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:63-5; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:180-1; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 113-4; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 253-5; D.J. Power, "Bréauté, Sir Falkes de," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified January 3, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3305>.

Henry III strived for in his reign.³³⁸ The loss of La Rochelle also meant that an expedition to recover the lost Angevin lands in France lost another port at which to embark, and now, forces had to be taken all the way to Gascony. Moreover, the loss of Poitou and La Rochelle also created the need to look for another region from which to import wine, and subsequently, Gascony became the primary place from which wine was exported to England, Bordeaux being its primary port.³³⁹

When Henry sent messengers to the papacy in 1225 to complain about Louis' ignoring of the truce and invasion of Poitou, Louis made further threats claiming that "not only he would keep the held lands [meaning Poitou], but also he would acquire England in less than few days."³⁴⁰ Louis also sent letters to the ports promising rewards to sailors as much as others, whether English or French.³⁴¹ Katherine Murray claims that the letters were sent to the Cinque Ports but there is nothing to suggest that the letters were sent to Cinque Ports specifically since the Latin phrase used is *omnes partes maritimas*.³⁴² A few lines below, we are told that hearing this, Henry feared an invasion by Louis, and with the counsel of his loyal men, fortified his *partes maritimas* and took hostages from the Cinque Ports.³⁴³ Murray may have inferred from these lines that Louis's *omnes partes maritimas* must have been the Cinque Ports as later Henry takes hostages from them. However, this may simply be done to secure the loyalty of the Cinque Ports where Louis would be likely to land in an attempt at invasion, as he had done nine years ago

³³⁸ John Gillingham, *The Angevin Empire* (New York: Arnold, 2001), 1; Michael Prestwich, *English Politics in the Thirteenth Century* (Basingstoke: MacMillan, 1990), 1; Adrian Jobson, *The First English Revolution* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 11.

³³⁹ Susan Rose, *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe, 1000-1500* (London: Continuum, 2011), 62.

³⁴⁰ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:92.

³⁴¹ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:92.

³⁴² Murray, *Constitutional History*, 34; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:92.

³⁴³ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:92-3.

when he landed at Sandwich. If the letters of Louis were sent only to the Cinque Ports, the annalist of the *Annals of Dunstable* would make it clear as he refers to them just on the next page when it mentions the hostages taken from them. This reference in the *Annals of Dunstable* is the first time the Cinque Ports are mentioned in the narrative sources of the reign of Henry III after the battle of Sandwich was won on 24 August 1217.

In the year 1225, two other important occurrences affecting the Cinque Ports took place. In exchange for a tax of a fifteenth on moveable goods, Magna Carta was reissued, with the Cinque Ports' liberties being reaffirmed in it.³⁴⁴ This tax managed to generate £57,838 13s 6d.³⁴⁵ Almost £38,000 of this amount was spent for the campaign in Gascony, which was threatened by Louis VIII.³⁴⁶ The other matter of importance was related to the changing dynamics in the wine trade. By a letter dated between 18-20 August 1225, the barons of the Cinque Ports, who were to pass over to Gascony to buy wine, were ordered to find a good ship for Ranulf de Hurlo and William de Stanes, manned with good sailors and helmsmen, to carry equipment to Richard of Cornwall, the king's brother, who was campaigning there with William, earl of Salisbury.³⁴⁷ Although, this is not the first reference to the men of the Cinque Ports' going to Gascony, as there is a letter patent issued in 1220 to the seneschals of Poitou and Gascony, ordering them not to harass the barons of the Cinque Ports and to protect their men and properties, this letter makes explicit reference to their involvement in the wine trade.³⁴⁸ After 1225, the

³⁴⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:68, 227; *Ann. Mon.*, 2:84, 300; *Ann. Mon.*, 3:93; *Ann. Mon.*, 4:66, 417 ; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:182 ; *Mem. Walt. Cov.*, 257; *Gervasii Gesta Regum*, 114.

³⁴⁵ Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 169.

³⁴⁶ Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation*, 169; Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 376.

³⁴⁷ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:68; *Ann. Mon.* 2:84; *Ann. Mon.* 3:94; *Ann. Mon.* 4:417 ; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:182.

³⁴⁸ *PR 1216-1225*, 249.

Cinque Ports started to make annual visits to Gascony to buy wine.³⁴⁹ Throughout the thirteenth century, the importance of Gascon wine trade for the Cinque Ports increased, as is attested by the fact that Saintonge (an area in the South-West France, just north of Gascony) type pottery is the most common pottery type found in the Cinque Ports towns.³⁵⁰ From the governmental documents, we can see that in Sandwich and Winchelsea there were keepers of the king's wines.³⁵¹ Throughout the thirteenth century, the occupational diversity in Sandwich decreased from about 40 different occupations to principally that of wine importers, and wool and grain exporters in the later years of the thirteenth century, which again shows the prominence of the wine trade for the Cinque Ports.³⁵²

In 1226, perhaps due to Louis' threat the previous year, Henry III wanted to take the towns of Rye and Winchelsea, which were still held by the Abbey of Fécamp, into royal hands.³⁵³ The Papacy, in an effort to support Henry in his endeavor, sent a letter to the Abbey in which it was stated that the abbey was mandated to "make an exchange of a place in England, called Ria (Rye), in which the king wishes to build a castle."³⁵⁴ However, the exchange would not take place until 1247, and Henry confirmed Rye to the abbey in 1238.³⁵⁵

³⁴⁹ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 378; Draper et al., *Rye*, 27.

³⁵⁰ Ben Jervis, "Ceramics and Coastal Communities in Medieval (Twelfth-Fourteenth Century) Europe: Negotiating Identity in England's Channel Ports," *European Journal of Archaeology* 20, no. 1 (2017): 156.

³⁵¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III 1247-1258* (Burlington: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2005), PDF e-book, 449.

³⁵² Mavis Mate, "The Economy of Kent, 1200-1500: An Age of Expansion: 1200-1348," in *Late Medieval Kent*, ed. Sheila Sweetinburgh (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 3-4.

³⁵³ Draper et al., *Rye*, 26.

³⁵⁴ *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, 111.

³⁵⁵ Draper et al., *Rye*, 26,

In the reign of Henry III, the Cinque Ports added another function to their many existing ones. Throughout Henry III's reign, the barons of the Cinque Ports were summoned to the king's court to advise the king on the "defence of the realm."³⁵⁶ Thus, in time, the barons of the Cinque Ports acted like an advisory board over even other maritime parts such as Dunwich in Suffolk.³⁵⁷

After the part in the *Annals of Dunstable* which tells that Henry took hostages from the Cinque Ports in 1225, until the start of the baronial reform program in 1258, the narrative sources mention the Cinque Ports several times. There are five different references to the Cinque Ports in Matthew Paris' *Chronica Maiora* and one in *Flores Historiarum*, one each in the *Annals of Osney* and in the chronicle of Thomas Wykes in this period. The first one is from the coronation ceremony of the queen, Eleanor of Provence, daughter of Raymond of Provence, whom Henry married in 1236. During the procession, the keepers of the Cinque Ports carried a canopy with four handles over the king.³⁵⁸ This was one of the prestigious privileges of the Cinque Ports, the first evidence of which comes from the coronation of Richard I.³⁵⁹ In 1240, there were false rumors of a possible Danish attack due to which Henry made the "citizens of London and the keepers of the Cinque Ports and many others to swear fealty to Edward, his firstborn."³⁶⁰ In 1242, Henry led an expedition to Poitou, upon the appointment of Louis IX's brother Alphonse as the Count of Poitou.³⁶¹ The expedition was supported by the rebellion of

³⁵⁶ *PR 1216-1225*, 503; *PR 1225-1232*, 25; *PR 1232-1247*, 92, 123.

³⁵⁷ *PR 1232-1247*, 123.

³⁵⁸ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 3:338.

³⁵⁹ Burrows, *Cinque Ports*, 63; Murray, *Constitutional History*, 19-20.

³⁶⁰ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 4:9.

³⁶¹ Maurice Powicke, *Thirteenth Century England, 1216-1307* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 101-2. Another book by Powicke entitled *King Henry and Lord Edward* is also a crucial source for this period. However, I could not find the chance to consult this book while writing my thesis.

Hugh de Lusignan, but did not achieve any significant outcome.³⁶² Matthew Paris tells us that the Cinque Ports carried crossbowmen, serjeants, a great sum of money and victuals to Henry's expedition in Poitou.³⁶³ Henry also ordered the Cinque Ports to harass and ill-treat the merchants of France.³⁶⁴ Henry stayed in Gascony until September 1243, both because of his concerns over Queen Eleanor's health, who was pregnant at the time, and because of his efforts to pacify the unruly Gascony.³⁶⁵

When Henry was still in Gascony, we hear the voice of the men of the Cinque Ports in *Chronica Maiora*, which is something that rarely comes up in the sources. Henry left the Archbishop of York, Walter de Gray, as his regent when he left for Gascony.³⁶⁶ The keepers of the Cinque Ports appealed to Walter de Gray for compensation for their losses. They complained to him claiming that they were repelled especially by the men of Calais, whom they had attacked before, now for the third time and "not without irreparable loss of men, ships, and many things."³⁶⁷ They continued by saying:

Therefore, the royal council shall make provision to us for hidden ambushes and evident attacks, prepared and being prepared, impending more cruel and harsher next time. For the Count of Brittany lies in ambush with all the ships of Brittany and Poitou, well strengthened with armed band of soldiers, for all stepping out from our part, and coming and going either from us to the king or from the king to us. Whence all the help of the king, as much monetary as military, left destitute, not sufficing us, we flee to your help. In addition, inhabitants and keepers of the shores of the sea of Normandy, with the captains of Wissant and Calais, hardly let us go through or watch over the art of fishing to any extent at all. Likewise, pirates with galleys guarding deep seas do not let the pilgrims

³⁶² Powicke, *Thirteenth Century England*, 101-3.

³⁶³ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 4: 198.

³⁶⁴ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 4: 208.

³⁶⁵ H. W. Ridgeway, "Henry III," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified September 23, 2010, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/12950>; Margaret Howell, *Eleanor of Provence: Queenship in Thirteenth Century England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 37.

³⁶⁶ Ridgeway, "Henry III."

³⁶⁷ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 4:238.

come back. Now Bordeaux is imputed as a prison to the king of the English, unless your foresight quickly takes precautions, with well-equipped naval expeditions and abundant treasure. For truces, which are spoken preliminary and more or less promised at the beginning, are not, as they say, confirmed on both sides thus far, either in places, or by persons, or by time limit.³⁶⁸

This letter shows that towards the middle of the century, the Cinque Ports were being challenged in their sea voyages, and their position as the dominant forces against the shipping of Calais seems to be withering away. Also, in the same year, some of the men of the Cinque Ports, who sold wine and other victuals, demanded payment for their service.³⁶⁹ In 1244, when King Alexander II of Scotland called for the help against Henry III of John de Coucy, brother of his wife Marie de Coucy, from France, Henry ordered the Cinque Ports to be guarded firmly against the aforesaid John's attempts to bring help by sea.³⁷⁰ Lastly, in 1257, the Cinque Ports helped to remove the siege of Deganwy castle which was besieged by the Welsh, against whom Henry raised a great army.³⁷¹

Before going into analyzing the Cinque Ports during the baronial reform and revolt, lastly, the detrimental effects of nature on the Cinque Port towns needs to be addressed. Towards the second half of the thirteenth century, when the transition from the Medieval Warm Period to the Little Ice Age started off, storms in the area became both more common and more destructive.³⁷² The two towns that were afflicted the most as a result of these storms were Winchelsea and Romney. Winchelsea was affected more directly with the storms hitting the town. First evidence is from 1236 when the area surrounding

³⁶⁸ Paris, 4:238-9.

³⁶⁹ *Flores Historiarum*, 2:260-1.

³⁷⁰ *Flores Historiarum*, 2:279-80.

³⁷¹ *Ann. Mon.*, 4:117.

³⁷² Thomas Dhoop, "Shaped by Ships and Storms: A Maritime Archaeology of Medieval Winchelsea" (PhD Thesis, University of Southampton, 2016), 1-2, 187.

the town was flooded.³⁷³ Another great storm occurred in 1250 directly hitting the town this time.³⁷⁴ The storm of 1252 must have been particularly devastating since it did not escape the attention of Matthew Paris. On 13 January and the following night, a great storm “destroyed houses, . . . tore off trees by their roots, . . . knocked down churches, . . . and sank the biggest and most strong ships in depths.”³⁷⁵ Matthew Paris also talks about the particular damage on Winchelsea. “At the port of Winchelsea . . . waves of the sea . . . seized mills and houses, and it carried away many submerged men.”³⁷⁶ The destructiveness of these storms on Romney was due to the change in the course of the river Rother, which had been important for transporting iron since Roman times, and used to discharge to the sea at this town.³⁷⁷ After the storm, the river started to go through Rye, which had positive effects on that town since it also had the River Brede, which had, again being used for iron transportation since Roman times.³⁷⁸ (See Map 1 in Appendices) In addition, these storms greatly increased the amount of shingle and sand that was being carried by the “Eastward Drift” to the harbors of these towns.³⁷⁹ As the harbors were being silted up, the need for deeper harbors was increasing due to the improvements in ship technology, especially due to the proliferation of cogs in the thirteenth century.³⁸⁰ This meant that around this time, as Romney and Winchelsea suffered from the damages inflicted by the nature, Rye flourished by filling the gap created by the decline in shipping in these towns.

³⁷³ Cooper, *Winchelsea*, 9.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 13.

³⁷⁵ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 5:272.

³⁷⁶ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 5:272-3.

³⁷⁷ Draper, *Rye*, 12-3; Page and Salzmann, “The Cinque Ports,” 34.

³⁷⁸ Draper, *Rye*, 12-3; John A. Collard, *A Maritime History of Rye* (Rye: printed by author, 1978), 3.

³⁷⁹ Gillian Draper et al., *The Sea and the Marsh: The Medieval Cinque Port of New Romney* (London: Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2009), 4.

³⁸⁰ Draper et al., *Medieval Cinque Port of New Romney*, 18.

The effects of the cataclysmic storms of the time can also be seen in the governmental records. In a letter dated 31 March 1249, the barons of Winchelsea were given 130 marks which would be paid in two installments on the condition that “they are diligent in repairing and preserving the town against the sea.”³⁸¹ Rye also received 70 marks with that letter. Again on April 26, 1250, the barons of Winchelsea, William Beaufiz, Godfrey Alan, and Roger de Grangiis, were appointed to keep the towns of Rye and Winchelsea.³⁸² They were instructed to be “diligent in amending and preserving the towns against the sea.”³⁸³ After less than a year, we see that a prior of Cogges and Richard le Rus were to provide and order how the town of Winchelsea could be saved and defended “with the counsel and aid of archbishops, freemen, and others having land between the town of Winchelsea and Hythe.”³⁸⁴ The condition to be diligent against the sea was repeated in future appointments.³⁸⁵ In 1257, the king entrusted Henry of Bath with the responsibility of repairing the Rhee wall.³⁸⁶ The change in the course of the River Brede, hurting the town of Romney, also got the attention of the central government. In a letter sent May 3, 1258, Nicholas de Hadlo was appointed to make provision for the river to be brought back to the town.³⁸⁷ More efforts were committed to saving Romney from decline as, on 21 June 1258, Henry again appointed Nicholas de Hadlo to form a jury of twenty four knights to make an estimate about how much land of

³⁸¹ *Calendar of Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, Henry III 1247-1258* (Burlington: TannerRitchie Publishing, 2005), PDF e-book, 39. [hereafter *CPR 1247-1258*]

³⁸² *CPR 1247-1258*, 64.

³⁸³ *CPR 1247-1258*, 64.

³⁸⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, 90.

³⁸⁵ *CPR 1247-1258*, 133.

³⁸⁶ *CPR 1247-1258*, 592.

³⁸⁷ *CPR 1247-1258*, 662.

other people would have to be used for the correction of the course of the river to bring it back to Romney.³⁸⁸

Having covered the period until mid-thirteenth century, the following pages will look at the period of baronial reform and revolt from 1258 to 1267 in greater detail. Before going into the details of how the movement commenced, it would be appropriate to lay out the sources of baronial discontent as this would facilitate understanding of the period. At the root of the baronial discontent laid issues which can be grouped under three subheadings.

The first one is about Henry's governing style in his years of personal rule. As is mentioned above, with successive different council governments in the years of the minority of Henry III, the magnates' trust in the idea that councils work spread.³⁸⁹

However, following the ousting of Justiciar Peter des Roches in 1234 and of Chancellor Ralph de Neville in 1238 Henry did not appoint new officials to either of the positions.³⁹⁰ This resulted in a much more personal rule compared to earlier years.

Furthermore, one of the complaints was that without a chancellor or a chief justiciar it was really difficult to make local complaints heard at the national level.³⁹¹ Barons demanded to have those two positions filled several times prior to the baronial reform, for instance, in the program of the "Paper Constitution" of 1244, and in the parliament of 1255 which Henry held at Westminster.³⁹²

³⁸⁸ *CPR 1247-1258*, 635-6.

³⁸⁹ Carpenter, *Minority of Henry III*, 402.

³⁹⁰ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 438; Carpenter, "Chancellor Ralph de Neville and Plans of Political Reform," *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 61.

³⁹¹ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 438.

³⁹² *Ann. Mon.*, 1:336; Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 437; Carpenter, "Chancellor Ralph de Neville," 61; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 358.

The second topic about which the barons were not content was Henry's distribution of patronage. During 1230s and 1240, new waves of foreigners who were related to Henry III flocked to the country, and they were rewarded by Henry III with important positions and great material rewards. The first wave of aliens came following Henry's marriage to Eleanor of Provence.³⁹³ These were generally the Queen's relatives such as her uncles, William, bishop elect of Valence, who served Henry as an advisor until his (William's) death, Peter of Savoy, who was granted the honors of Richmond and the wardenship of the Cinque Ports, and Boniface of Savoy, who became the archbishop of Canterbury.³⁹⁴ Another wave of Henry's relatives came in 1240s, when Henry wanted to reward his half-brothers from his mother's, Isabella of Angoulême's, second marriage with Hugh de Lusignan. Henry invited them in 1247, hoping that this would help him secure his Gascon border.³⁹⁵ Two Lusignan brothers came to England, and another two received wardships and pensions.³⁹⁶ There were several dimensions of discontent with the rewards these foreigners received. Firstly, Henry's favoritism of his foreign advisors made it difficult for magnates to seek justice against them, and in time the idea that it was not possible to find justice against certain curiales was engrained in the minds of magnates.³⁹⁷ One important thing to keep in mind is that the foreigners were not perceived as a monolithic entity, and there was a schism between Savoyards and Poitevins within the court. The baronial dissatisfaction was more directed at the Poitevin Lusignan brothers, and in fact, the Savoyards would be on the revolutionary side at the

³⁹³ Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 7-8.

³⁹⁴ Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 7-8; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 342.

³⁹⁵ Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 8-9; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 342

³⁹⁶ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 342.

³⁹⁷ David Carpenter, "King, Magnates, and Society: The Personal Rule of King Henry III, 1234-1258," *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 82-4.

beginning of the movement in 1258.³⁹⁸ Secondly, the appointments were not done through common council but rather by Henry's personal discretion. One of the events that caused outrage was the marriage of Simon de Montfort, a Frenchman who had a claim to the earldom of Leicester through his paternal grandmother, and whose namesake father was rumored to have been invited by the barons to take the throne during King John's reign, to Henry's sister Eleanor.³⁹⁹ Several chroniclers tell how this created discord between King Henry, and his brother Richard of Cornwall together with some other magnates.⁴⁰⁰ Thus, one of the primary aims of the baronial reform movement was to control the appointments made by the king, especially to his council.⁴⁰¹ Ironically, as will be seen later, Simon de Montfort would be one of the leaders of the reform movement, and the antagonist to King Henry in the following civil war. Lastly, Henry's poorly judged international adventures brought more and more economic burden on the kingdom, increased oppression, and this eventually became one of the major complaints of the baronial movement. Henry conducted unsuccessful expeditions in 1230 to Brittany, and in 1242 to Poitou, both of which achieved nothing albeit at a high cost.⁴⁰² The epitome of Henry's poor judgment, in the eyes of the barons, was his acceptance of the papal offer which suggested the throne of the kingdom of Sicily for his son Edmund in exchange of a heavy price.⁴⁰³ Perhaps to emphasize the

³⁹⁸ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 354.

³⁹⁹ *Ann. Mon.*, 3:33; John Robert Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 3; Labarge, *Simon de Montfort*, 28.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:106; Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 3:475-7

⁴⁰¹ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 437.

⁴⁰² Powicke, *Thirteenth Century England*, 94-103; Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 2-3; Reginald Francis Treharne, *The Baronial Plan of Reform, 1258-1263* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1971), 52-3.

⁴⁰³ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 360; Treharne, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 60-2; Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 13; Nick Barratt, "Crisis Management: Baronial Reform at the Exchequer," in *Baronial*

naivety of Henry, the *Annals of Burton* tell that before coming to Henry, the Pope offered the crown to many others such as the brothers of the King of France, Henry's nephew, and his own brother Richard of Cornwall, all of whom declined the offer as they saw the offer as too impractical.⁴⁰⁴ There were many reasons why the majority of the clergy and people were against the offer, such as the long distance to the kingdom, the enemy territories that have to be passed to reach there, and the troubles in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland.⁴⁰⁵ Henry sent 50,000 marks in 1252 to fund the papal fight in Sicily, and in 1256 he still owed 135,000 marks to the papacy.⁴⁰⁶ For many of the magnates, this Sicilian affair was an exceptional expenditure with very little chance of a return. In addition, Henry started to spend more freely in the years of his personal rule both on household expenditures and on the building of Westminster abbey, which put even more strain on the finances of the kingdom.⁴⁰⁷

The abovementioned grievances that built up over the years in the personal rule of Henry III gave way to the baronial reform movement in 1258. When Henry III summoned his magnates to discuss the papal demands, as he was threatened with excommunication if he did not fulfill his obligations regarding the acquisition of the Sicilian throne from the papacy, some barons showed up with their arms on April 30, and demanded from King Henry to dismiss the Poitevins and reform the kingdom.⁴⁰⁸

The movement was led by seven magnates, namely Simon de Montfort, the king's

Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267, ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 56.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:339.

⁴⁰⁵ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:387-8.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:349, 390.

⁴⁰⁷ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 348-9.

⁴⁰⁸ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:164; Carpenter, "What happened in 1258?," *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 187; Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 18-20; Treharn, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 64-6.

brother-in-law and the earl of Leicester, Richard de Clare, Earl of Gloucester, Roger Bigod, earl of Norfolk, his brother Hugh Bigod, John fitz Geoffrey, Peter de Montfort (not related to Simon).⁴⁰⁹ Each was motivated by different resentments against the Lusignan clique.⁴¹⁰ King Henry sent a letter on 2 May, declaring that he accepted a reform of the realm by a council of twenty four men, half of which would be chosen by him and the latter half by the barons.⁴¹¹ These twenty four men were going to meet at Oxford on June 9 to start the process of reform.⁴¹² Over the next one and a half years, a series of reforms, collectively known as the Provisions of Oxford, were put into effect.⁴¹³ The Provisions of Oxford were countrywide reforms on a variety of matters such as inquests into local administration, the composition of the twenty four, judicial and executive appointments and parliaments.⁴¹⁴ More importantly, they elected a council of fifteen men among the twenty four mentioned above to choose who would be in the king's council, and if those who were selected to king's council got the approval of the twenty four, they would be appointed.⁴¹⁵ By doing this, they achieved their aim of controlling who was in the king's council. None of the clauses in the Provisions of Oxford regulated something about the Cinque Ports directly. However, the Cinque Ports also got their share in the wave of change of personnel. Richard de Grey was appointed as the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports instead of Nicholas de Molis on June 23.⁴¹⁶

⁴⁰⁹ Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 18-19.

⁴¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁴¹¹ *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion 1258-1267*, eds. Robert Francis Treharne and I. J. Sanders (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 74-5. [hereafter *DBM*]

⁴¹² *DBM*, 75-7.

⁴¹³ David Carpenter, "The Secret Revolution of 1258," in *Baronial Reform and Revolution in England, 1258-1267*, ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), 30; Treharne, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 97n.

⁴¹⁴ *DBM*, 97-113; E. F. Jacob, "What were the 'Provisions of Oxford'?", *History* 9 (1924): 189-190.

⁴¹⁵ *DBM*, 105; Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 369.

⁴¹⁶ *CPR 1247-1258*, 638.

Richard de Grey was one of the fifteen chosen from the twenty four men, and he was also given Dover Castle and chamberlainship of Sandwich, with the instructions that he would stop any treasure exceeding 3000 marks which could come from the banished Lusignans on the continent.⁴¹⁷ The following July, the banished Lusignans were given safe conduct to leave the country, and in the first two weeks of the month, they left the country from the port of Dover.⁴¹⁸ On November 3, the barons and the honest men of the Cinque Ports were granted a one month and a day respite from the following Easter, from the amercements imposed on them through summons to the Exchequer instead of general summons in the presence of itinerant justices.⁴¹⁹ None of the narrative sources nor the governmental documents seem to suggest a reason for this favorable treatment of the Cinque Ports by the baronial reformers.

The following year was the climax of the power of the baronial government and the highest point the reformers could reach in terms of administrative power.⁴²⁰ However, 1259 was also the year in which the first cracks within the reformist barons began to appear.⁴²¹ The sides were divided on the issue of how to continue the reforms. More radical reformers like Simon de Montfort advocated that the reforms which were imposed on the king by the baronial government should also apply to all kinds of seigneurial lordships, including the barons' own.⁴²² On the opposite side, there were barons who were concerned about the possible negative effects of what is suggested by

⁴¹⁷ *DBM*, 105; *CPR 1247-1258*, 654; Robert C. Stacey, "Grey, Richard de," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified September 22, 2005, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11554>.

⁴¹⁸ *CPR 1247-1258*, 640-1; *Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1256-1259* (Burlington: TannerRitchie, 2011), PDF e-book, 317. [hereafter *CR*]

⁴¹⁹ *CR 1256-1259*, 336.

⁴²⁰ Treharne, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 157.

⁴²¹ Jobson, *First English Revolution*, 36.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 36.

more radical reformers on their personal interests.⁴²³ However, in the October parliament of 1259, further reforms were promulgated, which are known as the Provisions of Westminster, although contemporaries did not call them that.⁴²⁴ A crucial aspect of this parliament was the active participation of the young knights, known as “bachelors,” who got the support of the king’s son Edward, arguing for a better implementation of reform for lower classes.⁴²⁵ This is one of the many signs which shows that this movement had a much wider political base compared to the movement before the Magna Carta in King John’s reign. More will be said later on about this subject and its implications for the Cinque Ports’ participation in the political events of the period.

Not much can be found on the Cinque Ports in the sources for the year 1259. At the beginning of the year, King Henry III’s brother, Richard of Cornwall, who was elected King of the Romans in 1256, was coming back to England.⁴²⁶ His absence was a source of courage and inspiration for the reformist barons, and as such, his return was perceived with anxiety, and he was requested to take an oath not to hinder the reform movement.⁴²⁷ He initially refused to take the oath but eventually complied.⁴²⁸ While the barons were not sure what his stance would be, they armed themselves, and “made ships and galleys of the Cinque Ports and many others to be assembled.”⁴²⁹ While the preparations were going on, they were animated by the memory of Louis’s invasion when they had to fight

⁴²³ Ibid., 36.

⁴²⁴ DBM, 137n; Treharne, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 158-161.

⁴²⁵ Treharne, *Baronial Plan of Reform*, 159-163.

⁴²⁶ *Ann. Mon.*, 1:392.

⁴²⁷ Nicholas Vincent, “Richard, first earl of Cornwall and king of Germany,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, last modified January 3, 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/23501>; Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 5:732.

⁴²⁸ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 5:733-5.

⁴²⁹ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 5:734.

against many ships with a few English ships.⁴³⁰ Hugh Bigod was appointed Lord Warden on 8 September.⁴³¹ In October, the barons of the Cinque Ports were ordered to aid and counsel George of Dover and William de Leukenore, who were preparing the king's crossing to France.⁴³² Before going to France, the King ordered to the barons of the Cinque Ports to be loyal to Hugh Bigod.⁴³³ When he was in France, before the year ended, King Henry III accepted the terms of the Treaty of Paris, which included the resigning of any claims to Normandy, Poitou and Anjou to the king of France, retaining only Gascony.⁴³⁴

King Henry managed to make a restoration in 1261, suspending the Provisions of Oxford by a papal bull, and taking advantage of the schism that existed within the baronial ranks.⁴³⁵ He dismissed Hugh Bigod from the wardenship of the Cinque Ports and the constablership of Dover Castle.⁴³⁶ In his stead, Robert Walerand was appointed to those posts.⁴³⁷ Following Henry's restoration, the most ardent supporter of the Provisions, Simon de Montfort, retreated to France, only to come back two years later in 1263, when he saw an opportunity.⁴³⁸ During Simon's absence, nothing much that concerns the Cinque Ports took place. Narrative sources do not tell us anything on them in this period, and what is in the governmental sources is not very revealing either. On 28 October 1261, King Henry III ordered the sheriff of Kent to guard the Cinque Ports coastline, do not let anyone to get in or out of the kingdom without king's special

⁴³⁰ Paris, *Chronica Maiora*, 5:734.

⁴³¹ *CPR 1258-1266*, 42.

⁴³² *CPR 1258-1266*, 46.

⁴³³ *CR 1259-1261*, 14.

⁴³⁴ Bartholomaei de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, *Historia Anglicana*, ed. Henry Richards Luard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 137-8.

⁴³⁵ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 373-4.

⁴³⁶ *CPR 1258-1266*, 151-3.

⁴³⁷ *CPR 1258-1266*, 151-3

⁴³⁸ Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, 214-225.

licence.⁴³⁹ Walter de Bergsted was appointed to keep the castle of Dover together with Robert Walerand on 12 July 1262.⁴⁴⁰ Twelve men of Rye and Winchelsea were needed to transport the king back to England from Wissand on the French coast on 8 December 1262.⁴⁴¹

King Henry's period of restoration did not last very long as his son Edward, and his young followers, invited Simon back to England to lead an uprising which they intended to instigate to regain their lost lands.⁴⁴² Simon came back in April 1263, and became the leader of the young members of the movement.⁴⁴³ They were able to force the king to accept the Provisions of Oxford, again.⁴⁴⁴ However, this time, the situation in England was very different, and there was not enough support for the Provisions of Oxford. To fix the problem of the lack of supporters, Simon changed the character of the movement by employing the anti-foreign sentiment to reach the large crowds.⁴⁴⁵ Although the anti-foreign rhetoric found in the narrative sources of the period is thought to be exaggerated, it also seems undeniable that Simon's move corresponded to the feelings of large masses, as he could generate support by it.⁴⁴⁶

The declaration of the Provisions was again followed by changes of personnel including those of the Cinque Ports. Richard de Grey was back as the constable of Dover castle

⁴³⁹ *CR 1261-1264*, 2.

⁴⁴⁰ *CPR 1258-1266*, 224.

⁴⁴¹ *CR 1261-1264*, 168.

⁴⁴² Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 374.

⁴⁴³ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 375; Maddicott, *Simon de Montfort*, 225.

⁴⁴⁴ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 375.

⁴⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁴⁴⁶ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 375-6; Ralph V. Turner, *Men Raised from Dust: Administrative Service and Upward Mobility in Angevin England* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia University Press, 1988), 1-5; Prestwich, *English Politics*, 80-6.

and as chamberlain of Sandwich.⁴⁴⁷ Roger de Leyburn was the new Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports.⁴⁴⁸ In order to overcome the problems between King Henry III and some of his barons the King of France, Louis IX's, arbitration was sought in January 1264.⁴⁴⁹ This event, known as Mise of Amiens, led to King Louis IX taking King Henry III's side, and condemning the Provisions of Oxford.⁴⁵⁰ The purpose of going to Louis IX was to find an end to the contention between King Henry III and his magnates.

However, as he took Henry's side in the Mise of Amiens, the result soon became just the opposite as civil war broke out shortly after.⁴⁵¹ On 14 May 1264, royal armies met with Simon's army coming from London near Lewes, and in the ensuing battle Simon won a great victory and captured King Henry III, Richard of Cornwall, and Prince Edward as prisoners.⁴⁵²

In the following one and a half year, Simon de Montfort ruled the kingdom in king's name. In the following part, what Simon did about the Cinque Ports during this time will be analyzed. On 28 May 1264, he appointed his own son, Henry de Montfort, as constable of Dover, chamberlain of Sandwich, and warden of the Cinque Ports.⁴⁵³ On 1 July, Simon thanked the Cinque Ports for their service and sent another order to be diligent against the king's supporters.⁴⁵⁴ John de la Haye was appointed to check what necessities were needed in order to prevent the forces coming from overseas (probably

⁴⁴⁷ *CPR 1258-1266*, 271.

⁴⁴⁸ *CPR 1258-1266*, 300.

⁴⁴⁹ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 376-7.

⁴⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 377.

⁴⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 376-7.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 378-9.

⁴⁵³ *CPR 1258-1266*, 319.

⁴⁵⁴ *CPR 1258-1266*, 361.

the ones raised by Eleanor of Provence).⁴⁵⁵ The infamous piratical activities of the Cinque Ports also date from this period when Simon was in charge. Whether it be a royalist or baron sympathizer, narrative sources agree on their piratical activities.⁴⁵⁶ On August, 4 1265, Simon was defeated by Prince Edward who had escaped captivity. However it took several years until every rebel stronghold was subdued.⁴⁵⁷ The Cinque Ports continued to resist, for which the Pope ordered the legate Ottobuono to excommunicate them.⁴⁵⁸ Edward was able to subdue Sandwich in January 1267, later in March he captured Winchelsea.⁴⁵⁹ The bailiff of Winchelsea was given the power to receive people into the king's peace if they made pledges to Lord Warden, Roger de Leyburn, of the Cinque Ports⁴⁶⁰

To sum up, the men of the Cinque Ports tried to take advantage of the relative weakness of the royal government in the first years of Henry III's reign. In 1225, they started their yearly visits to Gascony for wine trade, which was the most profitable item of trade for them. In 1240s, they were in distress as they were overwhelmed at sea off the coasts of Brittany and Calais. Meanwhile in the mid-century, the environmental destruction that afflicted some port towns reached critical stages as it is shown in the narrative and governmental sources of the period. During the civil war, following the baronial reform movement, they sided with the rebel leader Montfort, which provided them with better chances of representation. After the defeat of Simon de Montfort, Winchelsea resisted for some more time and was crushed by Lord Edward.

⁴⁵⁵ *CPR 1258-1266*, 341.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ann Mon.* 4:157; *Flores Historiarum*, 2:238.

⁴⁵⁷ Carpenter, *Struggle for Mastery*, 380.

⁴⁵⁸ *Cal. Pap. Reg.*, 430-1.

⁴⁵⁹ Powicke, *Thirteenth Century England*, 206-7.

⁴⁶⁰ *CPR 1266-1272*, 86.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

To conclude, this thesis examined the Cinque Ports in the reigns of King John and King Henry III, with a focus on the two civil wars of the thirteenth century. Although, the Cinque Ports have been the subject of many studies, until very recently they were dominated either by the legalistic approach to urban history writing or by the works of naval historians. The last academic book that collectively deals with the Cinque Ports is still Murray's *Constitutional History* published in 1935. There are recent interdisciplinary works on the individual towns, but none of them deals with the specific issue of the involvement of the Cinque Ports in the two civil wars. Using governmental and narrative written sources, and findings of archaeology, this thesis aims to make sense of the Cinque Ports in the thirteenth century by contextualizing it with other social

and political developments of the era, and comparing their activities in the two civil wars.

In the second chapter, the geography and early history of the Cinque Ports have been analyzed. The English Channel was formed as a result of the rising sea levels after the glaciers had melted at the end of the Last Ice Age. Rising sea levels inundated the lowlands of Kent and Sussex gave birth to the peculiar geography of the towns of the Cinque Ports, which were more dependent on waterways for their survival. The Cinque Ports suffered from powerful storms in the thirteenth century, in addition to a natural phenomenon called the “Eastward Drift” which carried sand and shingle and blocked their ports. The individual towns that made up the organization started to flourish with the kingdom of Kent, and in the eleventh century, all Head Ports showed clear urban characteristics. Starting with Edward the Confessor’s reign, next two centuries witnessed the development of the Cinque Ports as an organization.

In the third chapter, the Cinque Ports during the King John’s reign were analyzed. King John made extensive use of the Cinque Ports since the loss of Normandy in his reign resulted in a qualitative change in the Cinque Ports’ position within the kingdom. Towards the end of his reign, the Cinque Ports conducted successful attacks on French ships in 1213. While the sources usually claim that the Cinque Ports supported Louis and the baronial cause from early on, however, I argue that none of the primary sources say this explicitly and we only hear of the Cinque Ports’ support for Louis when they return their allegiance back to the royalist side. The governmental sources seem to suggest that until Louis landed, King John exercised a fair amount of control over the Cinque Ports.

In the fourth chapter, how the Cinque Ports behaved in the long reign of Henry III was examined. In the beginning of the reign, the Cinque Ports seem to have exploited the weakness of the regency governments to further their interests. Towards the middle of the reign, we have a rare glimpse at the complaints of the Portsmen, provided by Matthew Paris in his chronicle. During the baronial reform and revolt the control of the Cinque Ports was one of the areas the crown and the reformist barons fought over.

During the following civil war, the Cinque Ports supported the rebel baron Simon de Montfort, and during his rule between May 1264 and August 1265, narrative sources tell us of the piratical activities of the Cinque Ports for which they became infamous later on. After Edward's victory at Evesham, the Cinque Ports continued to resist, although finally they were subdued in 1267.

When the two civil wars of the thirteenth century, one at the end of King John's reign in 1215-17 and, the other in 1264-7 following the baronial reform movements, which had started in 1258, are compared with regard to the Cinque Ports' position in them, there appear some points of commonality and difference. To start with the common points, in both of the civil wars the geography of the Cinque Ports became a war zone. In both of the civil wars, the political actors perceived control of the Cinque Ports to be important due to their proximity to the Continent, and the opportunities presented by this. King John wanted to secure the ports to get his mercenaries and face Louis' invasion. For Louis, securing the Cinque Ports meant securing reinforcements. The regency government's efforts to get the support of the Cinque Ports manifested itself in the inclusion of the Cinque Ports in the reissues of Magna Carta in 1216, 1217 and 1225. What made the invasion by Louis fail, in the end, was the naval victory in 1217, which

smashed Louis's hope in succeeding in his effort. About half a century later, when the reformer barons stopped Richard of Cornwall to ensure that he would not be a hindrance to the reformist cause, the naval preparations had started in the Cinque Ports again to face Richard of Cornwall, in case he did not comply. Later in 1264, the first battle of the civil war took place as the king went to subdue one of the Cinque Ports, and when they supported the rebel Simon de Montfort, who took charge of the government following his victory at Lewes, the Cinque Ports successfully repelled a royalist invasion force sent by the queen of Henry III, Eleanor of Provence.

However, the differences seem to outnumber the common points. The greatest difference is in the character of the two political movements in the two civil wars. While it was mostly the barons who were involved in the movement against King John, the baronial reform and revolt had a much wider political base.⁴⁶¹ This is demonstrated by the examples in which peasants consciously took action or two youngsters who in a fight in 1264, fashioned themselves as Simon de Montfort and Edward.⁴⁶² There is direct evidence how the Cinque Ports benefited from this, and tried to be a part of the process. The obvious sign is the inclusion of four burgesses from Sandwich and the Cinque Ports for two different Simon de Montfort's parliaments in late 1264/early 1265.⁴⁶³ There is also another sign in the patent rolls that suggest that the men of the Cinque Ports were actively engaged in the reform movement. In a letter of remission written in June 29, 1267, we can see that a baron of Sandwich, named Laurence Whytepens, was also a bachelor of the earl of Gloucester. As mentioned earlier bachelors were young knights

⁴⁶¹ Carpenter, *Magna Carta*, 453.

⁴⁶² Carpenter, "English Peasants in Politics, 1258-1267," *The Reign of Henry III* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1996), 309-48; Henry Summerson, "Repercussions from the Barons' War: a Kentish Inquest of 1264," *Historical Research* 91, no. 253 (2018): 573-8.

⁴⁶³ *DBM*, 302-5.

who exerted pressure on the barony to make the reforms spread even more to the other segments of the society. As opposed to these signs that suggest more widespread participation in the baronial reform movement, the only reason that can be found as to why the Cinque Ports supported Louis during his invasion is in *The History of William Marshal* and it gives the cause as personal grievances against King John.⁴⁶⁴

This may take us to the possible motivations of the Cinque Ports in committing their actions. Björn Weiler approaches the issue with caution when he says that the political motivations of the townspeople in rebellion need not be related to the national politics at large; instead, it could be directed more to their immediate lords in an effort to gain more autonomy.⁴⁶⁵ However, the situation of the Cinque Ports shows that these two do not have to be mutually exclusive. While they were dragged to the scene of national politics due to the actions of the main political actors, simultaneously, individual ports such as Sandwich aimed to get freer from their lord, Canterbury Cathedral Priory, throughout the thirteenth century.⁴⁶⁶

Another crucial change was in the physical states of the ports. The storms of the thirteenth century hit Winchelsea the most. It should not be a coincidence that Winchelsea was also the town that resisted the most after the battle of Evesham. Romney's harbor suffered due to the change in the mouth of the River Brede. Rye grew at the expense of these two towns, and arguably, was the most prosper Cinque Port town along with Sandwich in the thirteenth century.

⁴⁶⁴ *The History of William Marshal*, 206.

⁴⁶⁵ Björn Weiler, *Kingship, Rebellion and Political Culture: England and Germany, c. 1215 – c. 1250* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 155.

⁴⁶⁶ A. F. Butcher, "Sandwich in the Thirteenth Century," *Archaeologia Cantiana* 93 (1977): 25.

Murray argues that the actions of the Cinque Ports in this period were motivated by their desire to sustain the conditions that would allow their piracy to flourish.⁴⁶⁷ However, David Sylvester makes an important point when he asserts that the fame that the Cinque Ports had as exceptional pirates may be “largely historiographical rather than historical.”⁴⁶⁸ In addition to the difficulty of separating what was piracy and what was service in the middle ages, even when it could be done, it becomes clear that piracy was very widespread in the middle ages, and one could be a fisherman, a merchant, and a pirate on the same voyage.⁴⁶⁹ The Cinque Ports were no different from other port towns in that sense, and their reputation as ruthless pirates seems to rest on the writings of nineteenth century naval historians, who either praised them as courageous seamen or condemned them as mere robbers, both of which made their piracy look larger than it really was.⁴⁷⁰

In terms of the organization of the Portsmen in the rebellions, as they were under different lords, they do not seem to be forced into joining the rebellions through vertical lines of hierarchy.⁴⁷¹ Rather, their participation seems to have been depended on horizontal ties within the urban communities, which Susan Reynolds emphasizes in her book.⁴⁷²

When the situation is viewed from the Crown’s perspective, there are also some important changes. Paul Latimer shows how the activities of castle building and

⁴⁶⁷ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 59.

⁴⁶⁸ David G. Sylvester, “Communal Piracy in Medieval England’s Cinque Ports,” in *Noble Ideals and Bloody Realities: Warfare in the Middle Ages*, eds. Niall Christie and Maya Yazigi (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 165.

⁴⁶⁹ Sylvester, “Communal Piracy,” 169, Brooks, “Cinque Ports,” 185.

⁴⁷⁰ Sylvester, “Communal Piracy,” 164-5.

⁴⁷¹ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 4-5.

⁴⁷² Susan Reynolds, *Kingdoms and Communities in Western Europe, 900-1300* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).

expanding royal administration, although not undertaken for the sole purpose of suppressing rebellions, could be useful tools.⁴⁷³ In this sense, the crown really tried to improve its hand between the two civil wars. One of the Cinque Ports hosted one of the mightiest castles in the country: Dover Castle. In addition, Henry gave the castle of Hastings, which was destroyed by King John as he was retreating when Louis landed, to Peter of Savoy, and ordered him to repair and fortify the castle of Hastings.⁴⁷⁴ Castle building was also the reason why Henry wanted to take Rye and Winchelsea from the hands of the Abbey of Fécamp. The development of the office of the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports is an example to the expansion of royal government in the reign of Henry III, which can easily be seen by the amount and diversity of the surviving governmental records.⁴⁷⁵ Although, the Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports was not exactly like a sheriff of a county since he did not account at the Exchequer for the Cinque Ports. The Warden was also different from other royal officials since he had to take an oath to uphold the liberties of the Cinque Ports.⁴⁷⁶ However, it was still an important post, easing communications between the crown and the Cinque Ports, and along with the Court of Shepway, the most important tool for controlling the Ports.⁴⁷⁷ An important point is that while more local officers were handling the Cinque Ports in the reign of King John, the office of Lord Warden developed more in Henry III's reign, which signals further expansion of central government. Ian Forrest argues that the expansion of the royal government into localities does not always have to be antagonistic, and in fact it can be

⁴⁷³ Paul Latimer, "How to Suppress a Rebellion: 1173-4," in *Rulership and Rebellion in Anglo-Norman World, c. 1066-c.1216*, ed. Paul Dalton and David Luscombe (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 164-5.

⁴⁷⁴ *CPR 1247-1258*, 50.

⁴⁷⁵ David Carpenter, David Crook and Louise J. Wilkinson, "Introduction," in *The Growth of Royal Government under Henry III*, eds. David Crook and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 1-8.

⁴⁷⁶ Murray, *Constitutional History*, 77.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 60-1.

co-evolutionary when the local elites are drawn into the process.⁴⁷⁸ However, this was not always the case for the Cinque Ports as quite often non-local officers, such as Peter des Rivaux or Peter of Savoy, were appointed as Lord Wardens. This top down appointments could have generated a friction on local basis in the Cinque Ports. The rapid change of the Lord Warden in the turbulent years of the baronial reform shows that the post was thought to be important by both sides.

To sum up, when the two civil wars are compared the fact that the geography of the Cinque Ports became a war zone and all major actors deemed the control of the Cinque Ports to be very important are the common points. The nature of the political movements was very different and this manifested itself in the sources of the period. Instead of explaining the involvement of the two civil wars as a result of their love of piracy, which was not fundamentally different than those of other towns, I pointed out that during the baronial reform and revolt movement, the Cinque Ports had much better chance of representation, which could be something that affected their desire to engage more. In addition, between the two civil wars, the ports physically deteriorated to a great degree which could be one of the reasons for their more reckless behavior in mid-century.

⁴⁷⁸ Ian Forrest, "Power and the People in the Thirteenth Century," in *Thirteenth Century England XV: Authority and Resistance in the Age of Magna Carta: Proceedings from the Aberystwyth and Lampeter Conference, 2013*, eds. Janet E. Burton, Phillip Schofield and Björn Weiler (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2015), 17-33.

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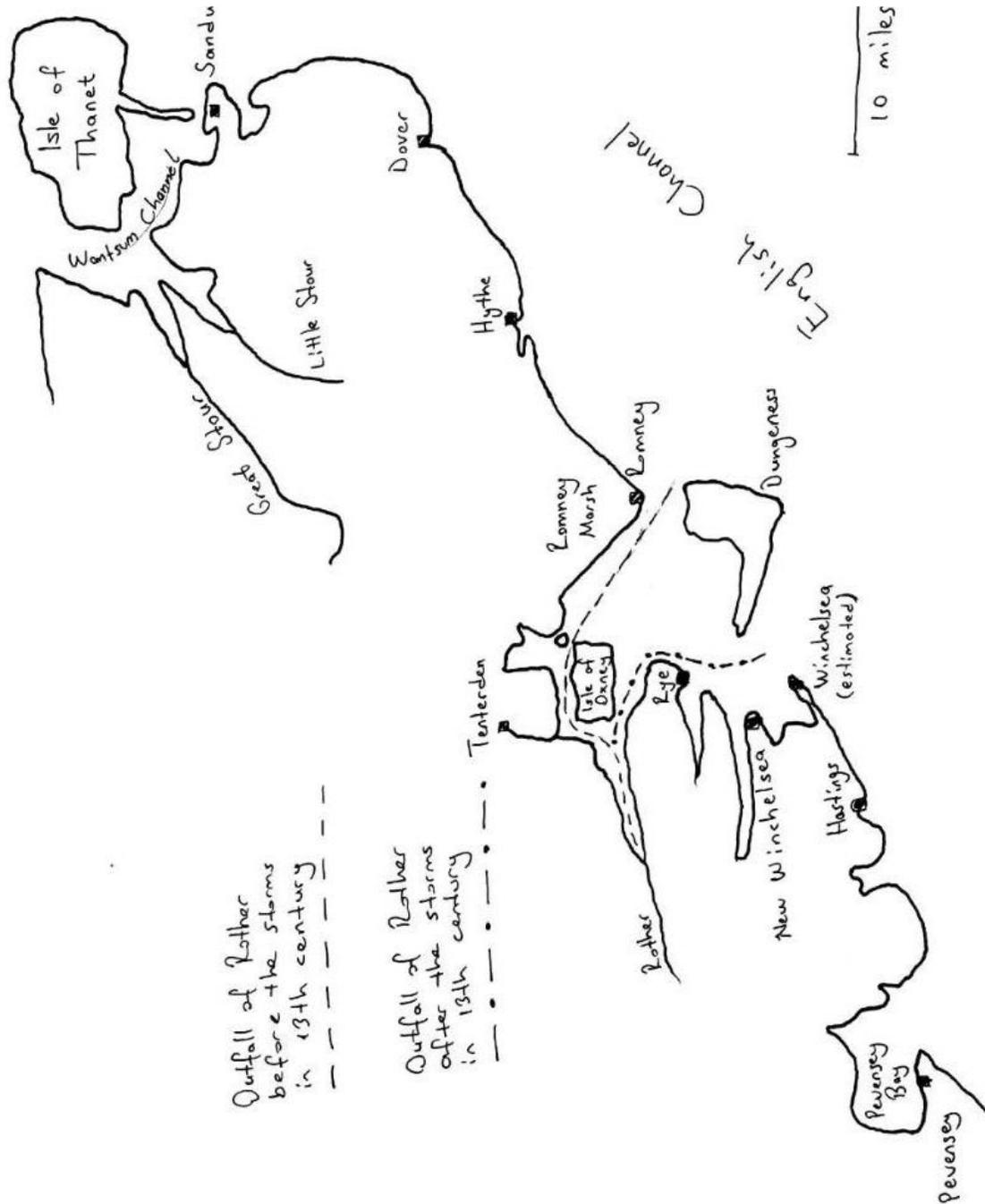
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APPENDICES



APPENDIX A

MAP 1: THE COASTLINE OF SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY



This map is based on the maps given in: Williamson, "Historical Geography,"; Draper et al., *Rye*, 6-7; Clarke et al., *Sandwich*, 14; Brentnall, *Cinque Ports*, 2, 4-5; Mais, *Land of the Cinque Ports*, 31.

APPENDIX B

MAP 2: PRESENT DAY COASTLINE OF SOUTH-EAST ENGLAND

