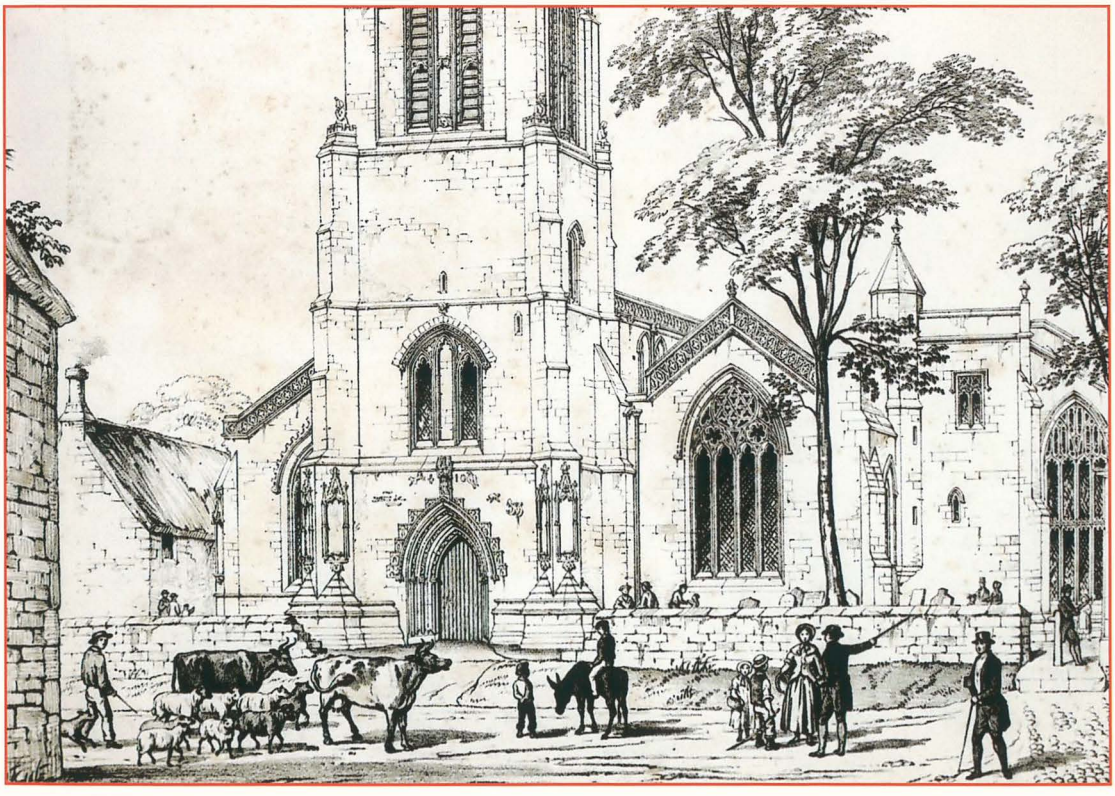
The Local Historian

JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION FOR LOCAL HISTORY

May 2025 www.balh.org.uk Volume 55 No 2



IMPORTANT: please note that the editor of *The Local Historian*, Dr Alan Crosby, has a new email address. It is operative now, and his previous address will no longer work. The new address is

dralancrosby@gmail.com

The Reviews Editor for *The Local Historian* is Dr Heather Falvey, 119 Winton Drive, Croxley Green, RICKMANSWORTH WD3 3QS. Please send all book and publications for review and/or listing to her.

FRONT COVER: St Mary's church, Bloxham, Oxfordshire: drawn by the architect G.E. Street's office in c.1865 (detail of print in the Oxford History Centre, PAR37/11/A/1); **BACK COVER**: the Banbury area showing the churches which were restored in the mid-nineteenth century (Adderbury, Bloxham, Cropredy, Deddington), from Bartholomew's half-inch map sheet 24 Oxford 1903: see paper by John Roberts on pp.125-140; **INSIDE BACK COVER** (top) the local government divisions of the Saddleworth area in the early 20th century, all the pink-coloured units being urban districts (from *Philips' Handy Administrative Atlas of England and Wales* 1928); (bottom) Dr and Mrs W.H.F. Ramsden of Dobcross, Saddleworth circa 1890 (Saddleworth Historical Society Archives H/ELE)

The Local Historian is published four times a year, in February, May, August and November. Single copies may be purchased : for more information and enquiries about *The Local Historian* and the British Association for Local History, please visit our website at www.balh.org.uk or write to BALH Head Office, St. James House, Vicar Lane, SHEFFIELD S1 2EX.

Articles for possible inclusion in *The Local Historian* should be sent to the editor, Dr Alan Crosby, 77 Wellington Street, PRESTON PR1 8TQ or dralancrosby@gmail.com. A style-sheet, 'Notes for contributors', is available on request. We welcome articles on any subject in the field of local history, and the editor is always pleased to discuss ideas for contributions and to advise on their preparation.

The Local Historian is printed by Salisbury Printing Company Limited, Greencroft Street, SALISBURY SP1 1JF

THE LOCAL HISTORIAN

• ISSN 00245585 • Volume 55 • Number 2 • May 2025 •

CONTENTS

Shipping, trade, and maritime communities: case studies of Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire and Dorset, c.1565–c.1630[1]

CRAIG LAMBERT, JOHN McALEER, GARY PAUL BAKER AND LUCY HUGGINS

Among the famous historical scenes acted out before spectators at the Worsley Great Pageant, taking place in the Lancashire village in the middle of June 1914, was the 'thrilling story' of the 'mighty seafight' against the ships of the Spanish Armada.[2] Re-enactment, or rather dramatic presentation, of the victory over Philip's fleet in 1588 was a perennial favourite and a staple part of such early-twentieth-century interpretations and public manifestations of the country's history. Nearly thirty years later, at the Greenwich Night Pageant in 1933, the depiction of 'England's Delivery' from the Armada followed a scene on board the *Golden Hinde* in which Elizabeth knighted 'her kneeling pirate Admiral'.[3]

Traditional narratives of Britain's maritime history have often focused on notable events, prominent organizations, and well-known personalities: the 'dread throes of Church and State, the plans of monarchs weighing England's fate', as 'the Spirit of the Past' at the Southampton Tudor Pageant in 1914 expressed it.[4] From Francis Drake's circumnavigation of the globe and the defeat of the Spanish Armada at the end of the sixteenth century, to the transatlantic slave trade and the rise of the East India Company in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the actions and activities of specific individuals and institutions have dominated both the scholarship and popular understandings of this key part of Britain's past.

The AHRC-funded project on which this paper is based allowed us to reassess these interpretations, situating these events and individuals in the broader historical contexts of England's—and later Britain's—emergence as a significant commercial force and maritime power.[5] Beyond specific battles or individual ship captains, the research focused on the routine maritime activities and ordinary coastal communities that helped to spearhead the country's transition from a relatively insignificant polity on the edge of Europe to a maritime superpower with global commercial reach and geopolitical ambitions.

Utilising cutting-edge AI and Digital Humanities technologies, the project team systematically examined records related to maritime commercial activity spanning two centuries. This involved processing several hundred thousand images taken from the pages of port books, customs and tax records, and other historical documents to create a database containing up to one million unique voyages from the period. This database sheds new light on merchant shipping, maritime communities, and trade networks during this crucial period of proto-globalization. Using port books—historical

documents which provide information on the intended destination or voyage origin of every ship leaving or entering a specific port—enabled the accurate measurement of the direction, flow, and volume of the country's seaborne trade. As port books record the commodities shipped, we also gain insight into the quantity and character of imports and exports passing through different ports, supplementing our understanding of contemporary merchants' participation in various branches of trade. The voyages undertaken during this two-century period, as captured in the project database, include everything from tiny, one-ton vessels sailing up and down Southampton Water to the enormous East Indiamen that connected continents and spanned thousands of miles. The data gathered by this research help to redefine our understanding of the socio-cultural world of the country's early modern maritime communities, mapping the development of its seaborne trade routes and emerging global presence over two tumultuous centuries.

The research was organised around three key themes: ships, seafarers, and trade. First, by drawing on a rich seam of historical and archival sources, the research examined the English merchant shipping fleet through a detailed investigation of the country's headports. This involved identifying and gathering information about the development of overseas trade, highlighting key moments of change and underlining the interrelation between overseas and coastal trade. Second, the project's research explored the shipboard and wider maritime communities associated with this commercial activity, reconstructing their socio-cultural worlds and providing new insights into their lives, careers, and experiences. Recent scholarship has underlined the fact that many people engaged in multiple occupations that linked them with a wide variety of individuals within port communities.[6] This project built on that work, exploring the fluidity of shipboard, maritime, and paramaritime communities, such as the frequency of movement between coastal (including riverine and fishing activities) and overseas trade, as well as how local factors shaped such working practices. It is clear from the data that ships, merchants, and shipmasters frequently moved between various branches of trade. Finally, the project's research enables the directional flows of the country's seaborne trade over two centuries to be mapped, further helping to recreate something of the lives and experiences of a whole raft of people involved in Britain's early modern maritime world.

Of course, other historians have explored these themes in the past. However, Ralph Davis's seminal work on the country's merchant fleet was undertaken before the availability of digital technologies which allow detailed quantitative examination.[7] Both Robin Craig and Simon Ville argued that capital investment in shipping underpinned Britain's industrialisation.[8] The more detailed and granular levels of information about the size of ships and cargoes available through this AHRC-funded project offer concrete answers as to the levels of capital invested in ships and which regions and ports were at the forefront of such maritime commercial expansion. Notwithstanding Davis's work, scholars who have explored questions relating to the size of the merchant fleet have focused on individual ports, with their analyses distorting our understanding of regional and national investment in shipping. For example, David Sacks's impressive study of Bristol analysed that port's overseas commerce, but ignored the importance of, and interrelation between, overseas and coastal trade.[9] The nationwide approach adopted here highlights key moments of change that 'micro-historical studies' of individual ports and regions often overlook. In doing so, it allows us to investigate various factors—such as internal investment, infrastructure improvements, war, and environmental change—that shaped the shipping capacity of a particular region or port, and to compare this directly with developments in other places. For example, two of the contributing authors have found that, contrary to the prevailing consensus

and based on total tonnage, England's 'second port in the sixteenth century in terms of ships and tonnage was Hull, not Bristol'.[10] Such findings are only made possible through a quantitative nationwide examination of the merchant fleet.

The merchant fleet of Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire and Dorset c.1565–1582

The following analysis covers the period 1566-1630 and uses Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire, and Dorset as case studies to show how we can investigate England's merchant shipping, trade, and maritime communities in unprecedented detail. Existing studies have examined the size and geographical distribution of the merchant fleets of these counties. However, apart from the investigations by Baker and Lambert, most of these studies have tended to rely on one source.[11] Neville Williams, for example, relied on a series of ship surveys undertaken in 1565 and 1582.[12] These documents provided the Crown with detailed information on the number of ships and mariners available in each port. Ship surveys were often undertaken in times of emergency. If need be, the government could, therefore, easily requisition ships. The 1572 survey, for example, occurred just after the Ridolfi Plot, and many more surveys were produced in the 1580s as England slid closer to war with Spain. The problem with ship surveys is that they often omit information and sometimes do not return data for some ports. For example, an investigation of the 1572 ship survey demonstrated that shipping for over sixty ports was not included.[13] By combining evidence from a group of sources, we can go further than the information provided by the ship surveys.

Essential sources in this regard are port books. The requirement to record information in port books was introduced in 1565 to improve the collection of taxes charged on maritime trade. A controller, a customer, and a searcher were stationed in each headport. The customer was responsible for recording the levied customs. To reduce fraudulent practices, the controller would check the accuracy of the customer's records while the searcher examined the cargo.[14] Notably, from Easter 1565, coastal trade, although untaxed, was also recorded. As noted, the port books record the date each ship left or entered port, its name, and that of its master, in addition to its tonnage and details of its journey. That coastal trade is recorded is important because at least three-quarters of voyages by English ships sailed coastwise. Linking the evidence in the port books with ship surveys, which also provide the names of vessels and their home ports and shipmasters, enables us to reconstruct the merchant shipping of these counties in detail. As the port books also provide us with the names of the shipmasters and voyage details, we can also reconstruct the careers of key members of the shipboard community.

When linking information from various sources, we must be careful not to double-count ships (i.e. fail to link references to the same ship) or conflate those ships appearing in multiple records (i.e. erroneously link references to separate ships). Three methodological approaches can be employed to mitigate these issues. The first method is the three-identifier, where we link the ship's name with its master and home port. Within a specified time frame, records of ships that are identical according to these three identifiers are deemed to refer to the same vessel. The second method is to use the ship's name and home port but discount the master and tonnage. Therefore, all ships with the same name from the same port within a specified time are counted only once. The third way of measuring the English merchant fleet is to mould the best attributes of the above methods and apply a more nuanced approach to the data. This involves scrutinizing the number of ships produced by the methods above and eliminating any ship from the inquiry that is double-counted or conflated.

Each of these methods has limitations. The three-identifier method usually overestimates the number of ships in each port. From 1575 to 1576, the *Andrew* of Ipswich, for example, was commanded by three masters.[15] We can be confident that this is the same vessel because it is recorded as weighing approximately 30 tons each time it appears.[16] Therefore, in this case, the three-identifier method would count one ship three times. Applying this method to several counties and dozens of ports would significantly overestimate the number of ships. The ship name method poses the opposite problem to the three-identifier, as this can drastically reduce the number of ships. In the 1570s, the *Minion* of Southampton was recorded with five tonnages ranging from 8 to 44 tons.[17] There are likely two ships, one measuring 8 to 12 tons and the other 30 to 44 tons. Common ship names, such as *John* or *Mary*, inevitably mean that applying this method across dozens of ports would significantly reduce the number of ships. The nuanced method allows us to compensate for the abovementioned problems with the ship-name and three-identifier methods. The key problem of the nuanced method is scalability. Applying this method to a nationwide study of the merchant fleet is exceptionally time-consuming. Still, it is suitable for the county-based analyses in the remainder of this article.[18]

As noted, Neville Williams used the 1565 and 1582 ship surveys to reconstruct the merchant fleet of Suffolk. For 1565, he argued there were 94 ships totalling 3360 tons.[19] For 1582, Williams provided a figure of 74 ships measuring 4464 tons.[20] Even accepting that Williams did not include any data for Ipswich, these are undoubtedly underestimations. The following table reconstructs the merchant fleet of Suffolk over three periods by combining information from three key surveys with the port books and other sources.

Table 1 Suffolk's merchant fleet over three periods

year (number of ports)	number of ships	tonnage	average tonnage
1565–1567 (24)	414	4547	11
1572–1573 (19)	293	8189	28
1581–1582 (15)	306	11316	37

References: TNA, E 190/3/1, 2; E 190/4/1; E 190/5/3, 4, 5; E 190/6/6; E 190/6/8; E 190/7/4; E 190/303/3, 4; E 190/304/9; E 190/306/6, 12; E 190/307/12, 18; E 190/308/1, 3; E 190/387/1; E 190/389/6, 7; E 190/425/1, 2, 6; E 190/471/1, 3, 7; E 190/472/3, 4, 5, 7, 11; E 190/473/2-11; E 190/587/2, 4, 7; E 190/589/1, 6, 10, 13, 14; E 190/590/6; E 190/591/8, 13; E 190/638/2, 3, 4; E 190/639/3; E 190/641/13; E 190/814/1, 2; E 190/928/9; E 190/931/9; E 190/934/4; State Papers [hereafter SP] 12/39 fols, 54-55; SP 12/148 fols, 162v-166r; SP 12/156 fols, 77r, 79r, 84r, 106r, 108v, 113v; SP 15/22, fols, 4v-7r; Yarmouth Custom Accounts, Norfolk Record Office [hereafter YC] 4/275 fols, 36v, 37r, 37v, 38r, 39v; YC 4/277 fols, 20v, 21r, 22v, 26v, 27v.

The above table demonstrates a rapid increase in tonnage. Indeed, from 1567 to 1582, the tonnage of Suffolk's merchant fleet increased by 149 per cent. Moreover, the average size of ships increased by 236 per cent. These figures might be skewed by the 1565 survey, which included approximately 100 ships under 5 tons. Even so, the increase in tonnage from 1573 to 1582 was 38 per cent. While there was a gradual decrease in the number of ships from 414 in 1565 to 306 in 1582, the tonnage data make it clear that Suffolk's shipowners were increasingly investing in fewer but bigger ships.

Similar trends can be seen in Kent's merchant fleet. Gibson published the 1566 shipping returns for Kent in *Archaeologia Cantiana*, which are not included in the table below.[21] The principal reason is that the vessels in that survey are not named, making it difficult to compare them with contemporaneous port books. For 1566, Gibson found 293 ships, 86 per cent of which measured 20 tons or under.

Table 2 Ships and tonnage of Kent's merchant fleet over three periods

year (number of ports)	numbers of ships	tonnage	average tonnage
1566–1567 (31)	279	3899	14
1572–1573 (35)	256	5868	21
1581–1582 (39)	372	6327	17

References: TNA, E 190/3/1, 2, 4, 9, 10, 12; E 190/4/1, 4-5; E 190/5/2-6; E 190/6/1-8; E 190/185/6, 10; E 190/186/2, 3; E 190/304/2, 4, 9, 10, 12; E 190/305/4, 5, 12; E 190/306/1, 4, 8-17; E 190/307/, 2, 3, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19; E 190/388/1, 7, 12; E 190/389/4; E190/387/, 2, 4, 7, 10; E 190/388/1, 7, 12; E 190/425/1-6; E 190/426/1-4; E 190/427/1-9; E 190/428/2-5; E 190/471/1-2; E 190/472/4; E 190/473/3, 7, 10; E 190/587/1-12; E 190/589/4-6; E 190/590/8, 14; E 190/591/4, 7, 13, 18; E 190/592/10, 12;; E 190/638/1, 2, 5, 6, 13; E 190/639/1; E 190/639/2-11; E 190/736/5-6; E 190/737/3, 5 11, 18; E 190/738/2, 5, 6, 7, 10; E 190/739/9, 2,13, 14, 10, 21-25; E 190/740/1-29; E 190/741/17-26; E 190/814/2-10; E 190/927/7-16; E 190/928/4; E 190/930/9, 16, 26; E 190/931/3 ; E 190/1010/12, 13, 14, 23; E 190/1011/4, 8, 12, 19, 21, 23; E 190/1128/9, 12, 15; E 190/1132/11; SP 15/22; SP 12/156.

The port books indicate that by 1566–1567, the picture had changed little from the previous year. Indeed, 64 per cent of Kent's ships still measured 20 tons or less. Instead, we see a slow but gradual increase in tonnage from 1566 to 1582, amounting to 62 per cent. Over the same period, similar patterns occurred concerning ships, with a 33 per cent increase in the number of vessels operating out of Kent ports. The key development in Kent's merchant fleet occurred in the seventeenth century when peace with Spain encouraged more trade with the Continent while, at the same time, a rapidly expanding London provided increased demand for goods shipped coastwise, much of which came via Kent ports.[22]

As Table 3 demonstrates, from 1566 to 1582, the total tonnage of Hampshire's merchant fleet increased from 1396 to 5581 tons, a rise of nearly 300 per cent. Therefore, while Hampshire's total tonnage figures are not as high as Suffolk's, the increase is just as remarkable. As with the above tables, the data for 1565–1567 is skewed by the survey conducted in 1565, which included many small fishing boats, which reduces the average tonnage. While many small fishing boats were used for trading purposes, we get a clearer picture of the changes to Hampshire's open-sea trading fleet by comparing the 1572–1573 data with that of 1581–1582. From 1572 to 1582, we see a 40 per cent increase in the number of ships and a 105 per cent growth in total tonnage. Similarly, the average size of Hampshire's ships grew by over 47 per cent.

Table 3 Hampshire's merchant fleet over three periods

year (number of ports)	number of ships	Tonnage	average tonnage
1565–1567 (27)	218	1396	6
1572–1573 (21)	129	2722	21
1581–1582 (15)	181	5581	31

References: TNA, E 190/1/5; E 190/3/1; E 190/4/1; E 190/5/5; E 190/6/8; E 190/589/13; E 190/638/1; E 190/639/3; E 190/737/2, 9, 22, 25; E 190/738/2, 5, 7; E 190/739/8, 11, 14, 20, 24; E 190/741/14, 15, 21; E 190/742/15; E 190/813/4; E 190/814/1, 2, 3, 8, 9; E 190/815/4, 5, 9, 10, 11; E 190/816/1; E 190/864/4, 6, 7, 9, 10; E 190/865/1, 4, 8, 9; E 190/925/2, 5, 7, 8, 11; E 190/929/9-11; E 190/932/7, 8; E 190/934/1, 8; E 190/1010/4, 7, 12, 14, 18, 23; E 190/1011/3; E190/1012/7; E 190/1014/, 3, 11; E 190/1015/3, 12; E 190/1128/5, 9; E 190/1325/5, 7; Exeter Local Port Customs Accounts, Devon Record Office, 1581-1572; Local Port Books, Southampton, Southampton Record Office, SC 5 4 75 (1581-82) f. 2r; SP 12/156 f. 86v. 87r,117r; SP 15/22 f.17v, 18r

The data for Dorset is interesting because, across all three periods, the number of ports remains relatively constant. Therefore, the information for this county clearly shows the changes that occurred to its merchant fleet. From 1567 to 1582, Dorset's tonnage increased by 123 per cent, and the number of ships by 16 per cent. There was also an increase in the number of larger ships. These figures suggest that by 1582, Dorset's seaborne trade was vibrant.

Table 4 Dorset's merchant fleet over three periods

year (number of ports)	number of ships	tonnage	average tonnage
1566–1567 (12)	113	1705	15
1572–1573 (15)	110	1937	18
1581–1582 (12)	131	3798	29

References: TNA, E 190/186/1; E 190/3/1; E 190/4/1-3; E 190/5/3; E 190/6/4, 8; E 190/473/7; E 190/587/13; E 190/588/, 11; E 190/589/4, 11; E 190/591/12-13; E 190/592/10, 12; E 190/737/, 25; E 190/738/2, 5, 7; E 190/739/10, 11, 19, 24; E 190/740/1, 5, 6, 22, 23, 28; E 190/741/1, 15; E 190/742/15; E 190/813/4; E 190/814/1-11; E 190/815/2; E 190/864/1-12; E 190/865/1-8; E 190/925/7-11; E 190/927/7-13; E 190/928/6, 8; E 190/929/6-15; E 190/930/1-26; E 190/932/7, 8; E 190/1010/7-26; E 190/1011/1-27; E 190/1012/4, 14; E 190/1013/6-19; E 190/1014/11, 18, 25; E 190/1081/3, 6, 10; E 190/1128/6, 16, 17; E 190/1129/3, 4; E 190/1130/2; E 190/1298/5; E 190/1323/10, 13; SP 15/22; SP 12/38; SP 12/156.

There are some important differences between the merchant fleets of these four counties. Suffolk and Kent, for example, have more ships, but on average, Kent's vessels are smaller than those in Hampshire and Dorset. From 1565 to 1582, the increase in tonnage was broadly similar across all counties, although Hampshire's was the most impressive. County totals can mask the importance of what might be termed regional hubs. These are ports within a county that contain the most tonnage and usually dominate the maritime trade of a region. The following table examines our case studies' three most important ports over two key periods.

Table 5 Sample of key ports in Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire and Dorset

year	port (county)	number of ships	tonnage	average tonnage
1572–1573	Aldeburgh (Suffolk)	72	2041	28
	Ipswich (Suffolk)	71	2829	40
	Southwold (Suffolk)	28	629	22
	Dover (Kent)	27	867	32
	Sandwich (Kent)	46	997	22
	Faversham (Kent)	35	709	20
	Portsmouth (Hants)	7	131	19
	Southampton (Hants)	48	1632	34
	Lyme Regis (Dorset)	16	313	20
	Poole (Dorset)	41	935	23
	Weymouth & Melcombe (Dorset)	27	350	13

Table 5 Sample of key ports in Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire and Dorset *continued*

year	port (county)	number of ships	tonnage	average tonnage
1581-1582	Aldeburgh	99	4614	47
	Ipswich	54	2774	51
	Southwold	37	1258	34
	Dover	37	868	23
	Sandwich	40	955	24
	Faversham	43	774	18
	Portsmouth	17	388	23
	Southampton	58	3731	64
	Lyme Regis	33	718	22
	Poole	36	1508	42
	Weymouth & Melcombe	35	1323	38

References: see tables above

The above table illustrates the importance of county hubs. In 1572, the three ports of Aldeburgh, Ipswich, and Southwold possessed 58 per cent of Suffolk's ships and 67 per cent of the county's tonnage. By 1582, these three ports accounted for 62 per cent of Suffolk's ships and 76 per cent of the tonnage. Dover, Sandwich, and Faversham were likewise Kent's county hubs. In 1572, these three ports accounted for 44 per cent of the county's tonnage and 42 per cent of its ships. In 1582, they still had over 40 per cent of Kent's tonnage and 32 per cent of its ships. Southampton dominated Hampshire. In 1572, Southampton possessed 60 per cent of the county's tonnage and 37 per cent of its ships. Little had changed by 1582, as Southampton still held 67 per cent of Hampshire's tonnage and 32 per cent of its ships. Like Hampshire, Dorset's shipping and maritime trade were dominated by a small group of ports. In 1572, Lyme Regis, Poole, and Weymouth/Melcombe possessed 82 per cent of the county's tonnage and over three-quarters of its ships. By 1582, this dominance was further cemented. In 1582, over 93 per cent of Dorset's tonnage and 79 per cent of its ships were in Lyme Regis, Poole, and Weymouth/Melcombe.

The maritime trade of Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire and Dorset

The maritime trade of our case-study samples has interested historians, but most have focused on a particular port rather than studying the whole county. Two exceptions are Neville Williams's study of East Anglia and Leanna Brinkley's research into the coasting trade of Hull, Southampton, and Dorset ports. Williams covered overseas and coastal trade, while Brinkley focused on those involved in coastal trade, the goods they transported, and the commercial networks they formed.[23] Kent's late medieval and early modern trade has also attracted the attention of historians. Mavis Mate and Maryanne Kowaleski have undertaken detailed analyses of Kent's overseas trade, while scholars such as Stephen Hipkin have examined Kent's grain trade in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[24] Mark Forrest examined Dorset for the late medieval period by painstakingly reconstructing inland and maritime trade.[25] As noted above, other scholars have focused on a particular port within these counties. David Butcher investigated the maritime trade and shipping of Lowestoft and, although he covered an earlier period, Nicholas Amor has studied Ipswich.[26] There are also focused studies on Southampton by Olive Coleman and Alwyn Ruddock.[27] Rather than covering similar ground, this article demonstrates how these four counties contributed to the overseas and coastal trade of the kingdom and discusses the destinations to which ships from these counties sailed.

The following table presents a large sample of port books covering the period from 1565 to 1585, which, when combined, contain 37,209 ship voyages. This data allows us to reconstruct England's overseas and coastal trade and investigate the role played by our four counties in these commercial activities.

Table 6 The direction of English trade 1565-1585

county	total number of overseas voyages	number of overseas voyages by county	total number of coastal voyages	number of coastal voyages by county
	9578		27631	
Suffolk		463		2875
Kent		819		2236
Hampshire		295		668
Dorset		447		997

In addition to the references already cited in the tables, the data on ship voyages were taken from port books listed in N. J. Williams (ed), *Descriptive List of Exchequer, Queen's Remembrancer, Port Books, Part 1, 1565 to 1700* (Public Record Office, 1970). Most of the English port books for 1565-1580 were consulted.

As Table 6 shows, coastal trade was the dominant maritime commercial activity of the ports within these counties. Suffolk ships traded coastwise with at least forty-one ports outside the county, stretching from Berwick to Swansea. Suffolk's ports accounted for over 10 per cent of England's coastal trade voyages. This is perhaps unsurprising. Coastal trade on the east coast was dominated by two forms of activity: the Newcastle coal trade and London. Indeed, over 80 per cent of all Suffolk's coastal ship voyages outside the county were to and from Newcastle (20 per cent) and London (62 per cent). Norfolk ports, such as Great Yarmouth (4 per cent) and King's Lynn (9 per cent), were also frequently visited. Ships leaving Suffolk for London typically carried foodstuffs such as fish, cheese, butter, and coal.[28] The return cargoes included wine, raisins, prunes, linen cloth, and woad.[29] There were outliers, with few voyages to places such as Weymouth and Swansea.[30] Unfortunately, most port books recording Dorset's coastal trade belonged to the searcher, so the commodities are not provided. However, we know the *Greyhound* of Southwold left Ilfracombe for Swansea with a cargo of canvas for Nicholas Williams of Jersey.[31] Suffolk ports engaged with 43 destinations in overseas trade, accounting for 5 per cent of England's overseas ship voyages. The most important overseas destinations for Suffolk ships were Vlissingen (14 per cent of voyages), Bordeaux (just under 14 per cent), Bay of Bourgneuf (5 per cent of voyages), Emden (4 per cent of voyages), and Gdansk (4 per cent of voyages).

Kent's sixteenth-century overseas and coastal trade has been covered in more detail.[32] Kent's ports traded coastwise with at least 51 ports outside the county, stretching from Berwick to Truro, accounting for 8 per cent of England's coastal voyages. Its coastwise voyages were centred on London (59 per cent) and Newcastle (11 per cent). An expanding London provided a ready market for grain grown in Kent and shipped directly to the capital.[33] Other goods moved to London included hops, soap,

and haberdashery wares.[34] The return cargoes from London often contained wool.[35] Regarding overseas trade, Kent's ports traded with at least 31 ports, stretching from the Baltic to Morocco, representing 9 per cent of England's overseas ship voyages. Vlissingen [Flushing] (26 per cent of voyages) was a key destination for Kent shippers, followed by Nieuwpoort (15 per cent of voyages), and Boulogne-Sur-Mer (14 per cent of voyages). Trade with Vlissingen was boosted in 1585 when, as part of the Treaty of Nonsuch, the Dutch handed over control of Vlissingen and other towns to England. Vlissingen soon replaced Antwerp as one of the key trading ports for English ships. Vlissingen and Kent traded many goods, such as fish, salt, and hops. One of the key exports from Kent to Vlissingen was lime, while fresh foodstuffs like apples, oysters, beer, and pork products were also significant.[36] Animals were another important export from Kent. Hythe, for example, specialised in the transport of horses to Boulogne-sur-Mer.[37]

On the surface, Hampshire's trade looks relatively tiny compared to Suffolk and Kent. However, it is worth remembering that the county was dominated by one port, Southampton. Hampshire ports traded with at least 38 overseas ports, from Middleburg to the Azores and Ireland.[38] The county accounted for 3 per cent of England's overseas trading voyages. The key destinations were La Rochelle (17 per cent of voyages), Rouen (15 per cent of voyages), and Bordeaux (11 per cent of voyages). The most important commodity from La Rochelle was bay salt, followed by prunes, vinegar, wine, linen, and large quantities of 'cakes of Rosen'. Canvas and woad were the primary commodities from Normandy ports such as Rouen.[39] Cornish tin was a key trading commodity shipped from Southampton, often transported to Seville and other destinations.[40] Return cargoes from Spain included large quantities of dried fruit, olive oil, wine, and spices such as ginger.[41]The key commodity transported from the Azores was green woad.[42]

Coastwise, Hampshire's ships traded with 35 destinations outside the county and accounted for over 2 per cent of all England's coastal trading voyages. The key destinations were Chichester (20 per cent of voyages), London (14 per cent of voyages), and Poole (13 per cent of voyages).[43] Leanna Brinkley has investigated the types of commodities that Hampshire traders shipped coastwise.[44] The trade to London was dominated by firewood, wine, train oil, and tin shipments. On the return journeys, Southampton shippers brought back shipbuilding and other construction materials. Trade to Devon and Cornish ports was mostly for tin, with Southampton merchants bringing in grains, meat products, iron, and firewood. From Dorset ports came wine (re-shipped from France) and green glass. In return, Dorset ports often received woad from Southampton. Trade with Sussex ports was primarily for iron and ordnance, while Southampton merchants brought wine to places such as Chichester.

Dorset ports traded with at least 39 foreign ports, accounting for nearly 5 per cent of England's overseas trading voyages. Unsurprisingly, the key destinations were ports in France such as Cherbourg (18 per cent of voyages), La Rochelle (12 per cent of voyages), and Rouen (11 per cent of voyages). Unfortunately, most of Dorset's overseas port books are those produced by the searcher, which do not record commodities. We can, however, examine what Dorset ships imported from La Rochelle to ports outside Dorset. In April 1566, for example, the 33-ton *George* of Lyme Regis imported bay salt into Southampton.[45] Export voyages from Southampton to La Rochelle and Bordeaux by Dorset ships consisted of cargoes of cloth.[46] Imports from Bordeaux carried by Dorset ships included feathers and wine.[47] Trade with places such as the Azores involved imports of green woad, an important commodity reshipped coastwise across England's southern counties.[48]

Coastwise, Dorset ships traded with at least 22 ports, accounting for nearly 4 per cent of England's coastal ship voyages. The most important trading partners were Southampton (27 per cent of voyages), London (19 per cent of voyages), Exeter (10 per cent of voyages), and Plymouth (8 per cent of voyages). As noted above, essential commodities shipped coastwise were green glass and reshipped woad. Shipments to London included alum and train oil, while cargo from Dorset ports to Southampton, other than glass and woad, consisted of foodstuffs like oranges and lemons.[49] Return journeys from Southampton to Dorset often consisted of consignments of ordnance.[50]

The maritime communities of Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire and Dorset

Defining what we mean by 'maritime communities' is difficult. Ships needed people to operate, build, and repair them. Merchants, especially those predominately involved in coastal trade, could also operate ships on trading voyages, as would shipowners. Indeed, interpreted broadly, it would encompass not just those who operated ships, such as mariners and shipmasters, but also a diverse array of individuals, including shipowners, shipwrights, carpenters, ropemakers, stevedores, sailmakers, and merchants. At its narrowest, it might only include those working directly aboard ships, the 'shipboard community'. Where do we set the geographical limits for maritime communities? Do we include the ferry operators who provided vital services across riverine networks, for example? In this period, estuarine and riverine communities were complex. In such places lived many fisher-farmers; people who took to the waterways but also used the plough. Craftspeople might also own vessels, which enabled them to transport the commodities they required for their primary occupation. Maltsters and brewers might act as merchants and shipmasters, transporting the barley and malt they needed. Typically, such individuals only traded coastwise, but they also operated ships of various sizes.[51] Indeed, as Cheryl Fury points out, in the Elizabethan period, the regulation of maritime personnel was never fully enforced, which created opportunities for many people to work aboard ships temporarily.[52] Considering the complexity of the maritime community, this analysis focuses on three key areas. First, it examines the size of the maritime labour force in our four counties. Second, it investigates the working patterns of shipmasters, and third, it assesses the ages of various members of the shipboard community.

Table 7 Numbers of shipmasters, mariners, and boys according to 1565 surveys[53]

county	shipmasters, mariners, boys, and fishers
Suffolk	1561
Kent	924
Dorset[54]	293

TNA, SP 12/38 fols 44-51; SP 12/39, fols 54-55; Gibson, 'The 1566 Survey'

The surveys of 1565–1566 are unsatisfactory in many ways. In Dorset, there were undoubtedly more members of the shipboard community. Indeed, linking a series of musters from 1543 and 1570 with the surveys of 1565 and 1572 reveals approximately 800 mariners, shipmasters, shipowners, and fisherfolk resident in Dorset.[55] The figure for Kent was surely an underestimation because only twenty ports were surveyed when at least 39 settlements in Kent were involved in maritime activities. Nonetheless, it is likely that in 1565–1566, the county with the largest maritime labour force was Suffolk.

Indeed, a petition dated 1567 in the Aldeburgh Chamberlain's accounts shows that before the arrival of the plague, Aldeburgh had '800 mariners employed in the herring fishing … 300 mariners for the sprat fishing'.[56]

The 1582 survey provides the most reliable data on the size of the shipboard community for the sixteenth century. As Table 8 shows, from 1565 to 1582, Suffolk's shipboard community experienced a slight reduction in numbers. One reason for this might be disease. In 1570, a surveyor noted there were 300 mariners in Aldeburgh but did not list all their names because 'the plague is sore in the town'.[57] Overall, however, from 1565 to 1582, the size of Suffolk's maritime community remained broadly stable. From 1566 to 1582, Kent's maritime community was relatively static, but the figures for 1582 are unlikely to be accurate, as only 23 settlements were included. Dorset and Hampshire's maritime communities are more difficult to assess due to the issues noted above with the 1565 returns.

Table 8 The numbers of shipmasters, mariners and fishers, 1582

county	masters	mariners	fisherfolk
Suffolk	98	1184	-
Kent	128[58]	424	243
Hampshire	46	241	183
Dorset	85	460	100

TNA, SP 12/156 fols, 101-02, 130-31, 134-35

A series of muster rolls and certificates from the seventeenth century enable us to examine the shipboard communities of Kent, Portsmouth, Gosport, Portchester, Bosmere, the Isle of Wight, and Dorset.

Table 9 The size of the maritime communities of Kent, Isle of Wight and Dorset 1626–1630

county	total number
Kent	757
Isle of Wight	165
Dorset	1223

TNA, SP 16/135 fols, 5r-54r, and 105r-163r; SP 16/32 fols, 97-103; SP16/138 fols, 32r-46r.

We can discount the Isle of Wight survey as this does not provide us with information about Hampshire's key trading centre, Southampton. Information for Suffolk is unfortunately missing. From 1582 to 1629–1630, the maritime community of Dorset increased by over 89 per cent. The surveys probably exaggerate this growth. In 1582, for example, the surveyors only visited thirteen settlements in Dorset, whereas the 1629 musters and certificates covered over forty places. The Kent returns, too, are incomplete. From 1629 to 1630, there is no information about Sandwich, Dover, Rochester, Faversham, Folkestone, Margate, and Hythe. A certificate for Faversham dated to 1596 reveals there were 27 mariners and 35 shipmasters in the town.[59] Dover and Sandwich contained more mariners and masters than Faversham.

One of the most interesting aspects of the seventeenth-century musters and certificates is that they provide the ages and occupations (mariner, boatswain, etc.) of many of those listed. This means we can assess the ages of different members of the shipboard community. The following table uses a series of musters and certificates from 1620 to 1630 to show the average age of the shipboard communities in the case-study counties for which we have age-related data.

Table 10 The average age of shipboard community 1620–1630

county (number of people with ages)	average age
Kent (686)	30
Hampshire & Isle of Wight (388)	34
Dorset (1214)	34

TNA, SP 16/32 f.97-103; SP 16/33 f.5-10; SP 16/135 fols, 5r-54r, and 105r-163r; SP16/138 fols, 32r-46r.

Unsurprisingly, the average ages of the shipboard communities are similar. Given that occupations are also recorded, we can compare the shipboard communities of Kent, Hampshire, and Dorset to see if there are any differences.

Table 11 The ages of people mustered by occupation 1620–1630

occupation	number	average age	youngest	oldest
KENT				
boatswain	5	36	24	50
fisher	222	29	13	62
gunner	5	36	22	56
king's servant	4	41	21	56
mariner	116	22	15	55
quartergunner	1	36	-	-
quartermaster	5	32	25	48
sailor	1	40	-	-
servant (aboard ship)	5	18	15	20
shipmaster	11	38	22	62
shipmaster/owner	58	40	24	69
shipowner	7	45	26	65
trumpeter	2	24	22	26
waterman	244	32	17	69
HAMPSHIRE				
boatowner	1	48	-	-
boatman	25	27	16	60
coaster	3	58	50	63
coaster/boatowner	1	55	-	-
coaster/shipowner	3	35	25	42

Table 11 The ages of people mustered by occupation 1620–1630 *continued*

occupation	number	average age	youngest	oldest
cooper	1	45	-	-
fisher	123	38	10	76
fisher/boatowner	3	51	50	52
gunner	4	41	30	48
mariner	3	29	28	30
passenger	42	33	15	65
passenger/boatowner	28	38	18	70
pilot	1	46	-	-
sailor	119	28	16	63
sailor/boatowner	1	35	-	-
seaman/boatowner	1	63	-	-
shipmaster	19	43	30	66
shipowner/mariner	2	26	46	-
shipowner/master	6	47	30	62
shipowner/seaman	2	47	33	60
DORSET				
boatowner/fisher	2	38	36	40
boatswain	6	31	20	45
captain	1	63	-	-
carpenter	25	34	20	50
cooper	1	28	30	25
coxswain	2	20	20	20
fisher	185	41	17	75
gunner	18	37	20	75
mariner	11	37	30	55
master gunner	2	30	30	30
master's mate	21	38	24	60
pilot	1	60	-	-
quarter gunner	1	30	-	-
sailor	814	31	15	65
shipmaster	124	43	20	70
shipmaster/mariner	1	30	-	-
surgeon	2	33	25	40
trumpeter	1	40	-	-

TNA, SP 16/32 fols, 97-103; SP 16/33 fols, 5-10; SP 16/135 fols, 5r-54r, and 105r-163r; SP16/138 fols, 32r-46r.

The table above shows that the average age of those in maritime occupations was broadly uniform, although there are some subtle differences. Most sailors and mariners from Kent and Hampshire were in their twenties, but those from Dorset were typically

in their thirties. Shipmasters were approximately forty years of age in all three counties, as were various categories of shipowners in Kent and Hampshire. Fishers in Kent were, on average, a decade younger than their counterparts in Hampshire and Dorset, although the youngest fisher was ten-year-old Thomas Lucas junior of Binstead (Isle of Wight).[60] At other end of the scale, several active members of the shipboard community were over sixty and seventy years of age. The oldest in the three counties for which we have age data was 76-year-old John Gladdis, a fisher from Chale on the Isle of Wight.[61] Indeed, eleven people aged 65 and over lived on the Isle of Wight and engaged in maritime commercial activities.

We can also see family groups operating within these communities. Thomas Lucas junior, mentioned above, was listed along with John Lucas senior (fifty years old) as being 'fishermen in small boats'. In the same list were John Baracomb (fifty years old), 'master and owner of the bark called the Rose,' and John Baracomb, his son (sixteen years old), a sailor.[62] It is clear from these records that Lucas junior was being prepared for a life as a fisherman by his relative. It is likely that as the owner of two vessels (the *Rose*, 30 tons, and the *William & John*, 20 tons), Baracomb senior was able to teach his son the skills of a sailor before passing on his ships later in life.

In Dorset, several large groups of families were engaged in maritime activities. Five members of the Allen family from Fleet are listed, one of whom was a sailor, and the others were fishers.[63] There were five members of the Atwooll family from Portland, one a shipmaster, the rest sailors, and five members of the Boatswaine family from Abbotsbury, all fishers.[64] Some of these families were close enough in age for us to assume they were brothers or cousins, all working at sea. For example, three members of the Bendfield family of Corfe were all in their twenties.[65] Family groups dominated some places. In Chideock, thirteen separate family groups comprised 49 individuals, representing 58 per cent of all those mustered. With ten individual members, the Orchard family was the largest group and represented 12 percent of Chideock's mustered seafarers and fishers.[66]

Interestingly, the 1626 muster for Hampshire tells us whether anyone had been pressed into naval service, while the 1629 muster for Dorset states whether the people listed were at home or at sea. Of the 165 people listed in the 1626 muster for Portsmouth, Gosport, Hayling Island, Bosmere, Portchester, and Havant, 37 (22 per cent) had been pressed.[67] Of course, for those living close to Portsmouth, an important naval centre, the risk of being pressed was a persistent problem. In Dorset, the occupational status (at home or sea) of 897 people was recorded. Of these, 328 (37 per cent) were at home and 569 (63 per cent) at sea. This reveals an active shipboard community there.

Drawing on port book evidence also allows us to reconstruct the working patterns of the shipmasters for our case-study counties. The table below shows how many masters worked in specific branches of maritime trade.

Table 12 Career patterns of shipmasters, 1565–1580

county number of masters	number of ports	only overseas	only coastal	both
Suffolk (22)	763	101 (13%)	549 (72%)	113 (15%)
Kent (30)	752	167 (22%)	492 (65%)	93 (12%)
Hampshire (21)	397	81 (20%)	253 (64%)	63 (16%)
Dorset (12)	387	75 (19%)	227 (59%)	85 (22%)

In addition to the references already cited for the tables above, the service records of shipmasters from these four counties were taken from port books listed in Williams (ed), *Descriptive List of Exchequer*. As ships often traded out of and into multiple counties, Table 12 includes data from most of the port books of England covering 1565-1580. Masters working out of Kent, Hampshire, and Dorset ports had similar career patterns, with approximately two-thirds working solely in the coasting trade. Broadly, a fifth of masters from Kent, Hampshire, and Dorset ports worked only in overseas trade. In Dorset, there was a slightly higher proportion of masters who engaged in both types of activity. On the other hand, Suffolk had a more significant proportion of masters working only in the coasting trade and a smaller proportion who sailed to overseas destinations. These service patterns can be partly explained by geographical location. Suffolk ports were ideally positioned to participate in the coal trade, in which thousands of shipments were transported each year from Newcastle to key locations on the East Coast, including Hull, King's Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Ipswich, Aldeburgh, and London.[68] An expanding London also created demand for foodstuffs, such as grain and fish. Indeed, as noted above, 20 per cent of coastal ship voyages made by Suffolk ships were focused on Newcastle and 62 per cent on London. The higher number of shipmasters working in overseas trade from Kent, Hampshire, and Dorset can be partly explained by their proximity to the Low Countries and France. As noted above, 26 per cent of the overseas voyages from Kent were to or from Vlissingen, while 55 per cent of overseas ship voyages from Dorset ports were centred on Cherbourg, La Rochelle, Rouen, Bordeaux, and Morlaix. Hampshire ports had similar trade links: 55 per cent of ship voyages from Hampshire sailed to or from La Rochelle, Rouen, Honfleur, and Bordeaux. As with Suffolk, the pull of London influenced the coastal careers of many Kent shipmasters coastal careers. The careers of the masters working coastwise from Hampshire and Dorset ports were shaped by the Devon and Cornish tin trade, Sussex iron production, and London's need to be supplied with foodstuffs and raw materials.

Of course, examining county-wide statistics obscures important local differences. Between 1565 and 1580, 84 per cent of all voyages made by Aldeburgh ships were coastal, as were 87 per cent of all voyages by Ipswich ships. Other places had slightly different patterns of trade. Thirty per cent of all voyages of Lowestoft ships from 1565 to 1580 went to or from overseas. Southampton's trade was more balanced: 43 per cent of voyages made by Southampton vessels sailed overseas. In places such as Gosport, however, coasting voyages comprised most of the activity (78 per cent). Lyme Regis also had a more balanced trading pattern, as 44 per cent of all voyages made by Lyme Regis ships were to or from overseas destinations. Over the same period, while 29 per cent of all ship voyages by Poole vessels sailed overseas, 71 per cent were to or from coastal destinations. Of course, smaller places tended to focus on coasting. Between 1565 and 1580, 92 per cent of all voyages to or from Bridport were coastal. Over the same period, Kentish ports had similar patterns. Places such as Milton Regis specialised in the coasting trade, with 88 per cent of all ship voyages by Milton ships sailing coastwise. The proximity of Broadstairs to Calais and the Low Countries, however, meant that 69 per cent of all voyages by Broadstairs ships were to overseas destinations. Sandwich had a more balanced pattern: 47 per cent of voyages made by Sandwich ships sailed coastwise, and 53 per cent overseas.

Conclusion

Over the latter half of the sixteenth century, the merchant fleets of Suffolk, Kent, Hampshire, and Dorset expanded. Some places within individual counties saw even more impressive development. Between 1572 and 1582, Aldeburgh's tonnage increased by over 126 per cent. Indeed, by 1582, Aldeburgh possessed more tonnage

than Ipswich. This growth was undoubtedly linked to the expansion of London and the growing demand for coal, as over 45 per cent of all coastal voyages by Aldeburgh ships sailed to or from London and Newcastle. Likewise, the increase in Dorset's tonnage from 1572 to 1582 was largely due to the expansion of Weymouth's fleet (278 per cent increase) and that of Poole (61 per cent increase). Southampton dominated Hampshire. Indeed, a 129 per cent increase in Southampton's tonnage over 1572–1582 explains the growth of that county's merchant fleet. Between 1572 and 1582, Kent's merchant fleet remained largely stable, primarily due to the lack of significant growth in Dover and Sandwich. All this would change in the seventeenth century as Kent ports, especially Dover, expanded rapidly. The increase in the tonnage across all counties analysed here reminds us to be cautious of the pessimistic government reports on the state of England's ports. In 1565, for example, surveyors examined the condition of several ports.[69] In Kent, Sandwich was described as decayed due to 'certeyn mershes adioyninge to the said haven'. Dover was described as 'muche decayed by the working of the sea which is not in manns power to helpe without greate charges'.[70] Southampton, they stated, was an active trading centre but had recently declined because Italian ships no longer docked there. Poole was 'the moste & best frequented of anye place within the Shere of Dors[et]' and is 'well & sufficiently mayntayned'.[71] Ipswich, they said, 'is presently decayed and not so mooche frequentyd as heretofore it hath bene'.[72] Either these reports were unduly negative, or there was a significant improvement from 1565 to 1582.

Regarding maritime communities, the story is one of stability rather than rapid expansion. While Dorset's maritime community appears to have grown significantly from 1582 to 1630, this can be attributed to the fact that far more places were surveyed in 1629 than in 1582. One explanation for the limited expansion of the shipboard community is that ships in the seventeenth century had higher labour productivity and other efficiency gains. A recent study of Kent, for example, found the general trend from the 1560s to the 1620s was for labour efficiency savings, which meant ships required fewer people to operate them.[73] Hidden within these statistics are individual careers, richly documented in the port books and other records. Take, for example, Robert Halley of Ipswich. From 1565 to 1580, he undertook an impressive 128 coastal voyages, most of which were to or from London.[74] This accounted for over 4 per cent of all Ipswich's coastal voyages. Between 1565 and 1580, John Holford of Hythe undertook 91 coastal voyages, accounting for 13 percent of all voyages made to and from Hampshire ports.[75]

The port books and other records also reveal some of the dangers that shippers from these counties faced. In the early 1570s, Christopher Swetman of Ipswich commanded the *Great Mary Anne*. While he was heading back from Riga to England in a small convoy, three Swedish warships approached and boarded his vessel. They stripped the crew down to their shirts, took their money and the cargo, and held them for five weeks.[76] Eventually, Swetman and the others were issued passports by the Swedish authorities, allowing them to 'go country to country by land and sea without impediment'. The Swedes retained the vessel, but at some point, Swetman must have secured the ship's return, because in 1581, the owner of this ship, Thomas Swetman, left a quarter share of the *Great Mary Anne* to his son-in-law, John Turner.[77] The port books show that in 1590, John Turner was still operating this vessel when he entered Ipswich from Bordeaux with a cargo of feathers.[78] This aptly demonstrates the tenacity of England's shipboard community. Many chose to ply the safer coastal routes, which no doubt produced fewer profits but saved them from the experience of Swetman and cushioned them from competing with the enterprising Dutch. Nonetheless, each was entrepreneurial, and through inheritance strategies, many ensured the next generation were taught the

necessary skills and provided with ships and equipment. Without these enterprising people, England's development from a country on the periphery of Europe to one with growing maritime ambitions would not have been possible.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1 The research underpinning this article is funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AH/W004011/1: 'English Merchant Shipping, Trade and Maritime Communities' based at the University of Southampton, see www.maritimebritain.org).
2 See Angela Bartie, Linda Fleming, Mark Freeman, Tom Hulme, Alex Hutton, Paul Readman, 'The Worsley Pageant', *The Redress of the Past: Historical Pageants in Britain*, http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1246/
3 *ibid.*, 'The Greenwich Night Pageant', http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1076/
4 *Scenes from Tudor Southampton Setting Forth in Pageantry* (Southampton, 1914) 11, quoted in Bartie et al, 'The Southampton Tudor Pageant', http://www.historicalpageants.ac.uk/pageants/1199/.
5 'English Merchant Shipping, Trade, and Maritime Communities', *Maritime Britain*, https://maritimebritain.org/english_merchant_shipping/.
6 Leanna T.P. Brinkley, *Coastal trade and maritime communities in Elizabethan England* (Boydell & Brewer, 2024)
7 Ralph Davis, *The rise of the English shipping industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Macmillan, 1962)
8 Robin Craig, *British Tramp Shipping, 1750–1914* (St John's: International Maritime Economic History Association, 2003); Simon P. Ville, *English shipowning during the Industrial Revolution: Michael Henley and Son, London shipowners, 1770–1830* (Manchester UP, 1987)
9 David Harris Sacks, *The Widening Gate: Bristol and the Atlantic Economy, 1450–1700* (University of California Press, 1991)
10 Craig Lambert and Gary P. Baker, 'An investigation of the size and geographical distribution of the English, Welsh, and Channel Islands merchant fleet, 1571–72', ch.3 in Richard Blakemore and James Davey (eds), *The maritime world of early mnodern Britain* (Amsterdam UP, 2020) 79–102
11 *ibid.* See also, Craig Lambert and Gary P. Baker, 'The merchant fleet and shipboard community of Kent', *Archaeologia Cantiana* vol.140 (2019) 89-110
12 Neville J. Williams, *The maritime trade of East Anglian ports, 1550-90* (Clarendon Press, 1988) 217-221
13 Lambert and Baker, 'An investigation'
14 For a discussion of the port books, see Williams, *Maritime trade*, ch.1; Gary P. Baker, 'Domestic maritime trade in late Tudor England c.1565-85: a case study of King's Lynn and Plymouth', in Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert and Steve Mentz (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800* (Routledge, 2020) 95-124
15 The National Archives [TNA] E 190/587/6 fols.6r, 7r; E 190/591/3 f.12r; E 190/590/14 f. 26r
16 TNA E 190/587/6 fols, 6r (Richard Burlingham), 6v (Francis Joiner), E 190/6/8 f. 2v (Francis Knox)
17 TNA E 190/814/8 f. 15r; E 190/814/10 fols, 6v, 10v, 15v, 26v, 37v, 48r
18 This method is explained in more detail in Lambert and Baker, 'Merchant fleet of Kent'
19 Williams, *Maritime trade*, 218
20 *ibid.*
21 J.M. Gibson, 'The 1566 Survey of the Kent Coast', *Archaeologia Cantiana* vol.112 (1993) 341–353
22 These points are dealt with in a forthcoming publication: *Kent and Europe, 1450-1640: Merchants, Mariners, Shipping and Defence* (eds) R. Blackmore and C. Lambert (Boydell & Brewer).
23 Williams, *Maritime trade*; Brinkley, *Coastal trade*
24 Mavis Mate, *Trade and economic developments, 1450-1550: the experience of Kent, Surrey and Sussex* (Boydell & Brewer, 2006); Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Maritime trade and industry in medieval Kent', in S. Bligh, E. Edwards, and S. Sweetinburgh (eds) *Maritime Kent through the Ages: Gateway to the sea* (Boydell & Brewer, 2021) 215-234; S. Hipkin, 'The structure, development, and politics of the Kent grain trade, 1552-1647', *Economic History Review* [HER vol.61 (2008) 99-139. See also, Helen Clarke, Sarah Pearson, Mavis Mate and Keith Parfitt (with contributions from Sheila Sweetinburgh and B. Jones), Sandwich: *The 'Completest Medieval Town in England': study of the town and Port from its origins to 1600* (Oxbow Books, 2010).
25 M. Forrest, 'The development of Dorset's harbours in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries', *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History & Archaeological Society* vol.138 (2017) 17-33; *idem*, 'Dorset's Trade Networks in the 15th Century: an overview of inland, continental and coastal trade networks', *Southern History* vol.40 (2018) 24-57
26 David Butcher, *Medieval Lowestoft: the origins and growth of a Suffolk coastal town* (Boydell & Brewer, 2016); Nicholas Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: trade and industry* (Boydell & Brewer, 2011)
27 Olive Coleman, 'Trade and prosperity in the fifteenth century: some aspects of the trade of Southampton', *The Economic History Review* vol.16 (1963) 9-22; Alwyn A. Ruddock, *Italian Merchants and Shipping in Southampton, 1270-1600* (Southampton Record Series, 1951). See also, *English Inland Trade, 1430-1550: Southampton and its Region* (ed) Michael Hicks (Oxbow Books, 2015)
28 TNA E 190/473/5 fols, 1r-1v; E 190/588/3 f. 3r; E 190/588/5 f. 3v
29 TNA E 190/3/1 fols, 35v, 45v; E 190/4/1 fols, 2v, 30v, 35v, 38v; E 190/587/2 f. 10v; E 190/587/4 fols, 6r-9r

30 All voyages occurred from 1567 to 1572. Weymouth: the *Primrose* of Aldeburgh (16 tons) commanded by William Boure; the *William* of Lowestoft (55 tons) commanded by Henry Boure; the *John* of Dunwich (46 tons) commanded by Betley, the same ship left Lyme a few days later but this time commanded by Richard Clark; the *Matthew* of Aldeburgh (24 tons) commanded by Alexander Bente; the *Thomas* of Lowestoft (18 tons) commanded by Robert Owner; the *Matthew* of Lowestoft (50 tons) commanded by Matthew Bedow. TNA E 190/472/4 f. 5r; E 190/472/5 f. 1r; E 190/473/7 f. 22r; E 190/864/9 fols, 11v, 12r; E 190/864/12 f. 5v. Swansea: the *Greyhound* of Southwold (5 -tons) commanded by Richard Tomson, E 190/929/4 f. 3v; E 190/929/14 f.1r
31 The ship had sailed to Ilfracombe from London with a large cargo of rope, Hampshire kerseys, soap, haberdashery wares, sugar, and pewter for William Holborne of Southwold: TNA E 190/929/4 f. 3v; E 190/929/14 f. 1r
32 See, for example, the forthcoming publication, *Kent and Europe, 1450-1640*.
33 TNA E 190/741/17 f. 2v; E 190/3/1 f. 36v
34 TNA E 190/3/1 fol. 36v
35 TNA E 190/1/5 fols, 1r-2v; E190/5/6 fols, 1r-1v
36 This trade is examined in great detail in the forthcoming publication, *Kent and Europe, 1450-1640*.
37 See, for example, TNA E 190/739/25.
38 There were two voyages to Waterford. One, in 1572, was undertaken by the 20 ton *Mary* of Gosport, commanded by John Rise and carrying for Robert Crosse ten tons of beer, 700 lbs of biscuits, and sixty barrels of bay salt, which suggests it was going to Ireland to fish. The second voyage, in 1576, was made by the 18 ton *Elizabeth* of Southampton which carried a cargo of iron for Peter Stoner: TNA E 190/814/8 f.10r; E 190/814/10 f.49v.
39 See, for example, TNA E 190/814/8 f. 22v; E 190/814/10 fols, 27v, 28v, 37v.
40 See, for example, TNA E 190/814/10 f. 42v.
41 See, for example, TNA E190/814/10 fols, 21v, 32v, 38r.
42 See, for example, TNA E 190/814/3; f. 19v; E 190/814/10 f. 21r.
43 The Channel Islands were an important trading partner with Hampshire, but assessing their trade is slightly more complex as some goods were taxed and therefore recorded as overseas trade. In contrast, others were exempt from tax and listed in the coastal books.
44 Brinkley, *Coastal Trade*, ch.2
45 TNA E 190/814/3 f. 12v
46 TNA E 190/814/8 f. 37r; E190/814/10 f. 49v
47 TNA E 190/814/2 f. 19r; E 190/814/8 f. 21v
48 TNA E 190/814/9 f. 29v; E 190/814/10 f. 33v
49 TNA E190/864/4 f. 6r; E 190/865/7 fols, 2r, 2v
50 TNA E 190/814/6 f. 1r; E190/864/12 f. 5v
51 Brinkley, *Coastal Trade*, 149
52 Cheryl A. Fury, 'Training and education in the Elizabethan maritime community, 1595-1603', *The Mariner's Mirror* vol.85 (1999) 147-161. See also Geoffrey V. Scammell, 'The merchant service master in early modern England,' in *idem, Seafaring, Sailors and Trade, 1450-1750: Studies in British and European Maritime and Imperial History* (Routledge, 2003) 1-22.
53 The return for Hampshire does not provide sufficient information on the numbers of mariners and others.
54 Survey only includes Poole, Wareham, Lulworth, Meclombe Regis and Weymouth.
55 TNA SP 1/178 fols, 24-27; SP 12/38 fols, 44-50; SP 12/72 fols, 128-135; SP 15/22 f. 18v. There are more than 800 people named across these documents, but there is some repetition in the 1565 survey as some people owned more than one ship.
56 Diana Hughes, 'The Chamberlains' Accounts of Aldeburgh 1566 – 1649', Suffolk Archives, Ipswich, EE1/12/1 (transcribed for the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History at https://www.suffolkinstitute.org.uk/index.php?option=com_rsform&view=rsform&formId=4.
57 TNA SP 12/73 f. 52
58 The survey only provides individual totals for shipmasters for the Cinque Ports, meaning there are more than 128.
59 Kent History and Library Centre FA/CPM 33
60 TNA SP 16/33 f. 9r
61 TNA SP 16/33 f. 6r
62 TNA SP 16/33 f. 9r
63 TNA SP 16/138 f. 41r
64 TNA SP 16/138 f. 40v
65 William Bendfield (24), Thomas Bendfield (24), Robert Bendfield (26), and John Bendfield (45) TNA SP 16/138, f. 35r
66 TNA SP/138, f. 37v
67 TNA SP 16/32 fols, 97-103
68 On the coal trade, see John Hatcher, *The history of the British coal industry, Volume 1: Before 1700* (Clarendon Press, 1993).
69 For a discussion of the 1565 survey and a transcription of the surveyor's report for Southampton, see L.T. Parker, 'Southampton's sixteenth-century illicit trade: an examination of the 1565 Port Survey', *International Journal of Maritime History* vol.27 (2015) 268-284.
70 TNA E 159/350, fols, 349r-v
71 TNA E 159/350, f. 341
72 TNA E 159/350, fols, 346r-v
73 This is discussed in detail in the forthcoming publication, *Kent and Europe, 1450-1640*.
74 His service record can be found in the following port books: TNA E 190/3/1; E 190/4/3; E 190/587/2-11; E 190/588/3-6; E 190/590/10, 11, 14; E 190/591/3.
75 His service record can be found in the following sources: TNA E 190/473/1; E 190/738/5, 7; E 190/739/11; E 190/740/19, 28; E 190/741/21; E 190/814/1-10; E 190/815/2; E 190/864/10; E 190/865/8; E 190/928/2; E 190/927/16; Local Port Books of Southampton, SC5/4/78 f. 1r. His career can be traced back to the 1550s, see Local

Port Books of Southampton, SC/5/4/49 f. 8v; SC/5/4/20 f. 2r; SC/5/4/52 f. 8r; SC/5/4/57 f. 13v. For more on his career, see Craig Lambert, 'Tudor shipmasters and maritime communities, 1550-1600', ch.12 in Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert, and Steve Mentz (eds) *The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800* (Routledge, 2020) 332-348.

76 TNA High Court Admiralty: Instance and Prize Courts: Examinations and Answers, 13/20 fols, 93v-94v

77 TNA PROB 11/63 fols, 268v-269r#

78 TNA E 190/593/23 f .2r

CRAIG LAMBERT *is Professor of Maritime History at the University of Southampton, author of* Shipping the Medieval Military *(Boydell & Brewer, 2011), co-editor of* Military Communities in Late Medieval England *(Boydell & Brewer, 2018), co-editor of the* Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800 *(Routledge, 2020), and co-author of* 'William Fowler', Sir William Garrard, Sir John Hawkins and the sixteenth-century Atlantic Slave Trade', *English Historical Review, 139 (2024), 680-714*

JOHN McALEER *is an Associate Professor of History. He was previously Curator of Imperial and Maritime History at the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich. His work explores the British encounter and engagement with the wider world. He is the author of* Atlantic Voyages: The East India Company and the British Route to the East in the Age of Sail *(Oxford University Press, 2023) and co-editor of* Islands and the British Empire in the Age of Sail *(Oxford University Press).*

HENRY BAKER *is a Senior Research Fellow at the University of Southampton. He has published widely on maritime and military history from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period. He is co-author of* 'William Fowler', Sir William Garrard, Sir John Hawkins and the sixteenth-century Atlantic Slave Trade', *English Historical Review, 139 (2024), 680-714, and author of 'Domestic Maritime Trade in Late Tudor England c.1565-85: A Case Study of King's Lynn and Plymouth', in Claire Jowitt, Craig Lambert and Steve Mentz (eds)* The Routledge Companion to Marine and Maritime Worlds, 1400-1800 *(Routledge, 2020) 95-124.*

LUCY HUGGINS *is a Research Fellow at the University of Southampton. She has worked on large international digital humanities projects, specifically in relation to maritime history and the history of crime. She is the author of* 'I'll Vamp it and Tip you the Cole': Poverty, Pawning and Prosecutions in London. Evidence from the Old Bailey, 1750–1799', *The London Journal, 46 (2021) 284-289*