UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

Department of History

English Seafarer Communities in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in the Socio-Cultural Economics of an Occupational Group

by

Brenna Elizabeth Gibson

Thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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ABSTRACT

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ENGLISH SEAFARER COMMUNITIES IN THE LATER MIDDLE AGES: A STUDY IN THE SOCIO-CULTURAL ECONOMICS OF AN OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

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England is a country with its roots steeped in maritime history. As an island, the lives and actions of England's mariners through time are intrinsically linked to the timeline of the country itself. This was especially so during the fourteenth century, when England's seafarers were not only actively involved in trade, transport, and fishing, but also played a huge part in naval activities at the outbreak of the Hundred Years War. Despite their importance to the fabric of England's society at the time, the fourteenth-century seafarer has widely been overlooked by modern-day scholars. This study aims to address this gap in the literature by constructing a snapshot of this occupational group, through research of their economic and social status, as well as their culture. An economic snapshot has been achieved by identifying individual mariners from England's coastal counties, who were recorded in contemporary documents, and matching them with tax records. The social standing of England's seafarers was also explored in two ways: the employment of a basket of consumables, which used wage data to observe the fluctuations in buying power throughout the century; and some case studies of individuals' careers both at sea and on land. Furthermore, the cultural heritage and agency of the shipboard community has been explored through their choice of ship names. The results of this three-pronged study creates a prosoprographical snapshot of this occupational group: the socio-economic study shows that the factors affecting seafarers in the fourteenth century were many and varied, including famine, distance from the continent, disease, war, and availability of resources; while the cultural study opens up the discussion of what kinds of choices the shipboard community was making and what these choices can tell us about what was considered important to them.

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Declaration of Authorship

I, Brenna Elizabeth Gibson, declare that this thesis and the work presented in it are my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.
English Seafarer Communities in the Later Middle Ages: A Study in the Socio-Cultural Economics of an Occupational Group
I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Parts of this work have been published as: Brenna Gibson, 'English Seafarer Communities in the Late Middle Ages: An Economic and Cultural Exploration of Devon and Norfolk', in *Sea Lines of Communication: Construction*, ed. by Joel Found, Maria Newbery, and Ayan Salaad (Southampton: University of Southampton, 2015).

Signed: .....
Date: .....

Acknowledgements

"Let us be grateful to people who make us happy; they are the charming gardeners who make our souls blossom." – Marcel Proust

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Abbreviations

AC	*Archaeologia Cantiana*
BHO	*British History Online*
BL	*British Library*
CCR	*Calendar of Close Rolls*
CFR	*Calendar of Fine Rolls*
CMR	*Calendar of Memoranda Rolls*
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*
ECR	*Exeter Customs Records*
EHR	*Economic History Review*
ES	*Encyclopaedia of Saints*
HR	*Historical Review*
IJMH	*International Journal of Maritime History*
IJNH	*International Journal of Nautical Archaeology*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
KAS	*Kent Archaeology Society*
MED	*Middle English Dictionary*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MM	*The Mariner's Mirror*
ODES	*Oxford Dictionary of English Surnames*
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
ODS	*Oxford Dictionary of Saints*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
PBH	*Phelps-Brown/Hopkins*
PP	*Past & Present*
TNA	*The National Archives*
VSWG	*Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte*

Chapter One – The Fourteenth Century English Seafarer: An Introduction

A Shipman was ther, wonynge fer by weste;
For aught I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
He rood upon a rouncy, as he kouthe,
In a gowne of faldyng to the knee.
A daggere hangynge on a laas hadde he
Aboute his nekke, under his arm adoun.
The hoote somer hadde maad his hewe al broun;
And certeinly he was a good felawe.
Ful many a draughte of wyn had he ydrawe
Fro Burdeux-ward, whil that the chapman sleep.
Of nyce conscience took he no keep.
If that he faught and hadde the hyer hond,
By water he sente hem hoom to every lond.
But of his craft to rekene wel his tydes,
His stremes, and his daungers hym bisides,
His herberwe, and his moone, his lodemenage,
Ther nas noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.
Hardy he was and wys to undertake;
With many a tempest hadde his berd been shake.
He knew alle the havenes, as they were,
Fro Gootlond to the cape of Fynystere,
And every cryke in Britaigne and in Spayne.
His barge ycleped was the Maudelayne.

Geoffrey Chaucer, 'The General Prologue', in The Canterbury Tales[1]

In the fourteenth century, English seafarers formed an essential part of the social and economic fabric of the kingdom. Ports were the hubs of the trade networks, which connected England with the rest of Europe, importing goods as well as influence and culture from the Continent. Closer to home, seafarers not only fished both inshore and offshore, but were also an integral part of the country's martial and diplomatic endeavours through the transport of armies, supplies and envoys.

Yet, the fourteenth century shipmen also lived through one of the most turbulent periods in English history. In the first instance the climate was changing which produced intensive periods of storminess, which threatened the very towns shipmasters lived in. For example, 'Old Winchelsea' was completely washed away by the end of the thirteenth century[2]

[1] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. by Larry Dean Benson (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), ll. 388–410.
[2] David Martin and Barbara Martin, *New Winchelsea, Sussex: A Medieval Port Town* (King's Lynn: Heritage Marketing and Publications, 2004), p. 2.

and around a quarter of the town of Dunwich had met a similar fate by 1326.[3] In addition to changing environmental conditions the kingdom was stuck by demographic catastrophes, most notably the Black Death in 1348 and its subsequent outbreaks. The ongoing Anglo-Scottish and Anglo-French conflicts of this period also created uncertainty, but for shipmen war at sea could provide opportunities in the form of prizes, such as captured wine.[4]

For all their centrality to the socio-economic wellbeing of the kingdom, however, fourteenth-century seafarers have received only limited attention from historians when compared with the voluminous studies that focus on the peasantry and aristocracy. It is easy to see why the aristocracy seduces historians. Their castles, pomp, and chivalry, combined with an abundant source, mine offers an exciting opportunity to research a group that was central to the king's wars, diplomacy, and law making. E.P. Thompson posits that this is especially true for eighteenth-century historians, who more easily related to the gentry rather than the '"labouring poor" [who] did not leave their workhouses stashed with documents for historians to work over nor do they invite identification with their back-breaking toil'.[5] Despite this belief, the majority of the medieval population was not a part of the gentry. The humble peasant is often seen as the backbone of the countryside and studies have illuminated the brutal and exploited world they lived in.[6] William Langland revealed that there was also a heroic side to the peasant, which was characterised by hard work and dogged determination.[7] This 'heroic side' to the peasant has been highlighted in Dyer's work.

Religious figures and institutions also form an essential strand of historiography. Since literate church-going men often found themselves at the centre of government and abbey estates scattered across the kingdom were hubs of regional and national prosperity, the church became a colossus that was central to the cultural, spiritual, political, and economic fabric of the kingdom. This is unsurprising, as the Church was central to the spiritual wellbeing of the kingdom and, as a major landowner, was integral to the country's economy.

As an island nation, the lack of focus on the socio-economic position of English seafarers is surprising, as they were the key to trade. For instance, if an abbot needed to sell the wool from his vast estates, he relied on a shipmaster to freight his clip. Additionally, the wine that flowed freely at aristocratic tables was shipped in the hulls of English ships. The ability of a demesne lord to sell his wheat abroad, and thus provide a living for his peasantry, was wholly dependent

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[3] Judith Middleton-Stewart, *Inward Purity and Outward Splendour: Death and Remembrance in the Deanery of Dunwich, Suffolk, 1370-1547* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2001), p. 19.
[4] Tony K. Moore, 'The Cost-Benefit Analysis of a Fourteenth-Century Naval Campaign: Margate/Cadzand, 1387', in *Roles of the Sea in Medieval England*, ed. by Richard Gorski (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2012), pp. 103–24 (p. 115).
[5] E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (London: Penguin Books, 1991), pp. 17–18.
[6] Christopher Dyer, *An Age of Transition?: Economy and Society in England in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); Christopher Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England c. 1200–1520* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989).
[7] William Langland, *The Vision of Piers Plowman* (London: J.M. Dent, 1978).

on shippers moving the commodity. The limited interest in shipboard communities amongst medieval historians is all the more surprising as research has shown that the seaman was a cosmopolitan individual used to working with diverse peoples and whose line of work gave him knowledge of the wider world, an experience denied to most of his land based contemporaries.[8] The distinction between the seafaring community and those outside of it is an interesting one. While there are some overlaps between seafarers and other groups, especially while seafarers are living on land, the unique life led on the sea puts these men (and their families) into a distinctive group.

Although for maritime communities it is naval aspects of the Hundred Years War that dominate most historiography, changing environmental conditions perhaps had more of an adverse effect on port towns.[9] Climate's influence was over-arching: it affected ecologies, growing conditions, carrying capacities, the viability of marginal environments, sailing conditions, and risks of experiencing extreme weather events. Microbial pathogens, their hosts, and vectors are ecologically sensitive and thus responsive to altered climatic conditions. Humans created the density and distributional preconditions for the pan-continental spread of diseases. To understand and explain the history of the late-medieval world therefore requires an appreciation of these interactions between climate, disease, and society: nature as much as society needs to be acknowledged as a protagonist of historical change.[10]

This is not to say that mariners have been entirely neglected. In fact, there is an expanding literature on this group and their importance was not lost on their contemporaries. Geoffrey Chaucer, in his *Canterbury Tales* (*c.*1387-1400) wrote about characters that had important (although not always significant) roles in fourteenth-century England, one of whom was called the Shipman. It is important to note that Chaucer drew from his own life experiences when he wrote the Shipman and the Shipman's Tale. It is uncertain exactly when or where Chaucer was born, but some details of his family have survived: his father, John Chaucer, was a prosperous and influential wine merchant in London who lived with his wife Agnes in the Vintry Ward of London, which bordered the Thames and was one of the wealthier wards in London.[11] Previous to this, Chaucer's family was a merchant family from Ipswich; it was his grandfather Robert and grandmother Mary who left Ipswich for London.[12] Accordingly, Chaucer was born into a family with ties to the sea. Furthermore, Chaucer saw military service in France in 1359 and 1369, was granted safe conduct from King Charles II of Navarre, which allowed him to travel

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[8] Maryanne Kowaleski, '"Alien" Encounters in the Maritime World of Medieval England', *Medieval Encounters*, 13.1 (2007), 96–121.
[9] Bruce M. S. Campbell, *The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016).
[10] Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 21.
[11] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. xii.
[12] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. xi.

across the country, in 1366. All of these excursions would have required weeks at sea, and some sea journeys even took him to 'parts beyond the sea', as in 1370 when he was sent on a trip under the king's protection for an unknown reason.[13] Later, in 1374, Chaucer took residence in the Aldgate ward of London, where he was made Controller of the Customs and Subsidy of Wools, Hides, and Wool-fells, was the Controller of the Petty Custom of Wines, and to a lesser extent cloth.[14] This meant he had to make sure his collectors were accurately representing the customs amounts they had collected, and was essentially in charge of the wealth of England, as wool was the most important export in the country. His work as customs collector was based at the Custom House at Wool Quay, the first of which was recorded to have been built in 1382. His work was essential to the wars being fought in the 1340s and 1350s by King Edward, as well as for small military expeditions in the 1370s and 1380s. His home in Aldgate would have been just a short walk from the Custom House.[15] In 1382, he was given more responsibilities. However, other duties forced him to leave London several times, and he eventually appointed a permanent deputy in February 1385.[16] His final journey overseas was in 1387, when he accompanied Sir William Beauchamp to Calais.[17]

These are but a few moments where Chaucer's life led him to the sea, and with his early connections to it, it is no surprise that he would include the Shipman and the Shipman's Tale in his story. It lays out the information that is most important about a seafarer: his homeport and his ship's name. The only thing that Chaucer leaves out is the Shipman's name, but he does not name any of his characters. It is believed that the Shipman being described is similar to those that Chaucer would have seen during his travels,[18] some of which took him to Dartmouth, a known haunt of pirates. It is because of this connection between Dartmouth and piracy that has led some scholars to believe that The Shipman Chaucer described was a pirate himself.[19] However, piracy was an occupation that many seafarers practiced, with men from Great

[13] Douglas Gray, 'Chaucer, Geoffrey (c.1340-1400)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5191>.
[14] *Survey of London: All Hallows, Barking-By-The-Tower, Pt II*, ed. by G.H. Gater and Walter H. Godfrey (London: London County Council, 1934), xv, p. 31; *CPR, Edward III 1370-1374*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: The Hereford Times Ltd, 1914), p. 449.
[15] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. xvi.
[16] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, p. xviii.
[17] Larry Dean Benson, 'Introduction', in *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), p. xix.
[18] Sumner Ferris, '"His Barge Ycleped Was the Maudelayne": Canterbury Tales', *Names*, 31.3 (1983), 207–10.
[19] Ferris.

Yarmouth,[20] King's Lynn,[21] Exmouth,[22] Rye,[23] Southampton,[24] Sandwich,[25] Winchelsea,[26] Bristol,[27] Fowey,[28] Boston,[29] London,[30] Teignmouth,[31] and Plymouth,[32] among many other smaller ports listed as pirates in documents. Furthermore, the other descriptors of the Shipman fit with those who were not outright pirates as well. Being a mariner had many technical challenges, such as navigating long distances and safely bringing a ship into port. While dangerous ('A daggere hangynge on a laas hadde he/Aboute his nekke'[33]), Chaucer's Shipman has travelled far through dangerous waters ('He knew alle the havenes as they were,/Fro Gootlond to the cape of Fynystere,/And every cryke in Britaigne and in Spayne'[34]) and therefore knew his craft well. While not a completely accurate representation of all mariners in the fourteenth century, his description does highlight the importance of seafarers during this time, as well as the integral personal qualities needed. The accuracy of Chaucer's Shipman, and other characters, has been widely debated. Are these pilgrims based on real people, or are the caricatures moral mirrors in which Chaucer is holding up to society? For instance, the description of the Shipman could be seen as a critique of the occupation, whereas the Knight is often held up as Chaucer's 'ideal' pilgrim, as he offers no 'attack or satire' against him.[35] It is likely that the answer lies somewhere in the middle, as scholarly research shows that contemporary men can be directly linked to some of Chaucer's pilgrims.

Chaucer is not the only example of a fourteenth-century author using his life experiences on the sea in literature. In 'A Glimpse of Late Fourteenth Century Ships and Seamen', G.W. Coopland describes Philippe de Mézières' use of the ship as allegory in his work *Le Songe du Vieil Pélerin*. It is clear, according to Coopland, that Mézières was an experienced traveller, as he frequently travelled between Cyprus and the Asiatic Sea.[36] Mézières' descriptions of ships, while

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[20] *CCR, Edward III: 1343-1346*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1904), p. 549; *CPR, Edward III 1374-1377*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: The Hereford Times Ltd, 1916), p. 156.
[21] *CCR, Edward III: 1327-1330*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1896), p. 218.
[22] Lyte, *CCR 1327-1330*, p. 243; *CPR, Edward III 1338-1340*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), pp. 491–92; *CPR, Edward III 1354-1358*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Anthony Brothers Ltd, 1909), p. 32.
[23] *CCR, Edward III: 1337-1339*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900), p. 220.
[24] Lyte, *CCR 1337-1339*, p. 235.
[25] Lyte, *CCR 1337-1339*, p. 284.
[26] *CCR, Edward III: 1341-1343*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902), p. 545.
[27] *CCR, Edward III: 1364-1369*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1910), p. 255; *CPR, Edward III 1348-1350*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1905), p. 593.
[28] *CCR, Edward III: 1346-1349*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1905), p. 79; Lyte, *CPR 1348-1350*, p. 593.
[29] Lyte, *CPR 1348-1350*, pp. 519–20.
[30] *CPR, Edward III 1330-1334*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893), p. 576.
[31] *CPR, Edward III 1361-1364*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: The Hereford Times Ltd, 1912), p. 291.
[32] Lyte, *CPR 1348-1350*, p. 593.
[33] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 394–395.
[34] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 409–411.
[35] Laura C. Lambdin and Robert T. Lambdin, *Chaucer's Pilgrims: An Historical Guide to the Pilgrims in The Canterbury Tales* (Greenwood Publishing Group, 1999), p. 2.
[36] G. W. Coopland, 'A Glimpse of Late Fourteenth-Century Ships and Seamen: From Le Songe de Vieil Pélerin of Philippe de Mézières (1327–1405)', *MM*, 48.3 (1962), 186–92 (p. 187).

exaggerated at times for the purpose of allegory, are broadly accurate. In fact, Coopland states that it is 'on the whole, not difficult to disentangle the ship of fancy, that never sailed on any sea, from the workaday ship with which the writer was familiar'.[37] While Mézières portrays ship technology throughout his work, it is his descriptions of those who sail the ship that are of most interest to me. As translated by Coopland, Mézières describes the Captain (*Seigneur*) and the *Patron*, as well as the '*gouvernement practicen*', otherwise called the *comistre* or *noclier*, who is a 'valiant man, expert in seamanship and battle'.[38] From here, there is the steersman (*tymonnier*), twelve strong sailors ('whose business it is to control the two great rudders in stormy weather'), another twelve men (*pruners*) whose job it is to lower and raise the anchors and the lower yard, and another twenty-four 'strong and agile men' (*soubresaillans*) who are there to 'do whatever the officers order'.[39] This is in addition to the man in charge of the compass, a main on watch in the crow's nest, and one or two men whose job is to free the anchors from the seabed when they catch on rocks. While this description may not be entirely accurate of the crew on board a fourteenth-century ship, it does give the impression of a complicated shipboard community and the men who made up its ranks. Connections have been drawn between Chaucer and Mézières by modern scholars: not only is it thought that Chaucer took inspiration from Mézières' writings (such as Chaucer's St Cecilia in the *Second Nun's Tale* being reminiscent of Mézières' representation of women in *Livre de la Vertu du Sacrament de Marriage*), but also took inspiration from Mézières' life as it has been posited that he is the source used for the Knight in the *Canterbury Tales*.[40]

Contemporaries like Chaucer and Mézières show that mariners were important enough in the fourteenth century to feature in literary works. While there is an abundant historiography on issues relating to a shipman's life, such as shipbuilding, trade, and port towns (and some of this body of work inevitably strays into investigating aspects of the shipman's life), most research on seafarers can be placed into five categories: those studies that examine the ships' master might command, those that study the trade he was involved with, those that investigate the ports he lived in, those that research the role he performed in naval activity, and those studies that examine the shipmaster from a legalist point of view, or the role he played in business. R. W. H. Miller describes the complexity of medieval mariners in his recently published book: 'Sailors come in great variety, often with a wisdom acquired through travel and the need to work and live, voyage after voyage, in proximity to others not of their choosing; few can be described as "simple"'.[41] It is perhaps because of this that there are few historians who have tried

[37] Coopland, p. 188.
[38] Coopland, p. 189.
[39] Coopland, p. 189.
[40] Stefan Vander Elst, '"Tu Es Pélérin En La Sainte Cité": Chaucer's Knight and Philippe de Mézières', *Studies in Philology*, 106.4 (2009), 379–401 (pp. 382–83) <https://doi.org/10.1353/sip.0.0037>.
[41] R. W. H. Miller, *One Firm Anchor: The Church and the Merchant Seafarer, an Introductory History*, Kindle eBook (James Clarke & Co, 2014), loc. 266.

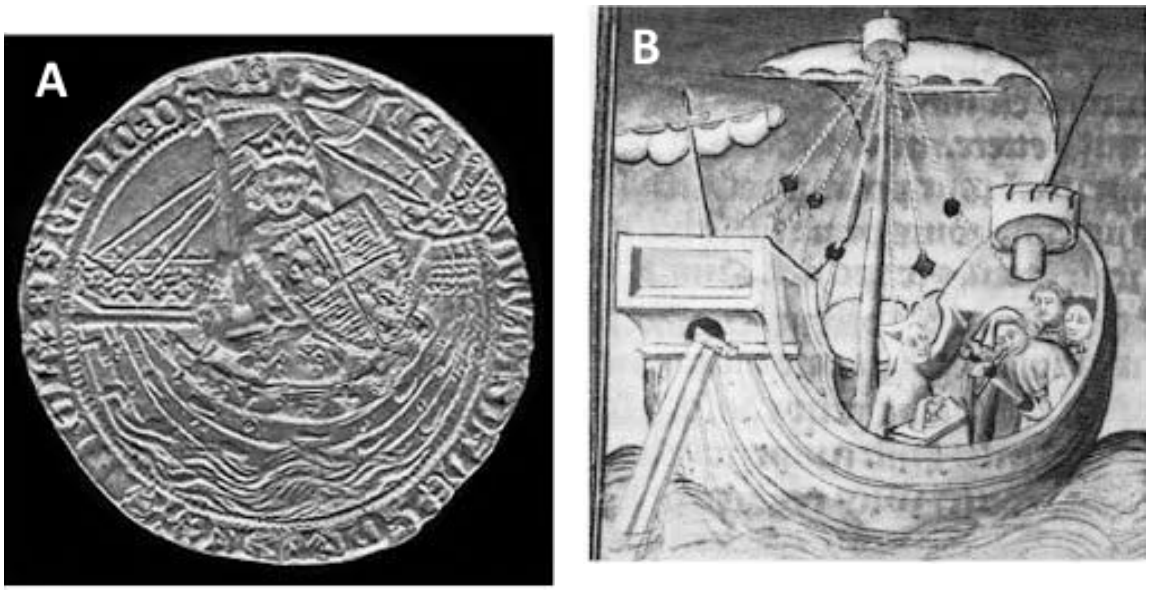
to holistically research the lives of the mariners themselves, rather than simply the occupation they practiced while on the sea.

Ships

Scholars who look at ships are numerous and varying. Archaeologists such as Jon Adams[42] and Crister Westerdahl[43] examine the remains of shipwrecks to better understand the development of shipbuilding technology. Historians, such as Ian Friel,[44] have also studied the role of ships, looking at their historical significance rather than their technological significance. Keith Muckelroy, one of the foremost scholars in maritime archaeology, speaks about those living aboard a ship as a 'closed community' where the term implies that they are not only closed off for the 'duration of the voyage', but also a 'more fundamental segregation from wider society'.[45] Since the time ships were first made, there has always been a strict social hierarchy, where 'one man…[had] ultimate responsibility and authority, with a marked division between those whose job it is to give orders, the officers, and those who have to obey, the men'.[46] The social space aboard a ship can today be discerned from the bones of shipwrecks and what was found in the wreckage, since the 'quantity and quality of objects' differed between these groups, as well as their living space.[47] From the late-medieval into the Tudor period, a parallel can be seen between 'the organisation of space on board ship with similar changes in medieval houses' as 'both in the house and on board, space is increasingly sub-divided partly for function and role but also to address notions of identity, status and privacy: cabins for a navigator, a barber-surgeon or a carpenter aboard the *Mary Rose*; parlours and bedrooms in the medieval house'.[48]

[42] Jon Adams, 'Theme 5. Maritime Identities and Perceptions of Maritime Space'.
[43] Christer Westerdahl, 'Maritime Cultures and Ship Types: Brief Comments on the Significance of Maritime Archaeology', *IJNA*, 23.4 (1994), 265–70.
[44] Ian Friel, 'Winds of Change? Ships and the Hundred Years War', in *Arms, Armies and Fortifications in the Hundred Years War*, ed. by Anne Curry and Michael Hughes (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999); Ian Friel, *The Good Ship: Ships, Shipbuilding and Technology in England, 1200-1520* (London: British Museum Press, 1995).
[45] Keith Muckelroy, *Maritime Archaeology*, New Studies in Archaeology (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1978), p. 221; Jon Adams, *A Maritime Archaeology of Ships: Innovation and Social Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), p. 28.
[46] Muckelroy, p. 221.
[47] Muckelroy, p. 221.
[48] Adams, 'Theme 5. Maritime Identities and Perceptions of Maritime Space', p. 3.

Figure 1.1: A) A gold Noble from the reign of Edward III. B) An illumination from a 14th-century French manuscript



Source: J. R. Adams, A Maritime Archaeology of Ships: Innovation and Social Change in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2013), pp. 101, 106.

These specific characteristics of the ship as a machine help to identify certain features and design aspects, but its purpose can only be identified by the material culture left behind, much like how material culture can help determine the social dynamics of living aboard a ship. Ships 'function within a military or economic system', apart from ceremonial vessels that are obvious and infrequent. Their function can usually easily be determined by what is found on the sea-bed, through the discovery of cargos and armaments.[49] It should be mentioned that very few ships have been discovered from the fourteenth century. One of the only cog ships found from this period was discovered in the harbour in Bremen, Germany, and is thought to be an unfinished ship from around 1400. At this point, shipbuilders are just beginning to think of the vessel as an entire unit, rather than dealing with the hull and upperworks as two separate things. The Bremen cog is an example of changing shipbuilding traditions. Earlier ships would have been recorded as 'hulks', of which very little is known and remains a controversial topic within maritime archaeology due to the fact that after a century of maritime-archaeological discoveries, 'we still look in vain for the hulk'.[50] What little is known about this type of ship comes from things like seals, coins, and illuminations (Figure 1.1).[51] The earliest example of a hulk in records was in *Laws of Aethelred II* from 1000 AD, and records indicate they were medium to large ships.

[49] Muckelroy, pp. 219–20.
[50] Adams, *A Maritime Archaeology of Ships*, p. 99.
[51] Muckelroy, p. 134.

Archaeologists and historians who study medieval ships are also able to learn more about the navigation abilities of the medieval sailor, which allowed them to survive dangerous tides and currents. Navigation in the Middle Ages was 'slow, sometimes impossible in windless or stormy periods, and totally interrupted in the winter months from November to March'.[52] Later, during the Renaissance, the tools such as 'charts, pilot books, almanacs and traverse tables', became popular. Prior to this, however, these physical remnants of navigational abilities were thought to have been strictly cognitive, since there was no navigational material in shipwrecks. As a cognitive ability of the shipmaster himself this material could only be found in the minds of these highly skilled men. It is because of this fact that there are no written copies of medieval navigation techniques for the English and French coasts, apart from the small amount of information given by Chaucer in his description of the Shipman where he describes '"lodemenage" (coastal navigation)' through his talk of '"tydes", "stremes" (tidal currents), "daungers" (hazards), "herberwe" (anchorages), and the "moone"'.[53] Knowledge of the tides was essential to the survival of ship and crew, a task that was extremely difficult since

> He who wishes to learn to calculate the tides must first know all the points of the compass with its quarter points and half points, since this is the essential foundation of this matter and without it there can be no certainty'.[54]

There were three-hundred-sixty numbered degrees and thirty-two named points of the compass that needed to be memorised (Figure 1.2), but these unmoveable points could be highly influenced by the sea and other environmental factors. The observation of 'natural phenomena' like tides, currents, and 'changes of color of the sea' could help determine the depth of the water and the location of the ship, in addition to flocks of birds like the eider ducks, which showed that the ship was within one-hundred miles of land. Navigation close to the coast involved the 'three Ls' or 'lookout, lead line, and log'. A lead line was a hollow weight used to take samples of the sea-bed and the log, which was thrown over the side of the ship, helped estimate speed. Observing stars, such as the North Star, enabled the viewer to determine how far north or south the ship was. Much like Chaucer's Shipman, a knowledge of harbours and their individual weather patterns, water flows, and anchorages, as well as coastal features like church towers, were essential to the survival of the ship when coming into harbour. Since this information was not written down, it could only be passed along by word-of-mouth from one generation to another.[55]

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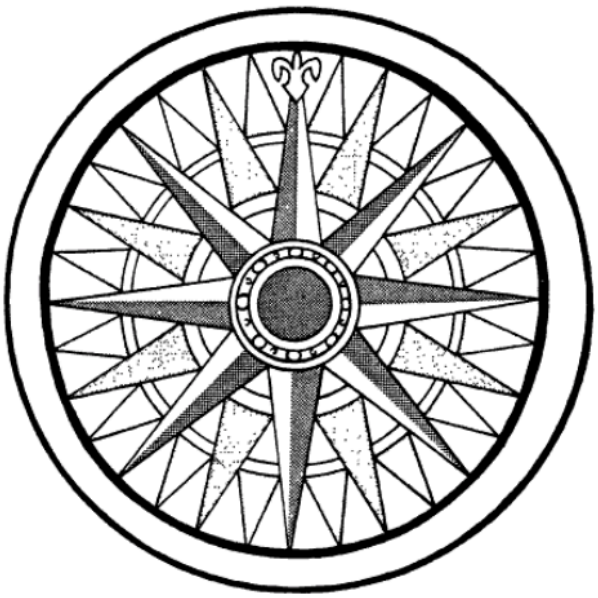
[52] Jean-Denis G. G. Lepage, *Medieval Armies and Weapons in Western Europe: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2014), p. 149.
[53] Charles O. Frake, 'Cognitive Maps of Time and Tide Among Medieval Seafarers', *Man*, 20.2 (1985), 254–70 (p. 257).
[54] Frake, p. 262.
[55] Jean-Denis G. G. Lepage, *Medieval Armies and Weapons in Western Europe: An Illustrated History* (Jefferson: McFarland, 2014), p. 149.

Figure 1.2: Medieval Compass and its Corresponding Points



POINTS		TIME	POINTS		TIME
32	North	Midnight	16	South	Noon
1	N by E	0:45 AM	17	S by W	12:45 PM
2	NNE	1:30 AM	18	SSW	1:30 PM
3	NE by N	2:15 AM	19	SW by S	2:15 PM
4	NE	3:00 AM	20	SW	3:00 PM
5	NE by E	3:45 AM	21	SW by W	3:45 PM
6	ENE	4:30 AM	22	WSW	4:30 PM
7	E by N	5:15 AM	23	W by S	5:15 PM
8	East	6:00 AM	24	West	6:00 PM
9	E by S	6:45 AM	25	W by N	6:45 PM
10	ESE	7:30 AM	26	WNW	7:30 PM
11	SE by E	8:15 AM	27	NW by W	8:15 PM
12	SE	9:00 AM	28	NW	9:00 PM
13	SE by S	9:45 AM	29	NW by N	9:45 PM
14	SSE	10:30 AM	30	NNW	10:30 PM
15	S by E	11:15 AM	31	N by W	11:15 PM

Source: Charles O. Frake, 'Cognitive Maps of Time and Tide Among Medieval Seafarers', Man, 20.2 (1985), 254–70, p. 263.

Business and Legal Aspect

Historians have focused on the business role for the shipmaster and his legal responsibilities.[56] Shipmasters contracted with merchants to varying degrees of complexity in order to decide on voyage routes and timetables; as well as organising credit, victuals, and payment for the crew. Furthermore, shipmasters required a knowledge not only of currencies, but also the constantly shifting exchange rates.[57] Additionally, there were two 'codifications of maritime law', the *Lex d'Oleron* and the *Inquisition of Queenborough*,[58] which helped shipmasters navigate their relationships with merchants. They laid out rules for legal decisions for '*inter alia,* jettison, general average, delays incurred by the merchants or the shipmaster, damage to cargo, anchoring discipline in havens, and other potentially contentious issues'.[59] Shipmasters were therefore required to have a wide range of skills from navigational abilities to business sense in order to handle his mariners and merchants to a comprehension of law and politics to ensure his crew and cargo arrived safely. Interesting details on the careers of shipmaster can also be gleaned from Wendy Childs' research, which offers an opportunity to see the careers of shipmasters, though Childs' work focuses mostly on the fifteenth century.[60]

Naval Activity

Historians have looked at the seaman through the prism of naval operations. As the period under investigation here was one of constant warfare naval operations have been studied in depth. It is not hard to see why. English armies needed transporting to France to fight in the Hundred Years War and English forces serving in Scotland were largely supplied by sea.[61] As such, the role played by shipmaster and mariners form a significant corpus of the literature on seafarers.

A keen interest was taken in naval matters from the nineteenth century. In many regards the work of Nicholas Harris Nicolas set the tone. Nicolas described in intimate detail the naval

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[56] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Christian D. Liddy and Ben Dodds (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), p. 165; Robin Ward, *The World of the Medieval Shipmaster* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2009).
[57] Adrian R. Bell, Chris Brooks, and Tony K. Moore, 'Did Purchasing Power Parity Hold in Medieval Europe?', *The Manchester School*, 85.6 (2017), 682–709.
[58] The *Inquisition of Queenborough* was an inquest to determine maritime laws. See Table 4.2 for voyage wages in the *Inquisition of Queenborough*.
[59] Robin Ward, pp. 179–80.
[60] Wendy R. Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1978); Wendy R. Childs, 'The Commercial Shipping of South-Western England in the Late Fifteenth Century', *MM*, 83.3 (1997), 272–92; Ralph Davis, *The Trade and Shipping of Hull, 1500-1700* (Beverley: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1964).
[61] Craig Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military: English Maritime Logistics in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011); N.A.M. Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea* (London: Penguin Books, 1997); Michael Prestwich, *Armies and Warfare in the Middle Ages: The English Experience* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1996); Graham Cushway, *Edward III and the War at Sea: The English Navy, 1327-1377* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011).

operations in the fourteenth century.[62] In the 1970s, Timothy Runyan added much to the historiography in his work on Edward III's navy and the men that manned it.[63] More recently the focus has been on strategy, tactics, and logistics within medieval naval operations.

Most of these works tend to focus on strategy, tactics, and technology. Nicholas Rodger, for example, is concerned with the deployment and use of sea power.[64] Other historians have taken a keen interest in naval logistics. Lambert's book, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, uses extensive amounts of archival research to showcase medieval fleets to Scotland and France, as well as advancements in fleet organisation and requisition. Sea battles also feature heavily in the historiography, as do investigations into the proto-royal navy. During this period, the royal navy, as it exists today, had not yet come to be. Instead, the 'royal navy' was made up of ships owned by English citizens that had been arrested for service, the ships of the Cinque Ports, and ships owned by the king.[65] Those studies noted below on ports also discuss naval matters in relation to the ports experiences. Barbara and David Martin's work on Winchelsea is a good example of this, where Winchelsea's importance to naval policy through their contribution of ships is laid out.[66]

Trade

English maritime trade has been the subject of much research. Leading the field in medieval maritime trade is Maryanne Kowaleski, who through a series of articles has examined the social and urban world of medieval mariners. Through her meticulous research, Kowaleski revealed how much seafarers were paid for their service, and how sea-going labour often consisted of work in the wine trade, in herring fishing, or in naval service. However, it is important to point out that these are the occupations that have the most surviving records and are not necessarily the sole labour of medieval mariners. As Robin Ward points out, little is known of the personal lives of shipmasters.[67] Many men entered the craft through family connections,[68] such as fathers or uncles. The demographics in maritime communities were often skewed with 'low sex ratios (because of male absences and high mortality), exaggerated seasonality of marriages and baptisms related to the timing of fishing and sea trade, early endogamous marriage, and smaller

[62] Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *A History of the Royal Navy, from the Earliest Times to the Wars of the French Revolution*, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1847), I, chaps 10–14; Nicolas, I, chaps 1–4.
[63] Timothy J. Runyan, 'Ships and Mariners in Later Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 16.2 (1977), 1–17; Archibald R. Lewis and Timothy J. Runyan, *European Naval and Maritime History, 300-1500* (Bloomington: Indiana UP, 1990).
[64] Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*; N.A.M. Rodger, 'The Naval Service of the Cinque Ports', *HR*, 111.442 (1996), 636–51.
[65] Susan Rose, *England's Medieval Navy 1066-1509: Ships, Men & Warfare* (Montreal: Seaforth Publishing, 2013), p. 43.
[66] Martin and Martin, pp. 13–15.
[67] Robin Ward, p. 179.
[68] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Working at Sea: Maritime Recruitment and Remuneration in Medieval England', in *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Lawrin Armstrong, Martin M. Elbl, and Ivana Elbl (Leiden: Brill, 2007), pp. 907–35 (pp. 908–10).

families'.[69] As there was no formal apprenticeship scheme or mariners' guild during the fourteenth century, mariners learned on the job, building their way up to shipmaster through hard work and experience.[70] Some shipmasters were able to develop a profitable career.[71] Some even owned their own boats, though this was most common in the 'fishing industry, in which small craft of less than twenty tons were the norm'.[72] These ships were not meant for far flung travels and as such were not as expensive to build. As ships became larger (over forty tons), shipmasters were less likely to own the boat on their own, but instead would sometimes co-own a ship with merchants or gentry.[73]

It has been shown that merchants played a large roll in naval service during the Hundred Years War, especially those from coastal counties. Of the merchants who went into military service, over fifty percent were found to have served on naval campaigns. When looking at Poll Tax data, the disparity between coastal and in-land counties can be seen, with almost seventy percent of Dorset merchants found on naval muster rolls and about fifty-four percent from Wiltshire. [74]

The employment and occupational focus of shipmasters and mariners naturally have economic implications, which have been studied by economic historians.[75] The fishing industry was perhaps the largest employer of maritime labour, an industry that went through fluctuations throughout the fourteenth century with the growth and fall of eastern fisheries, as well as the later growth of western fisheries. While people fished the seas from all coasts, major fisheries first developed on the eastern coast of England, and stretched from 'Hartlepool and Scarborough in north Yorkshire southwards through Grimsby in Lincolnshire; Blakeney and Yarmouth in Norfolk; Lowestoft and Dunwich in Suffolk; Sandwich, Hythe and New Romney in Kent; and Winchelsea, Rye and Brighton in Sussex'.[76] These towns saw centuries of prosperity. For example, this prosperity can be seen by the settlement of fishers at Yarmouth and the high

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[69] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Demography of Maritime Communities in Late Medieval England', in *Town and Countryside in the Age of the Black Death: Essays in Honour of John Hatcher.*, ed. by Mark Bailey and Stephen Rigby (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), p. 74.
[70] Robin Ward, p. 179.
[71] Kowaleski, 'Working at Sea: Maritime Recruitment and Remuneration in Medieval England'.
[72] Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England', p. 166.
[73] Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England', p. 169.
[74] S. Gibbs and Adrian R. Bell, 'Fighting Merchants', in *Medieval Merchants and Money: Essays in Honour of James L. Bolton*, ed. by M. Allen and M. Davies (London: Institute of Historical Research, 2016), pp. 93–112 (pp. 110–11) <http://centaur.reading.ac.uk/59128>.
[75] G. V. Scammell, 'English Merchant Shipping at the End of the Middle Ages: Some East Coast Evidence', *EHR*, 13.3 (1961), 327–41; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries in Medieval England and Wales', *IJMH*, XV.2 (2003), 177–231; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', *EHR*, 53.3 (2000), 429–454; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Shipping and the Carrying Trade in Medieval Dartmouth', in *Von Nowgorod Bis London: Studien Zu Handel, Wirtschaft Und Gesellschaft Im Mittelalterlichen Europa : Festschrift Für Stuart Jenks Zum 60. Geburtstag*, ed. by Stuart Jenks, Marie-Luise Heckmann, and Jens Röhrkasten (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2008), pp. 465–88.
[76] Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries', p. 178.

number of herring being consumed in Ipswich.[77] However, by the late fourteenth century, this prosperity began to decline. Yarmouth, which was once a thriving town for fishers, came to be described by its burgesses as 'impoverished and depopulated'.[78] Around the time that the eastern fisheries began to witness this decline, western fisheries flourished.[79] This expansion occurred on three different fronts: the increased exploitation of inshore fisheries, sailing further east to exploit fisheries further afield, and travelling west to fisheries off Iceland and Ireland.[80] While fisheries produced many different kinds of fish, such as herring and cod, they were not as multifaceted as shipping was. Shipping could be contained to just local coastal activities, or it could be more far flung. For example, there are examples in surviving documents from Portugal and Spain that show ships arriving from Berwick and Hartlepool.[81]

One of the best recorded maritime commercial trade operations is the Bordeaux wine trade. This wine was taken from the Bordeaux and Gascon regions and carried to English ports,[82] mainly into south-western ports such as Dartmouth and Plymouth.[83] France was not the only place that wine was imported from during this period and wine also came from the Rhine and Moselle areas, called Rhenish wine, as well as 'sweet wines from Italy and the eastern Mediterranean and wines from Iberia'.[84] The crown's right to tax wine has left the historian with a voluminous set of records which have been used to examine the export of wine from Bordeaux.[85] However, while the customs accounts of Bordeaux have been used the same cannot be said for Butler's records, which show the importation of wine into English harbours. The Butler's accounts record the collection of the king's right to prise (usually one ton before and one ton after the mast) and usually list the name of the ship, its home port and, before 1330, the name of the master.[86] While these records do not make a complete picture of wine imports, when coupled with totals from other counties it is possible to create a more complete picture. For instance, there were duties recorded by the Bishop for the County Palatine of Durham, the Cinque Ports, the Palatinate of Chester, and Cornwall. The period from 1322-1323 saw the

[77] Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'Strategies of Inheritance among Kentish Fishing Communities in the Later Middle Ages', *The History of the Family*, 11.2 (2006), 93–105.
[78] Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries', p. 191.
[79] Kowaleski describes the western fisheries as being made up of the 'coastal region from Hampshire to Dorset, around the southwestern peninsula of Devon, Cornwall and Somerset, up into the Bristol Channel and northwards around the coast of Wales to Cumberland and Westmorland', in Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries in Medieval England and Wales', *IJMH*, XV.2 (2003), p. 202.
[80] Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries', p. 225.
[81] Scammell, p. 328; Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*.
[82] Kowaleski, 'Shipping and the Carrying Trade in Medieval Dartmouth', pp. 472–73; Margery K. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, ed. by Elspeth M. Veale (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971); Margery K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century', *EHR*, 4.2 (1951), 170–96.
[83] Childs, 'The Commercial Shipping of South-Western England in the Late Fifteenth Century'.
[84] Susan Rose, *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000-1500* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2011), p. 59.
[85] {Citation}
[86] Margery K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century', p. 171.

highest number of tons imported into England, while 1346-1347 (the year of the Battle of Crécy) and 1348-1349 had the least (Table 1.1).

Table 1.1: Alien Imports of Wine into England in the Fourteenth Century

Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons	Year	Tons
1322-3	8636	1334-5	3910	1345-6	3251	1357-8	2052	1370-1	818
1323-4	7704			1346-7	443	1358-9	1640	1371-2	1174
1324-5	3495	1336-7	2146	1347-8	2923	1359-60	1809		
1325-6	4607			1348-9	469	1360-1	1438	1378-9	1892
1326-7	2416	1338-9	3487	1349-50	1431	1361-2	2856	1379-80	993
1327-8	5615	1339-40	2022	1350-1	2169			1380-1	1044
1328-9	7365	1340-1	4258	1351-2	1051	1363-4	1493	1381-2	1262
		1341-2	3411	1352-3	2646	1364-5	1454		
1330-1	6067	1342-3	3829	1353-4	2390			1392-3	1611
1331-2	3303			1354-5	1830	1366-7	1151	1393-4	4719
1332-3	1586	1344-5	3854	1355-6	1800	1367-8	1178	1394-5	3352
1333-4	6166								

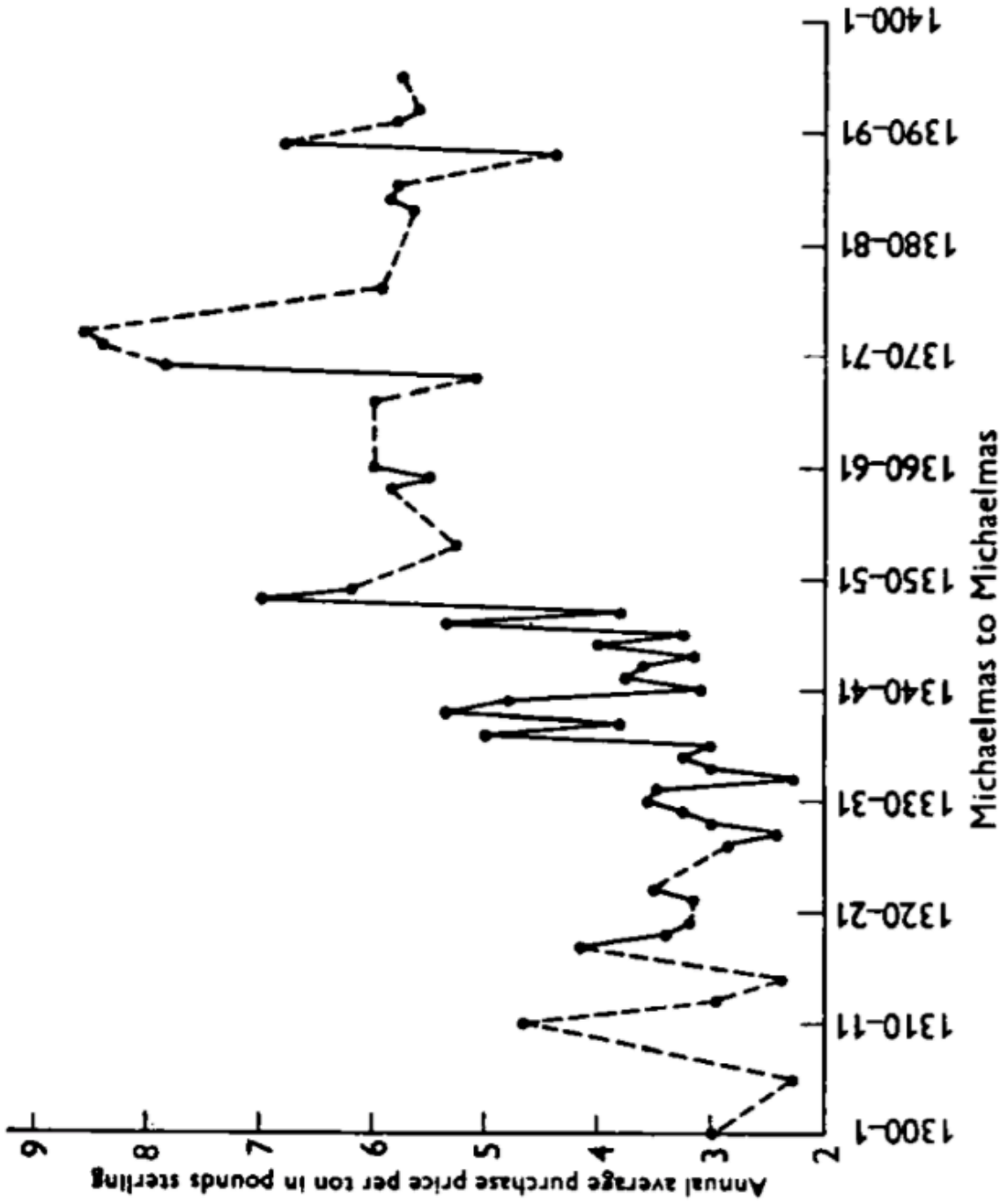
Source: Margery K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century', EHR, 4.2 (1951), p. 194.

The Black Death caused a collapse in the Bordeaux wine, causing a severe decrease in the production and sale of wines from the Bordelais region, though a rebound quickly occurred in the subsequent years.[87]

This is not the only avenue when studying the wine trade in England, as the price fluctuations can also be considered. Once again, the high consumption rate by the king and royal household creates a consistent resource throughout the ups and downs of the fourteenth century. As will be discussed in Chapter Four with regards to shipmasters' relative wealth, Figure 1.3 shows how the price of wine changed due external forces like famine and war. It can be seen that the cost of wine spikes during the more intense periods of the Hundred Years War, reaching as high as £8.5 per ton, most likely due to the costly need for protection at sea. This cost could be recouped either by 'increased freight charges', or wine subsidies. Some shipmasters even demanded 'their freight and pilotage charges before taking the wine to sea'.[88] At the beginning of the fourteenth century, these freight charges were as low as 8*s.* per ton, but by the middle of the century it had increased to as high as 13*s.* 4*d.* a ton, and up to 22*s.* in times of danger.[89]

[87] Rose, *The Wine Trade in Medieval Europe 1000-1500*, p. 66.
[88] Margery K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century', p. 181.
[89] Margery K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century', pp. 187–88.

Figure 1.3: The Fluctuations in the Prices of Wine



Source: Margery K. James, 'The Fluctuations of the Anglo-Gascon Wine Trade During the Fourteenth Century', EHR, 4.2 (1951), p. 196.

Ports

There are a few key themes that emerge when examining works on port studies. Most tend to follow a chronological or thematic approach, discussing topics such as the foundation of the town, the economy of the town (which might include aspects such as guilds and occupations), the civic government of the town, and/or the buildings in the town. While shipmasters live in the locations featured and can appear in these works, they are generally not the focus of port studies. The main focus of the studies is the economic activity of the town and its principal burgesses, as well as the wider social issues and the governmental fabric of the town. They therefore offer only limited space to individual occupational groups. Moreover, while they might talk about a town prospering or declining in a particular period, they do not usually examine how individual occupations were affected by such changes: not everyone suffers in a town that is considered 'declining' and not everyone benefits from a 'prospering' town.

On a macro level scholars have quantified England's export trade over long periods,[90] while others have focused on the administration of the maritime customs system.[91] Some scholars have examined specific branches of maritime trade, such as the wine trade or overseas trade with Iberia.[92] Given the sheer volume of material, however, historians have generally found local port studies fruitful.[93] Kowaleski's work on Dartmouth,[94] Carus-Wilson's study of Bristol,[95] Colin Platt's work on Southampton,[96] Nicholas Amor's work on Ipswich,[97] and Helen Clarke, Sarah Pearson and Mavis Mate's study of Sandwich are good examples of such.[98] These local studies reveal much about the inter-connectedness of ports and the types of trades they undertook, as well as the disputes they engaged in; all of which must have had an impact on the working lives of shippers. Good examples of a port studies are those done by Richard Britnell, Stephen Rigby, and Maryanne Kowaleski.

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[90] *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by E.M. Carus-Wilson (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 1937); E.M. Carus-Wilson and Olive Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963).

[91] Norman Scott Brien Gras, *The Early English Customs System* (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1918); Henry S. Cobb, 'Cloth Exports from London and Southampton in the Later Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Centuries: A Revision', *EHR*, 2nd, 31.4 (1978), 601–9.

[92] Margery K. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*; Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*; Wendy R. Childs, *Trade and Shipping in the Medieval West: Portugal, Castile and England* (Porto: Fédération internationale d'etudes médiévales, 2013).

[93] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', in *Money, Markets and Trade in Late Medieval Europe*, ed. by Martin Elbl, Ivana Elbl, and Lawrin D. Armstrong (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[94] Kowaleski, 'Shipping and the Carrying Trade in Medieval Dartmouth'.

[95] Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*.

[96] Colin Platt, *Medieval Southampton: The Port and Trading Community, A.D. 1000-1600* (London: Routledge, 1973).

[97] Nicholas R. Amor, *Late Medieval Ipswich: Trade and Industry* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011).

[98] Helen Clarke and others, *Sandwich - The Completest Medieval Town in England: A Study of the Town and Port from Its Origins to 1600* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2010).

More specialist studies have focused on port towns within particular regions. Kowaleski's studies of Exeter and Dartmouth show the great potential in this area. While Exeter was an important port, it was served by Topsham.[99] Kowaleski's study on Exeter focuses on the economy, markets, and trade networks of the port. The fact that the city was required to give the Earl of Devon one-third of the custom on wine means that we today have a large number of surviving local customs accounts at our disposal.[100] Dartmouth, on the other hand, was not a large port but its deep anchorage meant it was used frequently for naval operations.

Through his detailed research on Colchester, Britnell found that owing to its poor mooring facilities, Colchester did not trade as well as other, deeper harbours, despite being well situated. Colchester began trading with the area immediately surrounding it. Over time, it began to grow in power because of the town's specialisation in cloth. By the 1330s and 1340s, and despite issues with its dock facilities, Colchester began trading long distance, which allowed it to develop into a more powerful port city.[101] In fact, Britnell states that this newly developing power can be seen in the appointed burgesses in the 1330s: 'three mariners became burgesses in 1330 together with William Buk of Mersea, who rapidly became a leading Colchester ship owner and merchant, and at least two more mariners were admitted to the burgage during 1331/2'.[102] Its trade in cloth not only helped the mariners of Colchester gain power and prestige, but also created a powerful industry that was less affected by the Black Death.[103]

S. H. Rigby's study of medieval Grimsby, in Lincolnshire, describes the competition (or lack thereof) between Grimsby and the large ports surrounding it. Grimsby traded in wool, but not as much as Boston or Hull; for example, from 'March to Michaelmas 1347...over 1,100 sacks of wool were exported through Boston and almost 500 from Hull' with none going through Grimsby.[104] Similarly, Grimsby was a non-entity in alien-trade during the first half of the fourteenth century. The customs collectors from Grimsby stated that there were no 'import or exports of wine, wax, cloth or miscellaneous goods' by alien merchants from July 1322 to February 1328. However, in one year Hull (1 October 1323) imported and exported £1435 worth of alien goods, such as fish, food, fur, and wood. Rigby posits that Grimsby took part in coastal trade more than overseas trade. However, as coastal trade (including that with Scotland, which would be considered foreign trade) was not systematically recorded until 1565 there is insufficient evidence to provide an accurate analysis of Grimsby's coastal trade.[105] In the end, Grimsby was 'in an extreme nook of the kingdom' and therefore did not see the same kinds of

[99] Maryanne Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003), p. 222.
[100] Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*, p. 224.
[101] Richard Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1986), pp. 11–12, 17.
[102] Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, p. 17.
[103] Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, p. 72.
[104] Kowaleski, 'The Demography of Maritime Communities in Late Medieval England', p. 13.
[105] Stephen Rigby, *Medieval Grimsby: Growth and Decline* (Hull: University of Hull Press, 1993), pp. 13–15.

trade that came through ports like Boston and Hull.[106] While some ports were like Grimsby, others were maritime powerhouses.

One example of this occurrence is Winchelsea, a Cinque Port in Sussex confirmed by William the Conqueror, which was rebuilt after 1277 when coastal erosion forced inhabitants to abandon around 1287,[107] and quickly rose to be one of the most important ports of the Middle Ages, before it began to collapse again toward the end of the fourteenth century.[108] The original site of Winchelsea was a low, flat island, which was 'washed by the British ocean on the south and east, and by the mouth of the river Rother…on the north',[109] while the new site was called 'Port upon a hill' by Thomas of Walsingham since it was on a high hill with a steep side facing the sea. Winchelsea was in a key position for interaction with France and its ships were key importers and exporters of 'timber, grain and Gascon wine', transported pilgrims, and were active participators in local and offshore fishing.[110] Its close proximity to France was also a negative: in 1359, a French army three-thousand men on a fleet of ships came ashore at Winchelsea, where they set fire to the town and killed anyone who stood against them—'without regard to age, sex, degree, or order'. Thomas of Walsingham states that because no one of worth stood against them, they were able to carry off 'with them the matrons, and all the handsome young women they could lay their hands on, and abundance of plunder'.[111] This was in addition to the port acting as a shipbuilding hub and as an important assembly point for naval operations,[112] gathering together maritime forces, naval experience, manpower, and ships all in one location. For example, in 1335 nine of the thirty ships were furnished by the Cinque Ports: the *Blithe,* the *Laurence*, the *John*, the *Jonete*, the *James*, the *James Coleyn*, the *Andrew*, the *Margaret*, and the *Lightfoot*.[113] Throughout this time, salt, charcoal, tanning and iron were all important commodities manufactured in Winchelsea, despite the fact that it was 'not well situated for manufactures, even in the time when the Weald abounded in wood'.[114] By the late-fourteenth century, however, Winchelsea saw a decline in the wine trade from Gascony, a loss of prestige amongst eastern ports, and the loss of Crown patronage to the Cinque Ports.[115] This caused the power of Winchelsea to fade, leading to its eventual failure in the sixteenth century.[116]

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[106] Rigby, p. 34.
[107] William Durrant Cooper, *The History of Winchelsea, One of the Ancient Towns Added to the Cinque Ports* (London: J. R. Smith, 1850), p. 20.
[108] Martin and Martin, p. vii.
[109] Cooper, p. 1.
[110] Martin and Martin, pp. 7–9; Cooper, p. 5.
[111] Cooper, p. 81; Thomas Walsingham, 'Chronicon Angliæ', 1328, p. 174.
[112] Cooper, p. 72.
[113] TNA E101/19/22m1, E101/19/22m2v; Cooper, p. 68.
[114] Cooper, pp. 120–21.
[115] Martin and Martin, p. 18.
[116] Martin and Martin, p. vii.

Dartmouth sailors also carried pilgrims to the shrine of St James of Compostella. St James was one of the twelve apostles of Jesus and therefore an important figure in the Bible. His body was taken to Spain after his martyrdom. This route was a popular pilgrimage during the Middle Ages.[117] Finally, the mariners of Dartmouth took part in privateering during their shipping expeditions, an occupation that is believed by scholars (such as Kowaleski) to have often turned into outright piracy. On the other side of the coin, the shipping industry could only exist with ships; Dartmouth had a large local shipbuilding industry, which contributed to its importance as a main port city.[118]

The research undertaken on port towns reveals much about the socio-economic world inhabited by shipmasters. It tells us which ports were on the rise, such as Dartmouth, and those that had begun a steady economic decline such as Dunwich. Dartmouth was part of a series of towns that invested heavily in the wine trade and fishing, while Dunwich was suffering from changing environmental conditions. This can be seen in the numbers of ships each port possessed. In the 1330s, Dartmouth had sixty individual ships and Dunwich only thirteen. Port studies too reveal much about the types of trade undertaken. Carus-Wilson's work on Bristol reveals much about the medieval trade of an important port, such as the names of shippers, ships, and goods. Cargos were varied and included honey, cloth, and hides to name a few. The customs accounts also include the home ports of the ships, with some from Bristol and nearby Southampton and Weymouth, in addition to farther reaching ports such as Bayonne and Sluys.[119] Further, Chapter Four (Section Four) goes into more depth as to the roles shipmasters could—and did—play in local government, as well as powerful families within various ports across the country.

Socio-Economic Aspect

The current scholarship on medieval shipmasters has a focus on the legal aspects of their lives, their business acumen and the role they played in the Crown's naval operations. Surprisingly, there are only a few studies devoted to examining the socio-economic position of shipmasters within port towns and coastal communities. Even when writing about maritime communities, academics fall back on what is most easily accessible: information on the occupation, rather than the mariner himself. The social-economic world of the mariner is key to a fuller understanding of this group. Some scholars have looked at the cultural and social aspect of mariners' lives:

[117] Achille Camerlynck, 'St. James the Greater', *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York: Robert Appleton Company, 1910) <http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/08279b.htm>.
[118] Kowaleski, 'Shipping and the Carrying Trade in Medieval Dartmouth'.
[119] Carus-Wilson, *The Overseas Trade of Bristol in the Later Middle Ages*, pt. 2.

Miller's work on the religious life of mariners,[120] Shelia Sweetinburgh's focus on fishing communities and their families,[121] Kowaleski's work on the wills of shipmen,[122] and Wendy Childs' work on Irish Seamen are just a few examples of social-history research.[123] All of these are important studies, but are local in focus: there is as yet no study into the socio-economic world of seafarers that is truly national in coverage. A task such as this is difficult, as it relies on the ability to exploit a variety of sources and linking them together.

The work of Dyer on peasants and Henry Phelps-Brown and Sheila Hopkins on builders, shows what can be done by examining specific occupational groups.[124] As noted above Maryanne Kowaleski has led the way here. She has shown how the shipmaster was an enterprising individual used to undertaking the day to day duties of trade and prospering.[125] She has also revealed the inter-connected nature of the wider maritime community and some of the social habits of the seafarer and she has done much to show the commercially minded sprit of the medieval shipmaster and his working patterns.[126]

For all their value, what most of the current studies lack are a detailed prosopographic and socio-economic survey of fourteenth century shipmasters. That there is much scope for such investigations, as has been shown by Andrew Ayton and Craig Lambert. Using a methodology that links the nominal data contained in navy payrolls with contemporary tax records they have revealed that shipmasters sat within middle to higher socio-economic bracket within the populations of coastal communities. Yet, their work also shows that shipmasters could still be tied to labour services: a timely reminder that in the middle ages even skilled men of the world had some restrictions.[127]

Considering there has been relatively little work on the socio-economic position of fourteenth century mariners this thesis aims to explore in more detail this important occupational group. Such a study would be of immense value. As noted seafarers were an occupational group of great importance. The fourteenth century also offers an opportunity to examine this group during a time of immense social and economic change. It will take as its methodological foundation the work of Ayton and Lambert, but draw on a wider series of case studies.[128]

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[120] Miller, *One Firm Anchor*; R. W. H. Miller, 'The Early Medieval Seaman and the Church: Contacts Ashore', *MM*, 89.2 (2003), 132–50.
[121] Sweetinburgh.
[122] Kowaleski, 'The Demography of Maritime Communities in Late Medieval England'.
[123] Wendy R. Childs, 'Irish Merchants and Seamen in Late Medieval England', *Irish Historical Studies*, 32 (2000), 22–43; Wendy R. Childs, 'Ireland's Trade with England in the Later Middle Ages', *Irish Economic and Social History*, 9 (1982), 5–33.
[124] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*; Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage- Rates', *Economica*, 23.92 (1956), 296.
[125] Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England'.
[126] Kowaleski, '"Alien" Encounters in the Maritime World of Medieval England'.
[127] Craig Lambert and Andrew Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England', in *Fourteenth Century England VII*, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012).
[128] Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (Stroud: The History Press Ltd, 2010), pp. 119–21.

The ability to adopt the new approach lies in the richness of the often-ignored naval data, combined with records of central government—especially records of taxation. This thesis will investigate three aspects of the lives of seafarers and the communities in which they live in order to achieve as full of a prosopographical study as possible. The first, and most important, aspect of the research is the economic status of fourteenth century mariners, both inwardly and outwardly. The second area of research will focus on the social aspects of being a mariner, with case studies of well-documented shipmasters from different ports. The last point of focus will be the culture of mariners, as told through their choice of ship names. Each area will use a wide range of source material, much of which has been published or is readily available in various archives.

This thesis will create a wider and more multi-faceted understanding of seafaring communities in the fourteenth century. Chapter Three will discuss the economic standing of seafarers, investigating not only the available tax data, but also explores where shipmasters and mariners stood in the wider community by examining a basket of consumables and observing their buying power. Chapter Four will interpret the economic data presented in Chapter Three, looking at how economic changes influence maritime society. Chapter Five is a cultural exploration of maritime communities through a study of ship naming practices in the fourteenth century. As there were different levels of experience in the shipboard community, certain terms have been used throughout this thesis to talk about this group in detail: 'mariner' refers to the ordinary shipboard worker, 'shipmaster' specifically refers to the men who were in charge of the ship due to their higher expertise, and 'seafarer' is used when talking about both of these groups of men together. An important thing to mention in regards to this study, is that while these individual port studies are useful—in that they provide a narrative of a town's economic fortunes—they do not specifically handle the occupational perspective.

Chapter Two – Sources and Methodology

2.1 Sources

This thesis utilises a wide range of sources in order to identify as many shipmasters as possible and link this nominal data with information contained in tax records. The most important sources for my purposes are those from the Exchequer and the Chancery, as well as various customs accounts. The most important foundational records are the navy payrolls, which provides the bulk of shipmaster names, ports, and ships. The records that will be the focal point for this thesis are the Lay Subsidies and the Poll Taxes.

2.1.1 Exchequer and Chancery

By the fourteenth century the Exchequer and Chancery formed the two main administrative departments of state. Historically, the Chancery can be traced back to the eleventh century and started as simply a royal seal and its keeper, the Chancellor.[1] However, by the reign of King Edward I, the role of the Chancery had expanded. What began as one advisor in control of a seal became a department of state with a sizeable staff. The Chancery by this time consisted of three sub-offices: The Department of the Rolls was the archive of letters, the Hanaper collected money paid on charters and letters issued under the royal seal, and the Official of Chancery consisted of the various members of staff. These members of staff were headed by the Chancellor, whose job was to keep the royal seal. The Chancellor had under his employ three groups of staff: the first bench that was made up of twelve clerks, the second bench that also consisted of twelve clerks, and twenty-four 'cursitores'.[2] The first bench were called the 'chancery masters'[3] and were second only to the Chancellor himself.[4] The second bench were of a lower status than the 'masters', but still wrote important letters. Finally, the 'cursitores' were the lowest ranked and therefore wrote lesser documents, but only under the supervision of their superiors.[5] The royal seal also went through a transformation from the king's personal seal to one of administration, which allowed the Chancery to issue writs that expressed common law commands given by the king.[6] As such, a new seal for the king's personal and secret communications needed to be created, and from this need came the Privy Seal.

From the reign of Edward I onward, privy seal documents fall into four categories: letters and writs close, letters and writs patent, bills, and indentures. The topics for these documents could range anywhere from, for example, a draft letter to Edward of Carnarvon or to Edward I's wife; to receipts and acknowledgements of debt; to warrants to the Chancellor; to agreements for military service.[7] It was under Edward II that the chamber rose to prominence[8] and over time even the role of the privy seal expanded, to the point that Edward II appointed a Keeper of the Privy Seal, Roger of Northburgh. With the growing administrative purpose of the Privy Seal, a secret seal or 'signet' was created, once again for private and secret correspondence. In fact,

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[1] Pierre Chaplais, *English Royal Documents: King John-Henry VI, 1199-1461* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1971), pp. 1–4.
[2] Chaplais, pp. 20–21.
[3] Chaplais, pp. 20–21.
[4] Bertie Wilkinson, *The Chancery Under Edward III* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1929), p. 65.
[5] *The Engilsh Government at Work, 1327-1336*, ed. by James F. Willard and others (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1940), p. 52.
[6] Willard and others, p. 5.
[7] Chaplais, pp. 28–29.
[8] 'Introduction', in *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell*, ed. by Mary Lyon, Bryce Lyon, and Henry S. Lucas (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1983).

Edward III had three different signets during different points of his reign: one from 1329-1330, one from 1331-1338, and one from 1338-1354.[9]

There are many sub-classes to the Chancery: the *Treaty Rolls, Gascon Rolls, Close Rolls,* and *Patent Rolls* all fall within the purview of the Chancery. There are printed editions of two of the *Treaty Rolls,* which contain information about ships serving in the French wars, and more recently there has have been new digital editions of the *Gascon Rolls*, Both of these sets of records give slightly more anecdotal information about the preparations to raise a fleet, as well as the process of fleet requisition.[10] They can still be a source of specific mariner details, such as the fact that Alexander Pope sailed from London in 1375 with a crew of thirteen aboard the *Marie* headed to Gascony.[11] The *Close Rolls* and the *Patent Rolls* offer similar amounts of details and are available in calendared and published formats. For example, they show us that in 1356, Robert Charlemayn sailed on a trading voyage from Barton-upon-Humber aboard the *Maudeleyne*;[12] or that William Fille sailed as a pirate in 1339 aboard the *Cogge John* from Great Yarmouth;[13] and Robert Longe sailed from Weymouth in 1342 bound for Brittany for naval service on board the *Trinity*.[14] These men are just some examples of the wide-ranging nature of the *Close Rolls* and *Patent Rolls*.

The final Chancery sub-category of enrolments used is the *Chancery Miscellanea*, which is not an original medieval classification. Instead, they are an artificial creation by archivists at Chancery Lane in London,[15] who in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries reorganised miscellaneous rolls and files, as well as breaking up older miscellaneous collections.[16] As a result of their provenance, the documents of the *Chancery Miscellanea* are varied and relate to a wide range of agencies. They preserve information such as transport fleets, the supply of victuals, the arrest of or the agreed service of vessels, and lists of vessels on active service. For example, from 1337-1340, Nicholas Tinnok mastered the *Plente* of Hull, which saw service in France.[17] Often the ship names, the masters, and the crews are listed amongst these records, as well as voyage details, which can be used to round out any individual 'snapshots' of a mariner's career. Without the collation of these miscellaneous documents, some evidence describing maritime services (including the names of ships and masters) would have otherwise been lost.[18] While the most

[9] Chaplais, pp. 34–35.
[10] Craig Lambert, 'Taking the War to Scotland and France: The Supply and Transportation of English Armies by Sea, 1320-60' (University of Hull, 2009) <https://hydra.hull.ac.uk/assets/hull:5747a/content>.
[11] TNA C61/88.
[12] *CCR, Edward III: 1354-1360*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1908), p. 186.
[13] Lyte, *CPR 1338-1340*, p. 491.
[14] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 130.
[15] James Hogan, 'Miscellanea of the Chancery, London', *Analecta Hibernica*, 1930, 179–218.
[16] 'Chancery Miscellanea', 1216, TNA.
[17] 'C47/2/30' m2.
[18] Lambert, 'Taking the War to Scotland and France: The Supply and Transportation of English Armies by Sea, 1320-60', pp. 26–27.

important sources for details pertaining to mariners in the fourteenth century, the Exchequer and the Chancery are not our sole access to these details.

The Exchequer, on the other hand, dealt with the collection of the king's debts, and safeguarded his fiscal claims for the aspects of ruling that he had no personal interaction with (as opposed to the Chancery, which issued writs that the king had specifically laid out).[19] There are several key divisions within the Exchequer, with the most important for this study being the Royal Wardrobe records and Exchequer Particular of accounts which were later enrolled on the Pipe Rolls.

As a subsidiary of the Exchequer, the Wardrobe of the Household handled the administration of domestic issues. The Wardrobe Accounts make up the bulk of records used as foundational material for the 1330s and 1340s, as they provide hundreds of shipmasters, in addition to details of their service in the Crown's pay.[20] For a campaign that was directly led by the king the Wardrobe was able to appropriate funds from the Exchequer without going through the same administrative steps that would normally occur.[21] For example, when Edward III raised troops and requisitioned ships for his naval campaigns during the early stages of the Hundred Years War, the payment for various services came directly from the Wardrobe account, allowing for swifter payment of his forces.[22] The Wardrobe was always with the king and this therefore allowed him to pay the wages of the army, as well as those of the mariners who carried them, when he personally led a military campaign. When the king did not lead a campaign directly the costs of requisitioning ships and the payment of mariners' wages was organised through the central Exchequer. For example, in 1345 Henry of Grosmont led a campaign to Gascony and his forces were paid via the central exchequer, while the king's campaign in north France at the same time was channelled through the wardrobe.[23] The earlier stages of the accounting process for a force like that Grosnmont led to Gascony produced what are now classified as 'Exchequer accounts particulars' which are now gathered in the National Archives under the classification of E 101. Another example of this type of source is the account that recorded the payment for the crews of fifty-six ships that sailed to Brittany with reinforcements for the king in 1342.[24] The king had sailed earlier in the year and his fleet was organised through the wardrobe.[25]

While these records have been used extensively by naval historians to reconstruct the naval operations they also provide three key pieces of information that are valuable to this

[19] Willard and others, p. 5.
[20] *The Wardrobe Book of William de Norwell: 12 July 1338 to 27 May 1340*, ed. by Mary Lyon, Bryce Lyon, and Henry S. Lucas (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1983).
[21] Willard and others, pp. 224–25.
[22] Lambert, 'Taking the War to Scotland and France: The Supply and Transportation of English Armies by Sea, 1320-60', p. 14.
[23] TNA E101/25/9.
[24] TNA E101/23/22, roll 1.
[25] TNA E36/204, pp. 221, 228, 230-232, 235--240.

present study: the name of the shipmaster, the name of the ship, and the port from which the ship sailed. For example, the Wardrobe accounts relating to the Brittany expedition of 1342 tell us that Stephen Freresman, commanded the *Gost* of Dunwich[26] or William Doune, commanded the *Trinity* of Exeter.[27] Occasionally, the record provides more information, such as crew size and ship size. For example, we are told that in 1338, the *James* (100 tons) of Colchester commanded by John Aleyn was manned by forty-one men.[28] The 'particulars' often contain more information than the Wardrobe accounts, such as information on the requisition process. However, for the purposes of this thesis, this information is secondary. Likewise, the pipe rolls are not as useful as they mainly contain summarised information and rarely offer much in the way of nominal records.

Given that the fourteenth century was a time of intense warfare we are left with a huge corpus of Exchequer and Chancery material that provides nominal data. For example, the fleet that took Edward III's army to Flanders in 1338 numbered approximately 400 ships and the Brittany army transport fleet of 1342 consisted of over 450 vessels. What the Wardrobe and navy payrolls recorded in the Exchequer particulars gives us is a snap-shot of England's merchant fleet and maritime labour force. When we have sequence of naval operations, which we do for most of the fourteenth century, we are provided with the names of thousands of ships and seafarers.

[26] TNA C47/2/35m2; TNA E36/204, p. 224.
[27] TNA E36/204, p. 238.
[28] Lyon, Lyon, and Lucas.

2.1.2 Customs Accounts

The enrolled and particulars customs accounts record the Crown's taxation of maritime trade. While national Customs accounts go back to at least the twelfth century,[29] from 1275 the 'ancient custom' was imposed on all essential goods, such as wool, skins, leather, tin, butter, cheese, lard, and grease. By the fourteenth century, this list grew to include cloth, wax, and wine. This duty cost, for example, 6*s.* 8*d.* for every sack of wool and every 300 skins. Beginning in 1303, however, a new custom was put in place, which was 'applied to foreign merchants who had to pay an extra fifty percent on top of the ancient custom'.[30] In addition to national customs, there were also local duties in most ports that were either 'collected and disbursed locally, collected for the King and accounted for at the Exchequer, [or] farmed out for a fixed annual amount'.[31] The process of collecting dues was complicated, involving officers in each port, as well as controllers and surveyors to ensure no dues go missing. There were also local port customs accounts that add some data,[32] but the survival rates for local accounts were not good for the fourteenth century.

The enrolled accounts have been subjected to scrutiny, but while they offer quantitative information on the types and number of goods imported and exported into the Kingdom, they fail to provide the necessary information relating to the ships and masters that freighted these goods.[33] The earlier stage in the accounting procedure, however, has been preserved in a collection of records known as 'particulars of customs accounts' that do preserve nominal details of laden vessels leaving, or arriving at, head-ports. However, the particular of customs records are inconsistent in format and suffer from fragmentary survival: they do not always provide the name of the ship, its master or its port of origin and for large periods. Where they do survive, however, and when they record the nominal information we require, they can add significantly to the data given by the naval documents.

Customs records do provide important supplementary data, but not to the same extent as the rich nominal data provided by the navy payrolls. In a typical document, there are usually only a handful of ships recorded, and in many cases the clerks would not consistently record the name of the ship, its master or its home port. There are some ports that seem to have ensured the clerks responsible for collecting customs dues did provide the name of the ship, its master and its home port, but the quantitative data (i.e., the numbers of ships) is not as great as that provided by the navy payrolls. For example, the 1371-73 customs accounts for Dartmouth

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[29] 'Medieval Customs' Accounts' <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/records/research-guides/medieval-customs-accounts.htm>.
[30] 'Medieval Customs' Accounts'.
[31] 'Medieval Customs' Accounts'.
[32] Maryanne Kowaleski, *The Local Customs Accounts of the Port of Exeter: 1266-1321* (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1993).
[33] The enrolled accounts are to be found in TNA E 372. for the most comprehensive study drawing on enrolled accounts, see E.M. Carus-Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade, 1275-1547 (*Oxford, 1967).

contain information for only nine Dartmouth ships,[34] whereas the navy payrolls for this same period offer the names of over fifty Dartmouth ships and their masters.[35] Therefore, the Customs Accounts (E122) documents can be used to supplement the data in the navy payrolls, but they do not offer the same opportunity for the identification of members of the shipboard community. Other custom records, such as those concerned with the wine trade from Bordeaux and the records of English ships charged prisage on wine arriving at English ports, also provide nominal details of ships and their masters.[36] There is a high quantity of custom records of Bordeaux. These documents usually remain consistent throughout this period and name the ship, its port of origin, and its master, so it therefore can be used to supplement the data provided by the navy payrolls. The accounts compiled by the Royal Butler of Prisage charged on wine imports also give us nominal information; however, they only offer such data until the mid-1330s. After 1332, the compilers no longer recorded the name of the shipmaster, but instead simply listed the name of the ship and the port of origin. The most consistent custom records are those of a more local provenance. In particular, the local port custom accounts of Exeter usually provided the name of the ship, its master, and the port from which it originated.[37] The usefulness of Exeter's local custom records is beyond doubt although whether the data they recorded is representative of trade patterns of other ports is open to debate. Nonetheless, it is clear that when customs accounts include the three identifiers (shipmaster name, home port, and ship name), a great deal of supplementary data can be added to that contained in the navy payrolls.

[34] TNA E122/158/26 m1.
[35] TNA E122/15/4; TNA E122/158/26 m1; TNA E122/40/7 m1-m4; TNA E122/40/7a m1, m3.
[36] W. Mark Ormrod, *Fourteenth Century England VII* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2012), p. 157; W. Mark Ormrod, 'The English Crown and the Customs, 1349-63', *EHR*, 40.1 (1987), 27–40.
[37] Kowaleski, *The Local Customs Accounts of the Port of Exeter*.

2.2 Tax Records

There were two main tax levies in the fourteenth century: the Lay Subsidy in the first half of the century and the Poll Tax in the later half. During the fourteenth century, the most comprehensive lay subsidies are from 1327, 1332 and 1334, with the most geographically complete being those from 1334, however with the exception of Kent in 1334, after 1332 these records cease to provide nominal records listing only lump sum assessments for each town, vill, or borough. The lay subsidies, which began in 1207, were the first 'national direct tax' in England. J. F. Hadwin explains in 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History' that while only seven lay subsidies occurred before 1290, there were an additional sixteen by 1332.[38] This can be explained by the numerous wars that needed to be financed during this period.[39]

It is important to understand how the lay subsidies and poll taxes work. There are three different types of records that survive from the fourteenth century: local rolls, county rolls and enrolled accounts. The local rolls were assembled by local men, who listed in detail any property assessed and its value, from which the tax amount was derived through the use of a predetermined fraction.[40] This fraction was different for each lay subsidy: in 1327, it was a twentieth; in 1332 and 1334, it was a tenth or fifteenth, depending on whether it was a borough or rural village. The county rolls are summaries of the local rolls. They list each township, the names of that town's taxpayers, and the amount that the taxpayer was liable for. Since they are the most complete, this project will make use of the county rolls. Finally, the enrolled accounts at the Exchequer show the amount due (and what was actually paid) for each county.[41]

The late thirteenth and early fourteenth century saw famine, political and industrial crises, and fluctuations in inflation and deflation.[42] Additionally, there were changes in the definition of 'movable wealth' during this period: originally, it included all movables such as 'personal and domestic possessions, coin, credit, mercantile stock, and industrial and agrarian products'.[43] However, after 1283, objects such as production tools and equipment, as well as family food and clothing were excluded. Moreover, physical money became 'one of the customary exemptions for rural districts'.[44] It is this dynamic and changeable nature of society

[38] J. F. Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', *EHR*, 36.2 (1983), 200–217 (p. 201).
[39] Pamela Nightingale, 'The Lay Subsidies and the Distribution of Wealth in Medieval England, 1275-1334', *EHR*, 57.1 (2004), 1–32 (p. 5).
[40] Stephen Rigby, 'Urban Society in Early Fourteenth-Century England: The Evidence of the Lay Subsidies', in *Towns and Townspeople in Medieval and Renaissance Europe*, ed. by Brian S. Pullan and Susan Reynolds, Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester (Manchester: John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1990), LXXII, 169–84 (p. 170).
[41] Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', p. 202.
[42] Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', p. 213.
[43] Nightingale, p. 5.
[44] J. F. Hadwin, 'Evidence on the Possession of "Treasure" from the Lay Subsidy Rolls', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs, 1279-1344*, ed. by N. J Mayhew, British Archaeological Report 36 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 147–65, qtd in Nightingale, p. 6.

that causes problems for those trying to interpret the 'notoriously treacherous' medieval lay subsidies.[45]

There are economic historians who view the lay subsidies as viable sources and those who do not. As Stephen Rigby states in the article 'Urban Society in Early Fourteenth-Century England', medieval tax documents can easily mislead with an 'impression of statistical exactness'. Rigby sets out a set of problems with the use of lay subsidies as legitimate sources: the underassessment of individuals;[46] the evasion of taxation, the wide fluctuations of particular individuals; and the liability of taxation wherever an individual owned property.[47]

While there are negatives to consider when using the lay subsidies, they do provide historians with the 'most comprehensive evidence...of personal and national wealth in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries'.[48] Most recently, Stuart Jenks has challenged opposition and pushed forward the idea that the lay subsidies are entirely reliable. He posits, on the basis of statistical analysis, that 'the lay subsidy figures are telling us the truth and doing it with remarkable consistency'.[49] He comes to these conclusions because he found that county-level lay movable values correlated to values in London, and felt that they were measuring 'something real',[50] as the only other explanation is a 'conspiracy involving many thousands of taxers over sixty years'.[51] In order to reach these conclusions, Nightingale explains that Jenks had to reject earlier views of economic historians such as Glasscock, Hadwin, and Willard.

The aim is to have this thesis fall between these two opposing views. There are so few documents from the fourteenth century that it would be 'churlish not to use them'.[52] Indeed, other scholars have found that used carefully, and linked with other sources, lay subsides offer a way of assessing the socio-economic status of individuals at this time.[53]

The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381 are the other set of taxation records surviving from the fourteenth century. The Poll Taxes were in many ways an experiment to find a way to expand the range of people taxed and therefore increase the influx of money to the Crown.[54] While the most comprehensive is that from 1379, all three provide valuable information not only about the amount a person was taxed, but also about their occupation. Each Poll Tax had a set of rules that the assessor was to follow. For example, in 1379, the terms were that all 'lay married

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[45] A. R. Bridbury, *Economic Growth: England in the Later Middle Ages* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1983), p. 78.
[46] Rigby, LXXII, p. 171; Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', p. 200.
[47] Rigby, LXXII, pp. 170–72.
[48] Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', p. 200.
[49] Stuart Jenks, 'The Lay Subsidies and the State of the English Economy (1275-1334)', *VSWG*, 85.1 (1998), 1–39, qtd in Nightingale, p. 1.
[50] Jenks, qtd in Nightingale, p. 2.
[51] Nightingale, p. 2.
[52] Rigby, LXXII, p. 184.
[53] Rigby, LXXII, p. 184; Hadwin, 'The Medieval Lay Subsidies and Economic History', p. 214; Lambert and Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England'.
[54] 'Introduction', in *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379 and 1381: Part 1 Bedfordshire-Leicestershire*, ed. by Carolyn C. Fenwick, Records of Social and Economic History, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), I, xiii–xxvi (pp. xiii–xxvi).

and single men and single women', who were sixteen or older paid between four pence and ten marks, unless they were 'genuine paupers'.[55] The Commons required that 'no one was to be charged in more than one place', and 'treasurers were to keep a separate account of the proceeds of the tax', which was not the case for the Lay Subsidies.[56] An additional change seen in the Poll Taxes was the introduction of a sliding scale of taxation, rather than an individual being taxed based on moveable wealth. The Poll Taxes from the fourteenth century are often thought of in the same light as the Lay Subsidies that came before them: unreliable. However, Dr Carolyn Fenwick describes the Poll Taxes as being much more consistent. While there were some exceptions and evasions, overall the taxes were collected in accordance to the terms set forward.[57]

[55] Fenwick, 'Introduction', I, p. xiv.
[56] Fenwick, 'Introduction', I, p. xiv.
[57] Fenwick, 'Introduction', I, pp. xiii–xxvi.

2.3 Methodology

The methodology for the gathering of data is relatively straightforward. Using the records of the Chancery, Exchequer and other material, a database has been compiled that contains prosopographical data on seafarers' careers. The database has over 8,000 records relevant to the fourteenth century. This information includes the names of the shipmasters, the names of ships, and the ports from which they sailed. This is in addition to the nature of the voyage, such as naval service or wine trade, the geographical range of such service, and the dates of the voyages. Often the size of the crews is also recorded, therefore providing valuable demographic data. Once this data is computerised, a comparison can be made between the names of shipmasters for which their ships' homeports are specified in the naval records with the names of taxpayers listed for those same ports. Due to the problems associated with nominal record linkage, we can never be certain of connections between various royal governmental records. Consequently, certain parameters were created in order to ensure a reliable dataset: the shipmaster had to have sailed within twenty years of the tax year and had to have been found within a ten-mile radius of the port city. In order to make this study as objective as possible, especially with such a large data set, nearness to the sea or major rivers was not taken into account if the town was within ten miles. If his name was extremely common, such as John Smith, then the shipmaster was not counted, as it would be impossible to know whether the taxation document was referring to that specific shipmaster. As an example, John Irp, who sailed from Ipswich in 1325 appears in the 1327 Lay Subsidy returns for Ipswich. Being that both records were for Ipswich, it was a clear match. However, even with such an unusual name, if he had been listed in a Lay Subsidy account that is more than twenty miles from Ipswich it could not have been counted as a true match. In the case of the Poll Taxes, an additional match of occupation (when available) is essential. The occupations listed ranged from a fisherman (*piscator*) to a dredger (*draggere*) to a mariner (*maryner*).

As most of the nominal data used in this thesis is drawn from naval records the spread or number of names provided is very much influenced by crown's requisition practices. What this means is that ports like Dartmouth and Great Yarmouth, which were targeted more frequently by the crown for ships, are over-represented in the data, when compared to a place such as Bristol, which was wealthier than Dartmouth, but which was not targeted as frequently (at least not until the 1370s) as the aforementioned ports. Table 2.1 shows the number of naval requisitions for each port and it can clearly be seen that while all the major ports had ships requisitioned from them, others were more impacted by ship arrest. Essentially this means that for some ports there are more nominal records that allow for a more detailed analysis of the socio-economic position of seafarers. On the whole, however, the data set is robust and most key ports within each county are represented by the data.

The seafarers' tax data will be displayed in a decimalised amount, as the traditional pounds, shillings, and pence format does not translate well when plotting graphs. By using a decimalised format, it is clearer where individuals stood and puts them all on the same easily identifiable format. This decimalised amount is found through the use of a formula:

$$£ = L + \frac{s}{20} + \frac{d}{240}$$

Where £ is the modern decimalised amount, L is the medieval pound amount, s is the number of shillings, and d is the number of pence. Further, when discussing the distribution of seafarers' taxation, the classifications 'low', 'middle', and 'high' will be used. These groupings are found by splitting the counties' range of tax amounts into three groups; therefore, the classifications mean different things for the Lay Subsidy and Poll Tax. For the Lay Subsidy, 'low' is any amount from £0.02-£0.05 (decimalised), 'middle' is any amount from £0.06-£0.14, and 'high' is any amount higher than £0.14. For the Poll Tax, 'low' is £0.02-£0.03, 'middle' is £0.04-£0.08, and 'high' is anything greater than £0.08. These classifications were found by calculating the median of the Lay Subsidy amounts and Poll Tax amounts respectively, but rather than splitting in half, the values were found by splitting in thirds. This was done to account for the fact that the data is skewed. Below are the distributions of the Lay Subsidy and Poll Tax amounts. Non-skewed data would have the same median and mean point, but as can be seen in Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2, this is not the case. For both the Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes, the median amount is lower than the mean, showing that the data is skewed and not a normal distribution. The classification dividers are marked with a grey line, the median with a green dotted line, and the mean with a red dashed line.

Figure 2.1: Lay Subsidy Distribution- inset shows low-mid-high dividers in greater detail

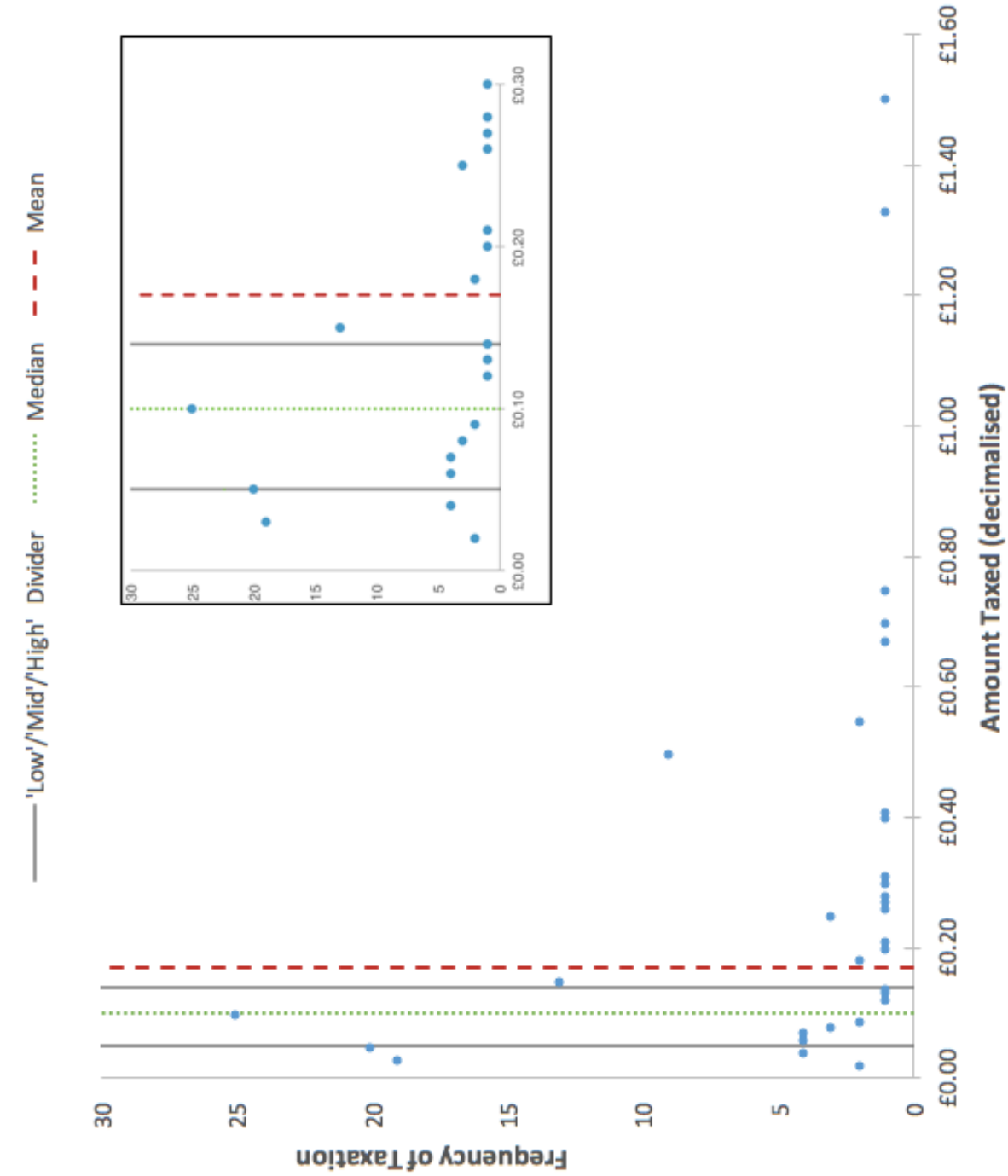
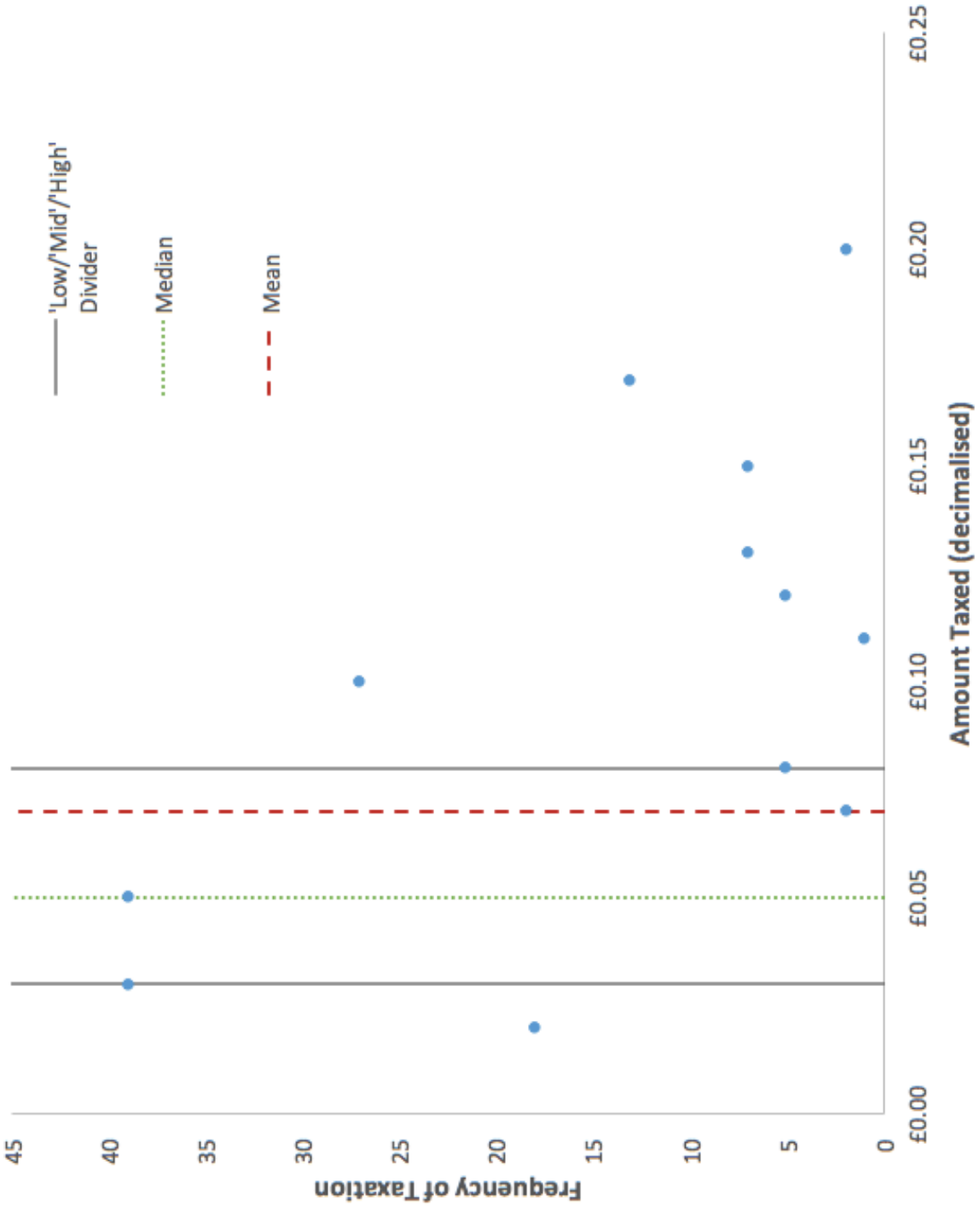


Figure 2.2: Poll Tax Distribution



Once this data has been collected, the process of analysis begins. The compilation of this information allows for a close study of seafarers as an occupational group. On a 'microscopic' level, the comparison of mariners as a group within a single county can be made; for example, in Suffolk, are mariners from Ipswich richer than those from Felixstowe? Moving outward from here, a comparison between counties can help illuminate different economies; for example, are Suffolk mariners richer than Devon mariners? On a 'macroscopic' level, comparing seafarers to other occupational groups can help place mariners in an already established economic world. Christopher Dyer's extensive work on the peasantry[58] or E. H. Phelps-Brown and Sheila Hopkins's work on builders[59] are two prime studies that enable mariners to be put into context. More than just simply placing seafaring communities into an already established economic world in the Middle Ages, these works look at occupational groups before and after the Black Death. Through the careful use of the Lay Subsidies and of the Poll Taxes, a similar 'snapshot' of seafaring communities can be created.

Tax returns can only show us what a tax collector assessed a particular individual's wealth as. Lambert and Ayton have looked in some detail at using this method.[60] However, such studies do not attempt to evaluate the standards of living of seafarers. On a basic level, one shilling can be worth more depending on the economic conditions of the time (i.e., the number of goods a person can buy with a single shilling changes depending on the economy). In order to further examine the differences between mariners throughout the century and evaluate their standard of living, a 'basket of consumables' will be used. A 'basket of consumables' looks at the cost of living across the century; how much was bread, meat, fuel, and so on in 1327 as compared to 1377? Each 'basket of consumables' can then be used to examine how much it cost to survive and what ramifications these results have on views of this occupational group.

Similarly, for the examination of ship naming practices throughout the century, a subject dealt with later on in this thesis, a method for data collection had to be used. At times, there are multiple records for a single ship, which means that there were several records where the same ship name, shipmaster, and port were recorded as well as falling within a ten-year margin. Therefore, a single ship was narrowed down by excluding any instances where there was more than one record that fit these parameters. Through this, there could be multiple ships mastered by a single shipmaster throughout the years.

While interesting, this data set does have its limitations, as most clearly seen in the fact that Bristol contributed few ships (in proportion to the size of its mercantile fleet) to naval operations, despite the fact that it was one of the more important ports in the country, especially

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[58] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*.
[59] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage- Rates'.
[60] Lambert and Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England'; Craig Lambert and Andrew Ayton, 'A Maritime Community in War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners 1320-1400', *AC*, 134 (2014).

as the century progressed. For instance, Bristol was second only to London for annual average tuns of non-sweet wine during the second half of the century.[61] Bristol was in a good position to trade with Ireland, Spain, and the Mediterranean.[62] The Crown did not call upon Bristol until the 1370s, meaning naval information is scarce from 1320-1350. On the other side of the coin, Great Yarmouth was used heavily by requisitioners throughout the Hundred Years War, in spite of its importance as a fishing town. These facts, however, has little overall impact on the value of this study, as it is still possible to make matches in most ports.

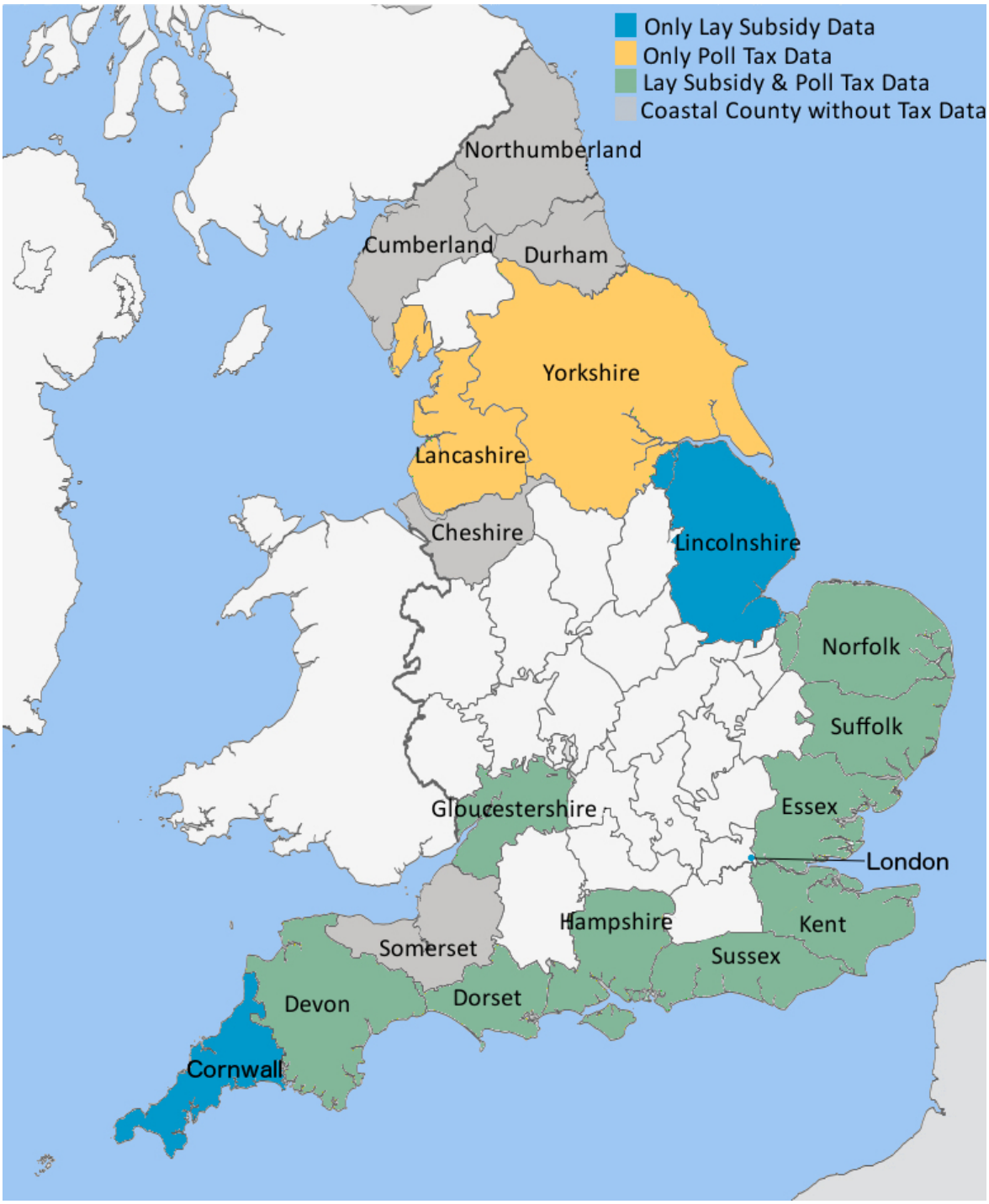
Table 2.1: Port Popularity - Naval Requisitions, England, 1300-1399

Place	Number	Average %
Great Yarmouth	646	7.23
London	622	6.96
Dartmouth	596	6.67
Hull	551	6.17
Lynn	532	5.95
Plymouth	407	4.56
Ipswich	285	3.19
Southampton	285	3.19
Newcastle	265	2.97
Hook	241	2.70
Fowey	238	2.66
Bristol	226	2.53
Grimsby	203	2.27
Boston	199	2.23
Winchelsea	192	2.15

[61] Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales 1300-1540', p. 481.
[62] Martin and Martin, p. 18; Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales 1300-1540', pp. 485–87.

Chapter Three – The Socio-Economic Lives of Seafarers

Figure 3.1: Map of Data, 1327-1381



As noted in Chapter One, there is an expanding corpus of literature centred on late medieval mariners. However, while comprehensive, the historiography tends to focus on the careers of shipmasters,[1] the demographics of maritime communities,[2] the business acumen of the medieval shipmaster,[3] or the urban environment in which a shipmaster lived and worked.[4] Despite the recent work of Andrew Ayton and Craig Lambert,[5] much less space has been devoted to an examination of the socio-economic status of late medieval shipmasters; that is an individual's wealth within their occupational group, as well as their economic position within the port towns and counties they lived and worked. Moreover, there has not yet been a systematic analysis of the standards of living of shipmasters during the fourteenth century, a period of immense social, economic, and demographic change. The work of Christopher Dyer in this regard shows how much can be achieved by examining living standards of an occupational group.

This chapter seeks to address the lacuna in the historiography by undertaking two linked analyses of fourteenth century shipmasters. Firstly, by linking the nominal information contained in navy payrolls, and other supplementary sources, with the economic data contained in contemporary tax assessments it will examine the wealth of shipmasters as an occupational group. Moving beyond an inter-occupational analysis it will then broaden this part of the analysis by comparing the wealth of shipmasters and mariners to the rest of the port and county community as well as with other occupational groups. Secondly, through the adoption of a basket of goods it will examine in detail the living standards of shipmasters over the fourteenth century.

The sources that allow such an investigation are immense, but also offer a balance. For example, we can examine the wealth of shipmasters before the complex socio-economic effects of the Black Death by linking nominal data in the navy pay rolls with the Lay Subsidy returns of 1327 and 1332. Using the Poll Taxes of 1377-1381 we can examine the relative wealth of shipmasters in the period after the Black Death and its subsequent outbreaks in the 1360s. Through the use of a basket of consumables, evidence can be provided showing the costs of living and linking this with seafarers' wage rates we can examine the changing living standards of shipmasters and ordinary mariners across the period, meaning for the first time we can see

[1] For example, Craig Lambert and Andrew Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea: Essex Ports and Mariners in England's Wars, 1377-89', in *The Fighting Essex Soldier: Recruitment, War and Society in the Fourteenth Century*, ed. by Christopher Thornton, Jennifer Ward, and Neil Wiffen (Hatfield: Hertfordshire UP, 2017), pp. 98–142; Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*; Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*; Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries'.

[2] Kowaleski, 'The Demography of Maritime Communities in Late Medieval England'.

[3] Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England'; Robin Ward.

[4] Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*; Clarke and others; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*. See Chapter One for a more in-depth analysis of seafarer historiography.

[5] Lambert and Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England'.

the long-term effects of war and plague on this occupational group. Of course, in this regard, it must be mentioned that examining real wages can be somewhat misleading, as Phelps-Brown and Hopkins mentioned in their seminal article on builders, since 'all we have is the rate of pay for a day, we do not know how many days' work the builder was getting in the year from time to time, nor what other resources he had'.[6] More recently, John Hatcher has discussed the problems with labourers' real wages in the fifteenth century, where he cautions against the burden placed on real wages and reemphasizes Phelps-Brown and Hopkin's 'admonitions' that have been 'repeatedly ignored by those who have used and interpreted' their index. He does state, however, that real wages allow for the 'mapping of trends and fluctuations across centuries…and form the basis of comparisons of not merely the living standards but the economic performance of countries'.[7] It is with this thought in mind that real wages have been used in this thesis; rather than trying to determine absolutes about seafarers, relative trends were created in order to put seafarers and other occupations on an even keel with one another to allow for general comparisons. This project deals heavily with quantitative data relating to the patterns of wealth of seafarers. However, it is possible to enrich this quantitative data with biographical information drawn from navy payrolls, customs accounts, and other primary and secondary sources. These sources are at the core of this investigation, and their nominal data amounts to approximately 8,000 records.

This chapter presents both a quantitative investigation and a socio-economic investigation of seafarer communities. Matches between mariners to tax records were made in eleven counties for the Lay Subsidies and eleven counties for the Poll Taxes. There are currently five counties for which there is insufficient data, (see Figure 3.1 for the county breakdown). All references to the counties mentioned throughout this thesis use their fourteenth-century boundaries.

As mentioned, not all coastal communities are covered by the documentation and therefore five counties could not be included in this study: Durham, Cheshire, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Somerset. Also, the 1327 and 1332 Lay Subsidy returns of East Yorkshire are too damaged to be of any use, which means that while we have the names of hundreds of Hull shipmasters we cannot examine their wealth. Similar problems arise for other ports. It is important not to forget those counties for which there is no taxation data available or for which there were not enough confident matches, as some of these areas were important trading hubs, like Newcastle, and places like Cheshire and County Durham which operated under their own jurisdiction.

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[6] Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, *A Perspective of Wages and Prices* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. 23.
[7] John Hatcher, 'Unreal Wages: Long-Run Living Standards and the "Golden Age" of the Fifteenth Century', in *Commercial Activity, Markets and Entrepreneurs in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Ben Dodds and Christian D. Liddy (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), pp. 1–24 (pp. 6–7).

Cheshire and County Durham were both Palatinates. A palatinate is a county in England in which an earl or lord held royal privileges, with civil and criminal jurisdiction.[8] Durham, in this way was 'withdrawn from the ordinary administration of the kingdom of England and governed by its Bishop with almost complete local independence.[9] As a result, there are few records for Durham or Cheshire, neither from the Exchequer and Chancery nor any taxation records. Industrially, County Durham focused on iron and steel mining on the bank of the Tyne, shipbuilding, and salt-making in Greatham that was said to be the 'best English salt'.[10] Durham and Sunderland were both large towns in the county, but Hartlepool was its most active port. This is reflected in the fact that all foundational records from County Durham had Hartlepool listed as the homeport.[11] Cheshire, on the other hand, was important for tile-making, salt-making, and iron mining, with Chester its most industrious port.

Table 3.1: Ten Most Taxed Northumberland Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Newcastle*	133	6	8	(71.3)
2	Tynemouth*	16	0	0	(8.6)
3	Corbridge	9	0	0	(4.8)
4	Otterburn	6	4	0	(3.3)
5	Newbiggin by the Sea*	5	16	3	(3.1)
6	Newburn*	4	15	0	(2.5)
7	Allerwash	3	7	2¾	(1.8)
8	Morpeth	3	0	3¾	(1.6)
9	Alnwick	3	0	0	(1.6)
10	Hartley*	2	11	2	(1.4)
Total		**187**	**0**	**7**	

**indicates port or coastal towns*
Source: The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975).*

[8] 'Palatine, Adj.1 and n.1', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford UP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/136245?>.
[9] Gaillard Thomas Lapsley, *The County Palatine of Durham; a Study in Constitutional History* (New York: Longman and Co, 1900), p. 1.
[10] Edward Miller and John Hatcher, *Medieval England: Towns, Commerce and Crafts, 1086-1348* (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 300.
[11] TNA E101/78/5m4'; TNA E101/78/8m2; TNA E122/193/8m2; TNA E122/193/9m2; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1307-49*, II, p. 367; *CPR, Edward III 1343-1345*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1903), p. 555.

Northumberland had a varied economy: brick-making in Broomley and Broomhaugh, mining for lead and coal, salt-making in Cowpen, and quarries that were used to make millstones. Additionally, fishing was an important aspect and helped towns such as Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Berwick-upon-Tweed become more powerful.[12] Newcastle was the prime port for coal shipping throughout the fourteenth century, and industry that saw intense growth throughout the century thanks to the 'increasing demand for coal both in the domestic and the foreign markets'.[13] The demand for coal came from 'smiths, limeburners, domestic houses, and castles' and the growing coal trade out of Newcastle was direct product of this demand.[14] With London as the ports' biggest customer of coal, it is unsurprising that stories have survived of coal purchases. For example, in 1364, a large quantity was needed for the reconstruction of Windsor Castle. Unfortunately, the ships carrying the coal—which had a total cost of £165 5*s.* 2*d.*—met a storm on the way and eighty-six of the 576 chaldrons of coal were lost.[15] While some documents like this have survived, the only sufficient taxation documents that have survived from Northumberland are those from 1296. Unfortunately, there were no naval records within the twenty-year range of this date to make any comparisons. Newcastle, the fourth most taxed town in England, was taxed a significant amount more than any other town in the county (Table 3.1). In fact, Newcastle was taxed 2.5 times more than the other nine towns combined. It is because of this that the ports and coastal towns make up eighty-seven percent of the ten most taxed Northumberland town.

[12] Miller and Hatcher.
[13] J. B. Blake, 'The Medieval Coal Trade of North East England: Some Fourteenth-Century Evidence', *Northern History*, 2.1 (1967), 1–26 (p. 2).
[14] Blake, p. 9.
[15] Blake, pp. 3–4.

Table 3.2: Top Ten Most Taxed Cumberland Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	Town	Amount Taxed			(% total)
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Penrith	39	16	3½	(27.3)
2	Dalston	16	1	1¼	(11)
3	Langwathby	15	1	4½	(10.3)
4	Carlisle*	13	6	8	(9.1)
5	Castle Sowerby	11	18	5¼	(8.2)
6	Burgh by Sands*	11	8	9	(7.8)
7	Braithwaite	10	17	9¼	(7.5)
8	Kirkoswald	10	6	1½	(7.1)
9	Caldbeck	9	0	0	(6.2)
10	Castlerigg	8	0	0	(5.5)
Total		**145**	**16**	**7**	

**indicates port or coastal town*
Source: The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975).*

Cumberland was well positioned for both fishing and for mining. Cumberland has numerous bays and estuaries running from the north to the south of the county, which makes it 'admirably adapted to fish production', specifically that of salmon.[16] Additionally, the land was rife with iron ore, coal (from Barrowmouth near Whitehaven to Maryport and inland to Bolton), lead, silver, and copper (from Keswick).[17] While Cumberland has some surviving Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes,[18] there are insufficient naval records with which to compare them to. However, from the 1334 Lay Subsidy, the ten most taxed towns can be found. Few of these towns were ports or coastal, with only seventeen percent representing taxes from these maritime cities (Table 3.2).

[16] *The Victoria History of the County of Cumberland.*, ed. by James Wilson (London: Westminster Constable, 1901), p. 331.
[17] James Wilson.
[18] John Philip Steel, Robert de Barton, and Clement de Skelton, *Cumberland Lay Subsidy: Being the Account of a Fifteenth and Tenth Collected 6th Edward III* (Kendal: T. Wilson, 1912); *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Part 1 Bedfordshire-Leicestershire*, ed. by Carolyn C. Fenwick, Records of Social and Economic History, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), I.

Table 3.3: Top Ten Most Taxed Somerset Towns, 1334

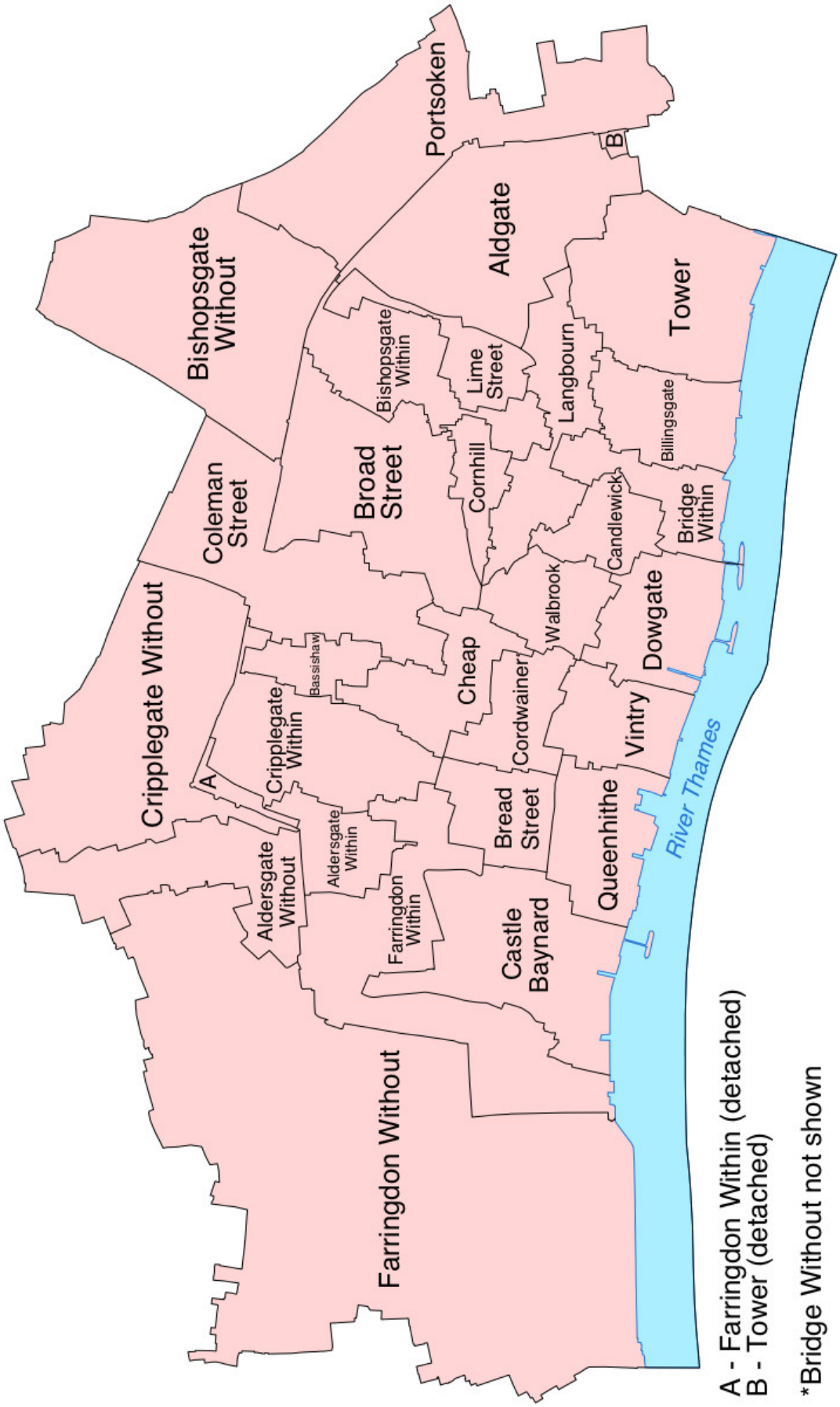
Tax Amount Ranking	Town	Amount Taxed			(% total)
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Wells	19	0	0	(15.9)
2	Bath City	13	6	8	(11.2)
3	Glastonbury	12	6	8	(10.3)
4	Huntspill*	11	6	8	(9.5)
5	Kingsbury Episcopi	11	4	8	(9.4)
6	Creech St. Michael	11	0	0	(9.2)
7	Shepton Mallet	10	11	4	(8.9)
8	East Brent	10	7	11	(8.7)
9	Taunton	10	3	4	(8.5)
10	Wrington	10	0	0	(8.4)
Total		**119**	**7**	**3**	

**indicates port or coastal town*
Source: The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975).*

Somerset had iron mining in Mendip and cloth-making as aspects of its industry.[19] However, Somerset's interests were particularly focused on fishing during the fourteenth century, specifically in the areas off the coast of Ireland.[20] While there were very few foundational records for Somerset, however, they show that Bridgwater was an important port town in Somerset. There was one match found in the 1327 Lay Subsidy: William Wisegroom of Bridgwater.[21] However, with only a single match, analysing Somerset in this study was not deemed necessary. Further, only one coastal town appears in the ten most taxed towns, meaning that only 9.5% of the tax collected (Table 3.3) from these ten towns was from a maritime centre.

[19] Miller and Hatcher.
[20] Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', p. 435.
[21] TNA E101/78/10a m3'.

Figure 3.2: Map of the Wards in London



Conspicuous in its absence from the economic study in this thesis is London. While the 1319 Lay Subsidy does remain for London, only one possible match could be made to shipmasters in the naval documents: John Elys shipmaster of the *Maudeleyne* of Bridge ward in London where he was taxed eleven pence.[22] With only one match, no comparisons could be made as a part of the larger economic study. As such a large port, it is possible that these men were coming in from outside of the city, which causes problems when trying to make matches. This is because it would be very difficult to know for certain whether a match was a true match or just someone who happens to have the same name due to the high number of people living in London and the surrounding area, as compared to other port cities. There were, however, wards within London that bordered on the Thames (as can be seen in Figure 3.2), and it can be assumed that at least some of the men living in these wards, like John Elys, who were involved in marine or maritime occupations. For instance, late thirteenth-century customs accounts from Queenhithe, Bridge, and Billingsgate give an overview the various sizes of vessels in port, as well as the mooring charges. There was a 'nautical social scale' to the types of ships found on the Thames:

> There are eight types mentioned. Beginning below the bride, the first two are presumably seagoing ships (*Great Vessels* and *Vessels with Bulwarks* were both charged 2d), the third a *coaster with bails*, perhaps to support a removable awning was charged 1d. The fourth class of vessel was navigated with oars projecting from *oarports*, holes cut into the uppermost strake of the hull. This, a substantial boat operated with several pairs of oars, was charged 1d and was clearly differentiated from the more modest 'boat' which was the fifth type. Three more are referred to above the Bridge. The sixth type is a vessel navigated with *tholes*, a reference to thole pins or rowlocks set on top of the uppermost hull strake. Such vessels had a shallower draft than those with *oarports*, and represent upriver craft not usually found below the bridge. It was charged ½d and thus was presumably smaller than the seventh type, a scout or *shout* (1d) which again seems only to appear above the bridge, and therefore is likely to be another though more substantial upriver inland craft. The eighth vessel type was a *waterman's boat*, the ubiquitous ferry, obviously smaller than any of the other generic types mentioned in these contemporary lists.[23]

When examining the taxes collected from the wards in London, it can be seen that six of the ten wards listed in Table 3.4 bordered the Thames, making up forty-nine percent of the tax collected from these wards.

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[22] TNA E101/40/19 m4; *Two Early London Subsidy Rolls*, ed. by Eilert Ekwall (London: BHO, 1951), p. 211 <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/early-london-subsidy-rolls>.

[23] Gustav Milne, *The Port of Medieval London* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2003), pp. 102–3.

Table 3.4: Top Ten Most Taxed London Wards, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Ward**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Cheap	72	0	0	(14.2)
1	Cordwainer Street	72	0	0	(14.2)
2	Farringdon Within*	53	6	8	(10.5)
3	Bridge*	49	10	0	(9.7)
4	Tower*	45	10	0	(8.9)
5	Cripplegate Within	39	10	0	(7.8)
6	Walbrook	39	0	0	(7.7)
7	Bread Street	36	10	0	(7.2)
8	Vintry*	35	10	0	(7)
9	Farringdon Without*	34	10	0	(6.8)
10	Billingsgate*	31	10	0	(6.2)
Total		**508**	**16**	**6**	

**indicates wards bordering the Thames*

Source: The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975).*

3.1 Comparisons between Seafarers

There are numerous ways that a socio-economic examination of shipmasters can be placed into a broader economic context. Given the fragmentary nature of some of the source material the most satisfactory way is to use the 1334 Lay Subsidy and the 1377/1379 Poll Tax assessments to see which ports were taxed the greatest amount, which gives us some idea as to the wealth of those port towns and coastal communities. Table 3.5 shows how much each coastal county was assessed in the 1334 Lay Subsidy, while Table 3.6 is a ranking of the English towns (many of which are port towns). Table 3.7 shows the ranking of coastal counties in during the 1377-1379 Poll Taxes. Since the Lay Subsidies were based on moveable wealth, a wide range of amounts were able to be gathered, allowing for a relatively decisive ranking of towns' and counties' taxation amounts. However, because of the lack of consistent Poll Tax information from year to year, only county data could be used to create a taxation-amount ranking. Furthermore, Northumberland does not have surviving totals from 1381, which means that the below figure shows the combined amounts from the 1377 and 1379 Poll Tax returns. As can be seen, eight of the top ten most taxed counties for the whole of England are coastal counties. In total, coastal counties make up nearly sixty-five percent of all tax collected during this period. This ensures that when King's Lynn shipmasters are compared to those from Dartmouth, a like-for-like comparison is being made: if one port town is more economically developed, it is likely that the shipmasters from that port will sit in a higher wealth bracket, as they benefit from better work opportunities.

Table 3.5: English Coastal Counties Ranked, 1334

Rank	County	£	s	d	Average (%)
1	Norfolk	3487	4	7	9.0
2	Lincolnshire	3152	8	1	8.2
4	Kent	1927	6	1.25	5.0
5	Gloucestershire	1641	0	6	4.3
7	Suffolk	1439	5	0.75	4.1
10	Hampshire	1340	16	3.5	3.7
11	Essex	1234	14	7.75	3.6
13	Sussex	1104	7	8.5	3.5
16	Devon	953	15	0	3.5
17	Dorset	851	9	0.5	3.2
30	Cornwall	478	17	9	2.9

Source: The Lay Subsidy of 1334, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975).

Table 3.6: English Towns Ranked, 1334

Rank	Town	£	*s.*	*d.*	Average (%)
1	London*	733	6	8	1.90
2	Bristol* (Glos.)	220	0	0	0.57
3	York* (Yorks.)	162	0	0	0.42
4	Newcastle* (Northum.)	133	6	8	0.35
5	Lincoln* (Lincs.)	100	0	0	0.26
5	Yarmouth* (Norfolk)	100	0	0	0.26
6	Norwich* (Norfolk)	94	12	0	0.25
7	Shrewsbury (Shrop.)	80	0	0	0.21
8	Salisbury (Wilts.)	75	0	2	0.19
9	Boston* (Lincs.)	73	6	8	0.19
10	Bampton (Oxon.)	64	12	1	0.17

*Source: The Lay Subsidy of 1334, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975). *Port town*

iTable 3.7: English Coastal Counties Ranked, 1377 & 1379

Rank	County	£	s	d	Decimal	Average (%)
1	Yorkshire	3675	27	10	£3,676.39	9.6
2	Lincolnshire	2771	18	11	£2,771.95	7.2
3	Norfolk	2363	34	0	£2,364.70	6.2
4	Kent	2102	15	10	£2,102.79	5.5
5	Somerset	1670	8	0	£1,670.40	4.4
6	Suffolk	1657	27	14	£1,658.41	4.3
7	Devon	1482	29	14	£1,483.51	3.9
8	Essex	1381	23	8	£1,382.18	3.6
11	Sussex	1056	18	14	£1,056.96	3.3
12	Gloucestershire	1052	27	12	£1,053.40	3.1
13	London	1017	29	12	£1,018.50	2.8
14	Hampshire	1016	16	8	£1,016.83	2.8
15	Dorset	1009	21	8	£1,010.08	2.7
16	Cornwall	974	20	12	£975.05	2.7
25	Lancashire	712	1	0	£712.05	2.6
34	Cumberland	355	26	9	£356.34	2.5
35	Northumberland	342	14	12	£342.75	2.4

Tables 3.8 and 3.9 below show the number of seafarers that were found in the foundational documents, and in turn the number of successful matches made within each county for both the Lay Subsidies and the Poll Taxes. Some counties had a relatively high success rate, with Dorset and Kent both having over twenty percent matches for the Lay Subsidies. However, the same cannot be said for all counties or modes of taxation. As can be expected, data from the Middle Ages is limited by what has survived, and therefore there is an inherent bias towards those counties whose records have survived better, as well as those counties that were targeted for requisitioning by the Crown. Therefore, while the snapshot created of this occupational group is by definition 'blurry', it is still the beginning of a clearer understanding of the shipboard community.

Table 3.8: Quantitative Information, 1300s-1350s

County	Number of Seafarers Examined	Number of Matches (%)
Cornwall	123	2 (1.6)
Devon	519	53 (10)
Dorset	42	12 (28.5)
Hampshire	124	6 (5)
Sussex	66	3 (5)
Kent	195	42 (22)
Essex	64	7 (11)
Suffolk	197	24 (12)
Norfolk	191	15 (8)
Lincolnshire	40	2 (5)
Gloucestershire	43	3 (7)
Total	**1604**	**169 (11)**

Table 3.9: Quantitative Information, 1377-1381

County	Number of Seafarers Examined	Number of Matches (%)
Devon	709	5 (0.7)
Dorset	89	11 (12)
Hampshire	226	33 (14)
Sussex	141	3 (3)
Kent	150	2 (1)
Essex	66	2 (3)
Suffolk	141	11 (8)
Norfolk	306	51 (16)
Lancashire	59	5 (8.5)
Yorkshire	210	16 (8)
Gloucestershire	103	8 (8)
Total	**2156**	**147 (7)**

The following discussion will focus on a study of means and standard deviations. A mean is the average of a group of numbers and can be found using the formula

$$\mu = \frac{1}{n} \times \sum_{i=1}^{n} x_i$$

where μ is the average (or arithmetic mean), n is the number of numbers being averaged, and x_i is the value of each individual item in the list of numbers being averaged. The standard deviation is the degree that data is spread out, relative to the mean and can be found using the formula

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\sum_{i=1}^{n}(x_i - \mu)^2}{n}}$$

where σ is the standard deviation, μ is the mean, and n the number of numbers being averaged. The use of the mean allows for a centralised snapshot of a county's seafarers, where their lows and highs are taken into account, giving a single number with which to represent all of the inhabitants. A higher average indicates seafarers on a whole are taxed more, within the county in question. By using the standard deviation alongside the mean, it is possible to see how varied the taxation amounts were within a county. For example, if a county has a high average, but also a high standard deviation, then it shows that there were a number of seafarers who were being taxed a wide range of different values.

3.1.1 Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes

Given the lacuna in data for the coastal counties, this study will focus its examination of the Lay Subsidy accounts on eleven counties: Cornwall, Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Essex Suffolk, Norfolk, Lincolnshire, and Gloucestershire; and of the Poll Taxes on eleven counties: Devon, Dorset, Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Gloucestershire. In total, there were 1,345 shipmasters examined, 130 of which can be directly correlated with Lay Subsidy data, as can be seen in Table 3.8. For the latter half of the century, 2,156 seafarers were examined, with 169 matches made in the Poll Taxes (Table 3.9). This information reveals several important findings: the wealth of seafarers as a whole, the wealth of seafarers in different counties, and the wealth of the group compared to the wider community.

The following section looks at the taxation methods used during the fourteenth century, and those seafarers that could be matched to them. As mentioned above, the Lay Subsidy taxation amounts were a percentage of the taxpayer's moveable wealth. However, the English government changed the way taxes were collected in the later part of the fourteenth century. While they did eventually switch back to a lay-subsidy system, in the meantime the introduction of the Poll Taxes in 1377 resulted in a wider range of information being recorded than in the Lay Subsidies that came before them and allowed the basis of taxation to be shifted 'to the individual rather than property'.[24] The Poll Tax of 1377 was the only year that taxes were levied at a flat, per-capita rate of four pence, with the exception of paupers. By 1379, the method of assessment changed in that the tax was levied 'according to his estate and degree and according to his property, lands, rents, possessions, goods and chattels'.[25] While this is the case, the means were different to that of the lay subsidies, creating a unique method. An example of the summary of charges from 1379 can be seen in Appendix I.

The 1379 and 1381 Poll Taxes also collected occupational information, such as *piscator* (fisherman), *draggere* (dredger), and *mariner* (mariner). This allows for an examination of members of the shipboard community who are not easily identifiable in the naval records, as these primarily only give shipmasters' names. While there is no classification for 'shipmaster' in the Poll Taxes, the closest occupation identified is *magr' marin' coniugatus*, which translates to 'married master mariner'. Only one shipmaster from the navy payroll matches to this identifier, John Martin of King's Lynn,[26] with only one new shipmaster identified from this source, Peter Syham who was also of King's Lynn.[27] It is clear, therefore, that the Poll Tax

[24] Fenwick, 'Introduction', I, p. xiii.
[25] *Records of the Borough of Leicester; Being a Series of Extracts from the Archives of the Corporation of Leicester*, ed. by Mary Bateson (London: Cambridge Univesity Press, 1901), II, p. 190 <http://archive.org/details/recordsofborough02leic>.
[26] TNA E101/30/29 m5; TNA E101/37/25 m5, m9-10; TNA E101/39/2 m7.
[27] *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Part 2 Lincolnshire-Westmorland*, ed. by Carolyn C. Fenwick, Records of Social and Economic History, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), II, p. 185.

occupational identifiers were not always accurate. This detail is evident from the fact that matches between the Poll Taxes and the naval records were able to be made outside of the occupational data. Therefore, unlike with the Lay Subsidy data, the seafarers identified in the Poll Taxes are not strictly shipmasters, which could possibly lower the county average. Taxation amounts also become less varied with the induction of the Poll Tax's flat rates based on occupational status, rather than moveable wealth. There were roughly the same percentage of matches from the Poll Taxes as the Lay Subsidies (Table 3.30); however, more counties are represented in the Poll Taxes. As before, the number of mariners per county varied greatly.

The fact that the Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes were levied in different ways means that they cannot be compared like-for-like. As such, the following section will speak about them as separate entities.

Cornwall

Table 3.10: Cornwall Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Falmouth	14 (3.5)
Fowey	315 (80)
Looe	41 (10)
Lostwithiel	4 (1)
Mousehole	5 (1)
Padstow	5 (1)
Polruan	14 (3.5)
Total	**393**

Cornwall is a medium-sized county on the south-west tip of England, which was most famous for its tin mining, its salt-making, and its fishing.[28] By the end of the fourteenth century, fisheries in Cornwall were expanding quickly, much like the rest of the southwest. Fowey was called upon by the Crown the most during the fourteenth century, with an average of eighty percent of all naval requisitions coming from the port throughout the century (Table 3.10). Looe, at ten percent of all requisitions, is the next most important port, and is the only other port with a significant amount of foundational records. The survival of naval shipping records was high for Cornwall; however, when the county's original Lay Subsidy rolls were examined for matches they were in a poor state overall. Not many key matches, therefore, could be made in the key ports for Cornwall, as exhibited by the fact that only two Fowey men were visible in the Lay Subsidy. These two men were Robert John and Nicholas Lamekyn, who were both from Fowey and both taxed 2*s.* (£0.10 decimalised).[29] At *2s.* each, Lamekyn and John were taxed at quite a high rate, and when compared to the rest of the country, these shipmasters fall into the higher end of the 'mid' category. Both of these men were from Fowey, which could be considered Cornwall's most important port during the fourteenth century. However, when looking at the most taxed towns in Cornwall, Fowey does not appear. Instead featured are some of the less

[28] Miller and Hatcher; Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England'.
[29] TNA E101/17/24 m4d; TNA E101/19/38 m3; TNA E101/19/39 m2; TNA E101/78/9 m2; TNA E179/87/7.

powerful port cities and coastal towns (Table 3.11), such as Truro and Lostwithiel. Fifty-three percent of the collected tax from the top ten most taxed towns were from port cities or coastal towns across Cornwall. No matches could be made in the Poll Taxes.

Table 3.11: Ten Most Taxed Cornish Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	£	
1	Bodmin	20	0	0	(22.5)
2	Truro*	12	1	10	(13.6)
3	Lostwithiel*	8	13	4	(9.7)
4	St. Buryan	8	5	2	(9.3)
5	St. Austell	6	19	11	(7.9)
6	Lelant*	6	16	5	(7.7)
7	Liskeard	6	14	0	(7.5)
8	St. Keverne*	6	13	0	(7.5)
9	St. Germans*	6	10	0	(7.3)
10	Paul*	6	5	10	(7.1)
Total		**88**	**19**	**6**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

Devon

Table 3.12: Devon Shipping and Naval Voyages in the Fourteenth Century

Home Port	Number of Ships, 1324-1402[a]	Naval Voyages, 1320s-1350s	Naval Voyages, 1360s-1390s
Sidmouth	15 (2%)	27 (1%)	4 (0.3%)
Ottermouth	17 (2%)	30 (1.5%)	20 (1.5%)
Exmouth	62 (8%)	473 (22%)	144 (12%)
Teignmouth	44 (5.5%)	111 (5%)	61 (5%)
Dartmouth	349 (44.5%)	923 (43%)	595 (49%)
Portlemouth	24 (3%)	24 (1%)	20 (1.5%)
Plymouth	273 (35%)	559 (26%)	363 (30%)
Total	784	2,147	1,207

[a] Information collated from Maryanne Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*, p. 29.

Devon, on the western coast of England, is the largest county in terms of area featured in this study on Lay Subsidies (roughly 2,590 mi^2). Devon in the Middle Ages had a wide range of occupational labour available to those living there. Large areas of fertile soil there was widespread farming and agriculture; lead, silver, and tin mining provided employment for many of the people of Devon; and there was also a thriving cloth industry. These occupations led to widespread shipping and coastal trade.[30] While smaller than Exeter and Plymouth, Dartmouth proved to be the most important port in the county; it supplied more ships for trade and naval activities in the fourteenth century than Exmouth and Plymouth (Table 3.12)[31]

As can be seen in Table 3.9, the percentage of ships serving from a specific homeport that Kowaleski counted in various surviving accounts coincides with the combined percentage of ships leaving from their respective home ports used for this study, with the exception of Exmouth. In both instances, Dartmouth dominates requisitioned, followed by Plymouth, and then Exmouth. It should be noted, however, that while Exeter may not have had as many ships as Dartmouth, it was the more important town as was a seat of a Bishopric, had a cathedral, a royal castle, and was the main market town for the southwest.[32] In the 1334 Lay Subsidies, Exeter was ranked twenty-fourth, Dartmouth was ranked eighty-eighth overall, and Plymouth was ranked forty-fifth.[33]

[30] Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*, pp. 9–40.
[31] Kowaleski, 'Shipping and the Carrying Trade in Medieval Dartmouth'.
[32] *The Medieval Town in England 1200-1540*, ed. by Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser (London: Routledge, 2014), p. 185.
[33] *The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975); Kowaleski, 'Shipping and the Carrying Trade in Medieval Dartmouth', p. 465.

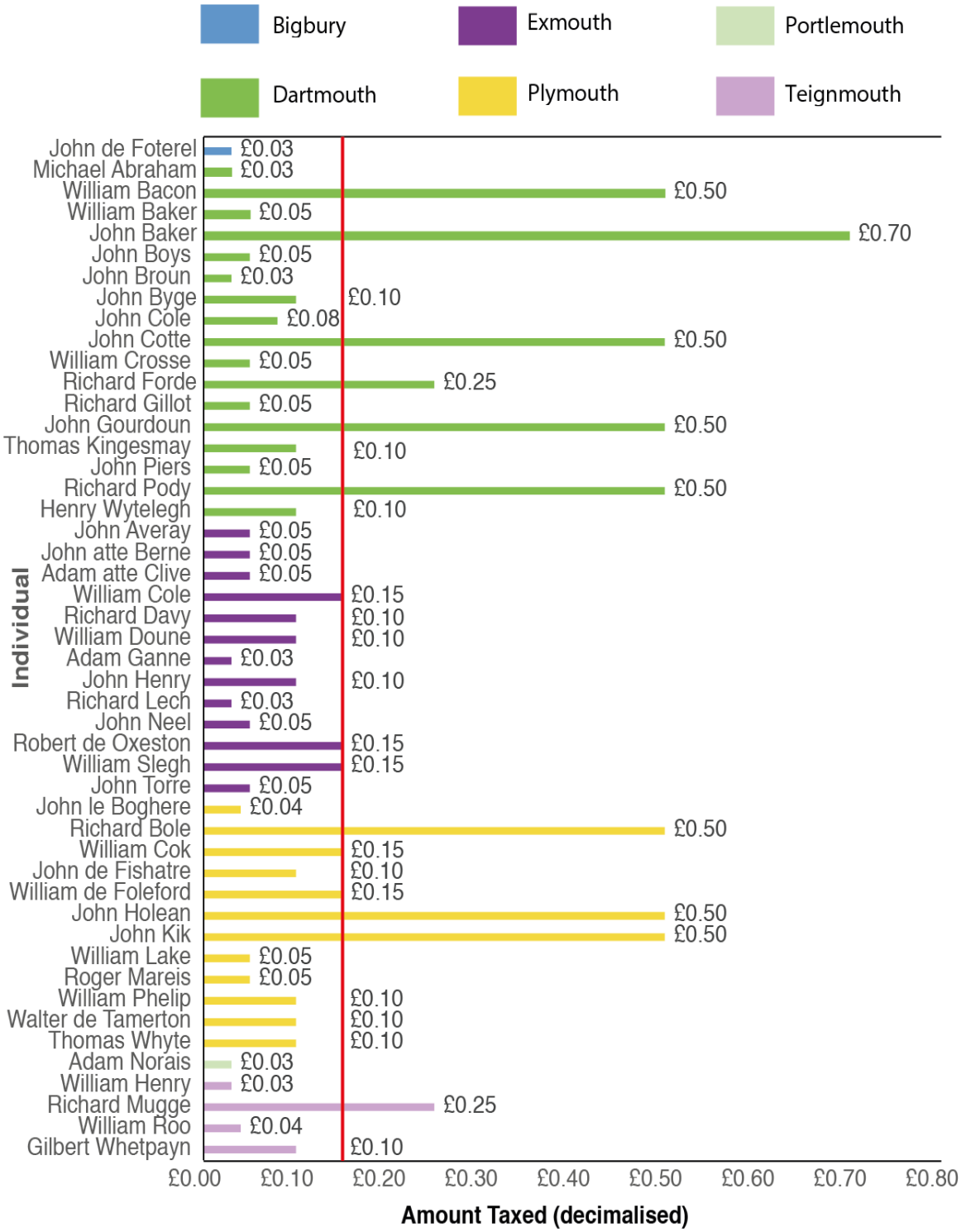
Of course, naval requisitions cannot be used to determine how wealthy or powerful a particular port was, but rather where was most convenient for the Crown to take ships from. Using Lay Subsidy data can help determine how essential a port or coastal town was to the county, at least in terms of the relative wealth needed to collect large sums of money for taxation. Clearly, in Devon, these maritime towns were able to generate huge amounts of tax in 1334, as seventy-six percent of tax in the ten most taxed towns were from Exeter, Plymouth, Barnstaple, East Budleigh, Dartmouth, Kenton, and Braunton, all of which are powerful ports or coastal towns (Table 3.13).

Table 3.13: Top Ten Most Taxed Devon Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Exeter*	36	12	4	(23.3)
2	Plymouth*	24	0	0	(15.2)
3	Ottery St. Mary	20	0	0	(12.7)
4	Barnstaple*	18	14	0	(11.9)
5	East Budleigh*	11	7	8	(7.2)
6	Dartmouth*	11	0	0	(7)
7	Kenton*	9	3	4	(5.8)
8	Tavistock	9	0	0	(5.7)
9	South Tawton	8	18	0	(5.7)
10	Braunton*	8	13	4	(5.5)
Total		**157**	**8**	**6**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

Figure 3.3: Devon Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches

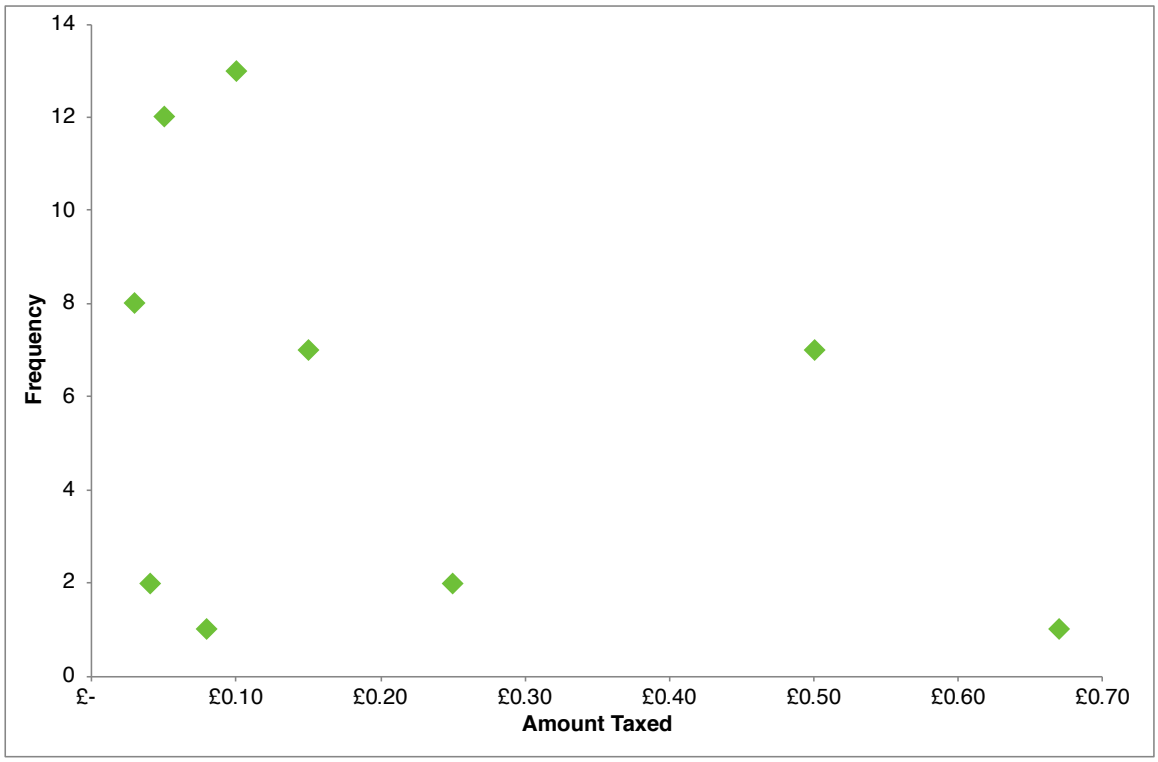


The Devon Lay Subsidy rolls are well preserved and have been fully published. As can be seen in Figure 3.3, Devon displays a wide range of tax amounts, with the lowest amount being 8d. (£0.03) from Michael Abraham,[34] John Broun,[35] John de Foterel,[36] Adam Ganne,[37] William Henry,[38] Richard Lech,[39] and Adam Norais.[40] The highest tax amount came from John Baker, at 14s. (£0.70).[41] Figure 3.3 also shows the breakdown of ports used by taxed shipmasters from the 1300s to the 1350s. Overall, Bigbury and Portlemouth's taxed shipmasters fall into the 'low' category, though with only a single match made in each town this does not necessarily give a good indication of shipmaster-taxation amounts in these locations. These were both small ports and so would have had only a few shippers living there, which could explain the low levels of naval data, and in turn the low levels of matches and tax amounts. Dartmouth and Plymouth were the only two port towns to be taxed a larger amount than the shipmaster average for Devon, with a mean taxation amount of £0.22 and £0.21 respectively. This shows that the shipmasters' moveable wealth in these two towns was considerably higher than that of the other ports in Devon, especially that of the smaller ports like Bigbury.

The range of wealth within Devon is huge. The mean (average) amount of tax was £0.15; however, the standard deviation is high, at £0.17, which indicates that there were many people that fell far below or far above the mean (average) amount (i.e., there is a lot of variability in the wealth of the different mariners in the county). In fact, when the frequency of tax amounts of Devon is looked at (Figure 3.4), it shows that there are two large tax brackets: those that fall below £0.10 and those that were taxed above £0.30. Further, there were ten shipmasters that fell into the 'high' category. All of those whose tax amount is in the higher category were from Dartmouth or from Plymouth,[42] with the exception of William Slegh.[43]

[34] TNA E101/17/24 m4d; TNA E36/204, pp. 228, 238; *The Devonshire Lay Subsidy of 1332*, ed. by Audrey M Erskine (Torquay: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 1969), p. 4.
[35] 'ECR MICH 1357-MICH-1358'; Erskine, p. 2.
[36] Lyte, *CCR 1341-1343*, p. 652; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 131; Erskine, p. 97.
[37] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 131; 'ECR MICH 1332-MICH 1333'; Erskine, p. 56.
[38] 'ECR MICH 1331-MICH 1332'; Erskine, p. 59.
[39] TNA E101/17/35; Erskine, p. 51.
[40] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 130; Erskine, p. 8.
[41] 'ECR MICH 1333-MICH 1334'; 'ECR MICH 1357-MICH-1358'; 'ECR MICH 1358-MICH 1359'; TNA E101/19/16 m3; TNA E101/27/24 m1; TNA E36/203, p. 372; Erskine, pp. 93, 103.
[42] 'ECR MICH 1333-MICH 1334'; 'E101/19/16'; 'E36/203', p. 372; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, pp. 129–30; Lyte, *CCR 1341-1343*, pp. 629, 652; TNA E101/17/24 m4; TNA E101/24/9b; *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, ed. by Maryanne Kowaleski (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2001), p. 180; TNA E101/21/36 m4, m6; Erskine, pp. 93, 111, 114.
[43] 'ECR MICH 1331-MICH 1332'; 'ECR MICH 1332-MICH 1333'; 'ECR MICH 1333-MICH 1334'; 'ECR MICH 1338-MICH 1339'; 'ECR MICH 1340-MICH 1341'; 'ECR MICH 1342-MICH 1343'; 'ECR MICH 1343-MICH 1344'; TNA E101/78/8 m2; TNA E101/17/24 m4.

Figure 3.4: Devon Distribution, Lay Subsidy Matches



The data collected from 1377-1381 appear to show that the dynamics of the county have changed. The power and prosperity of the Devon ports did not wane in the latter half of the fourteenth century, and so it is to be posited that Devon fares worse for the Poll Taxes because of the poor survival of documents and a lack of matches.[44] Devon was increasing in prosperity in the later fourteenth century, thanks to the expansion of south-western fisheries during this period, with Dartmouth being especially important.[45] Dartmouth was clearly an important maritime hub in Devon, since it also had a high number of ships requisitioned.

With the standardization of tax amounts under the Poll Taxes, less variance is to be expected. Richard Matheu was taxed the lowest amount, at 4*d.* (£0.02)[46] and Thomas Asshendon was taxed at the higher rate of 3*s.* (£0.15).[47] Four pence was the lowest amount that could be paid during this time, unless the person was a pauper (in which case, he or she was exempt).[48] The standard deviation for Devon during this period is relatively low, at £0.04, reflecting the reduced variance due to the standardised Poll Tax amounts; Asshendon was the only one to be taxed above the mean (average) amount of £0.07, which is not surprising as the Asshendon family was important in the town (see Chapter 4.5).

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[44] Maryanne Kowaleski, 'The 1377 Dartmouth Poll Tax', *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries*, 35.8 (1985), 286–195.
[45] Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England', p. 433.
[46] Kowaleski, *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, p. 225; Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 143.
[47] TNA E101/38/19 m1; Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 143.
[48] See Appendix 1 for 1379 Schedule of Charges

Figure 3.5: Devon Mariners, Poll Tax Matches

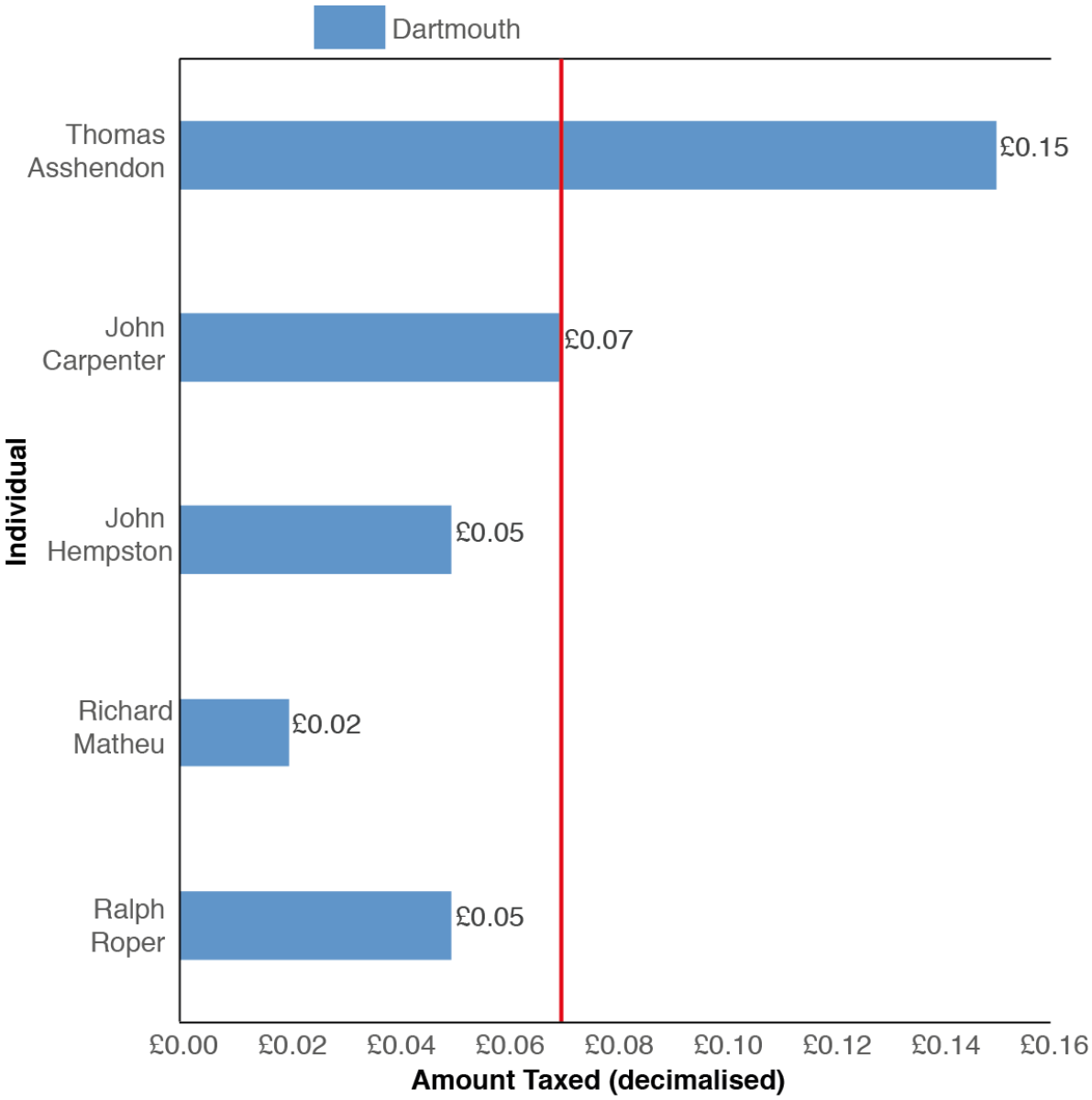
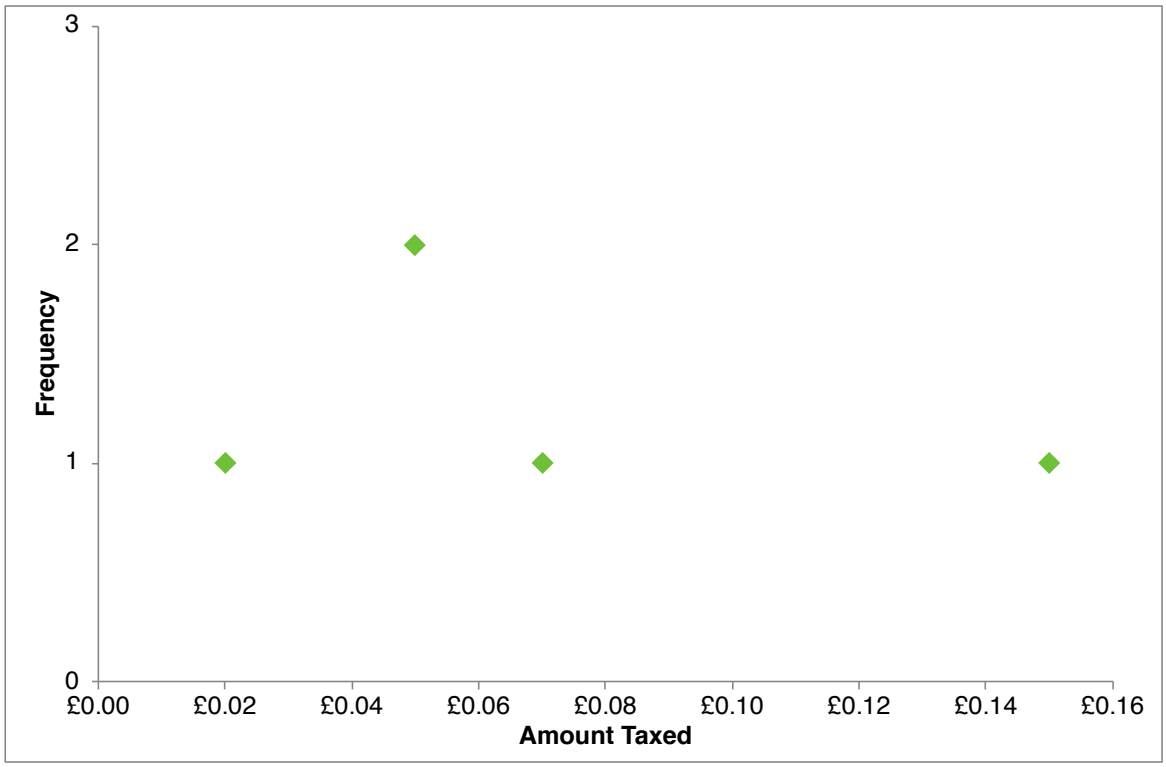


Figure 3.6: Devon Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



Looking at Figure 3.6, it could be argued that there are two tax brackets for Devon: most people fall between £0.02 and £0.05, but as there are only five records this is difficult to declare with certainty. When compared to the whole country, one seafarer falls into the 'low' bracket, three into the 'mid', and one into the 'high' bracket. All of the men were from Dartmouth, which shows that the town had a range of taxpayer wealth, but it is difficult to know whether Dartmouth is representative of the other port towns in Devon.

Dorset

Dorset is a county on the south-western coast of England and is roughly 2.5 times smaller than Devon, at 1,024 mi^2, Dorset had several keys areas of industry, including: quarrying (especially marble, for which Corfe was famous); hemp and flax growing, in towns like Bridport, Poole, and Hamworthy, which was used to make rope, sail-cloths, and nets; fishing; and shipping. Dorset was home to important fisheries, but was often overshadowed by the nearby counties of Devon and Cornwall. Weymouth, Corfe, Poole, and Lyme all played major roles in the fishing of pilchard, herring, hake, mackerel, and oysters.[49] During the fourteenth century, there were several port towns that 'quarrelled among themselves as to their status and jurisdiction', including Poole, Lyme, and Wareham, as well as the twin towns of Weymouth and Melcombe Regis.[50] The ports of Dorset, such as Poole, did not allow for large vessels because of their shallow nature.[51] Furthermore, while Poole was perhaps the largest port in Dorset, Weymouth was better situated for naval operations, which increased its importance.[52]

Table 3.14: Dorset Naval Voyages, 1300s-1399

Home Port	**Number of Voyages Recorded (%)**
Lyme Regis	28 (13)
Melcombe Regis	14 (6)
Poole	30 (14)
Swanage	44 (20)
Wareham	36 (16)
Weymouth	69 (31)
Total	**221**

[49] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Dorset*, 2 vols (London: Archibald Constable, 1908), II, pp. 325–70.
[50] *A History of Dorset*, II, p. 139.
[51] David Alban Hinton, *Purbeck Papers* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2002), p. 93; Stephen Church and Ruth Harvey, *Medieval Knighthood V: Papers from the Sixth Strawberry Hill Conference 1994* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1995), p. 192.
[52] *A History of Dorset*, II, p. 175.

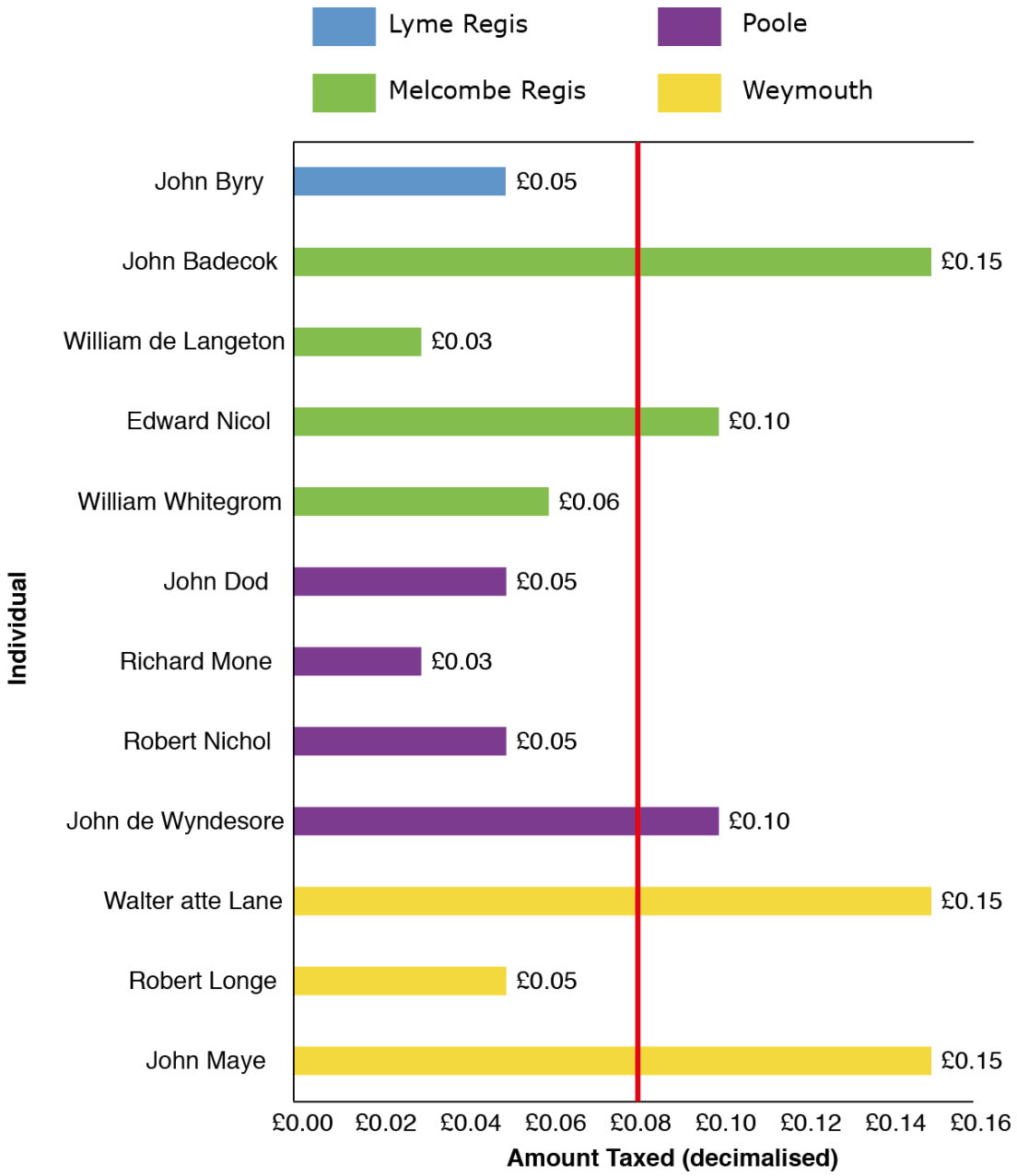
With a low population, Dorset did not have the need for large ports to provide for the hinterlands of Dorset, which could explain why its mariners were not as rich as shipmasters from other counties, like Devon. However, it is clear that Weymouth and Swanage were relied upon by the Crown's requisitioning (Table 3.14). Neither of these towns appear in the ten most taxed towns in Dorset from 1334, although Lyme Regis and Melcombe Regis (along with several other coastal towns) helped make up about fifty-six percent of tax collected in the county in 1334 (Table 3.15).

Table 3.15: Top Ten Most Taxed Dorset Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Shaftesbury	20	0	0	(18.9)
2	Canford*	11	10	3	(10.9)
3	Kingston Lacy	10	8	10	(9.8)
4	Gillingham*	10	6	8	(9.7)
5	Bridport*	9	19	5	(9.4)
6	Melcombe Regis*	9	10	0	(9)
7	Dorchester*	9	4	4	(8.7)
8	Lyme Regis*	8	10	0	(8)
9	Sixpenny Handley	8	7	4¾	(7.9)
10	Bere Regis	8	4	0	(7.7)
Total		**106**	**0**	**9**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

Figure 3.7: Dorset Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches



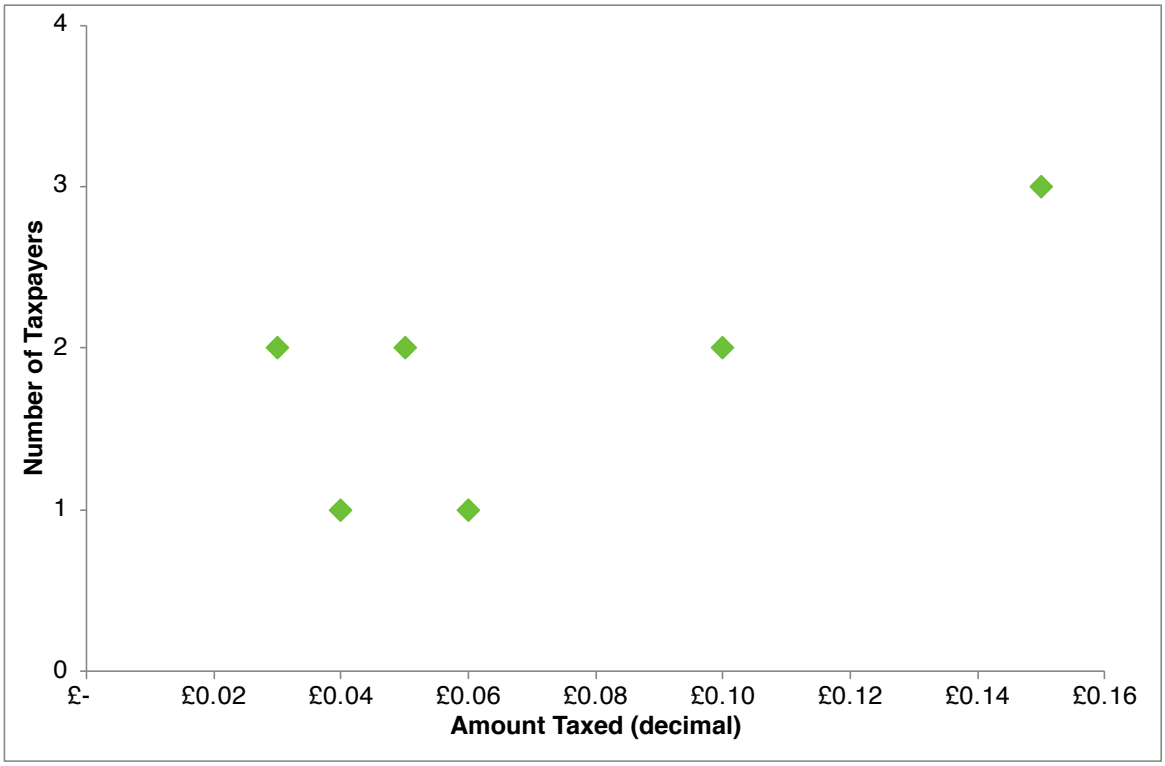
Not all counties have such a large range of tax amounts, as with the example of Devon, either because the amounts are more uniform or because there are fewer matches. For example, Dorset shows an £0.08 mean (average) and a much lower standard deviation than Devon at £0.05, but only has twelve records of taxed mariners, whereas Devon has fifty-three. The tax amounts from Dorset are more closely spaced than those from Devon, with the lowest tax

amount being 6*d.* (£0.03) from William de Langeton[53] and Richard Mone,[54] and the highest amount being 3*s.* (£0.15) from John Badecok,[55] Walter atte Lane,[56] and John Maye, all three of who lived in Weymouth (though Badecok was documented sailing from Melcombe Regis as well).[57] The average taxation amount in Weymouth was £0.12, which is the only documented town where its shipmasters were taxed higher than the county average. On the other side of the spectrum, Lyme Regis' and Poole's averages were both £0.05. An interesting aspect to point out is that while the Crown requisitioned thirty-four percent of ships in Dorset from Poole, there were the same number of matches in Poole and in Melcombe Regis; this could be explained by the fact that some mariners leaving from Poole were not residing in Poole.

When looking at the frequency of tax amounts in Dorset, there is a relatively even spread of taxpayers; there is a nearly even split of taxpayers above and below £0.09, as can be seen in Figure 3.8. Note that the x-axis here only goes as high as £0.16, compared with £0.70 as seen for Devon (Figure 3.5), so the 'wide' spread seen here is actually relatively narrow compared to Devon. This means that only three shipmasters from Dorset each fell into the 'high' and 'medium' categories, while all the rest were in the 'low'.

[53] TNA E101/78/10a m3; *The Dorset Lay Subsidy Roll of 1327*, ed. by Alexander R. Rumble (Dorchester: Dorset Record Society, 1980), p. 144.
[54] 'ECR MICH 1322-MICH 1323'; *The Dorset Lay Subsidy Roll of 1332*, ed. by A. D Mills (Dorchester: Dorset Record Society, 1971), p. 15.
[55] TNA E101/78/8 m2; Mills, p. 103.
[56] TNA E101/78/10a m3; *CPR, Edward II 1321-1324*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1904), p. 114; Mills, p. 103.
[57] TNA E101/78/5 m4; Mills, p. 103.

Figure 3.8: Dorset Distribution: Lay Subsidy Matches



Throughout the latter half of the fourteenth century, Dorset continued to trade in similar items as the first half, such as marble from Purbeck and herring from fisheries. However, the fisheries in Dorset during this time began to expand in power and influence, along with other parts of the south-western coast.[58] Dorset mariners from this period see slightly more diversity than displayed by Devon, while still maintaining a low standard deviation of £0.02. This is due to the fact that the lowest tax amount, 18*d.* (£0.08), from Harvey Chepman,[59] John Iwayn,[60] and Hugo Ragger[61] is only slightly less than the highest tax amount, 2*s.* 6*d.* (£0.13), paid by Harvey Croche and William Rapy (Figure 3.9).[62] Croche and Rapy are also the only mariners that were taxed more than the mean (average) of £0.10.

[58] Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England'.
[59] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 164.
[60] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 163.
[61] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 163.
[62] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 163.

Figure 3.9: Dorset Mariners, Poll Tax Matches

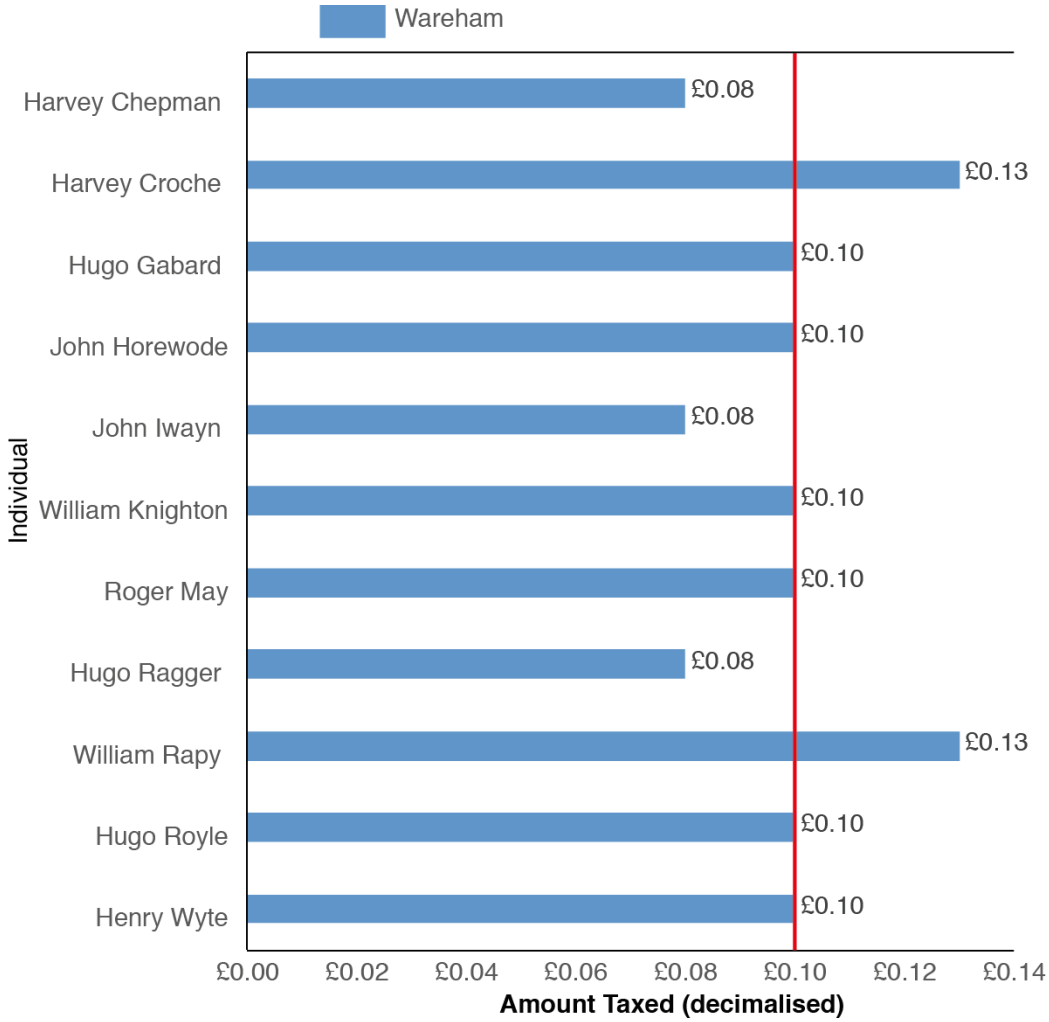
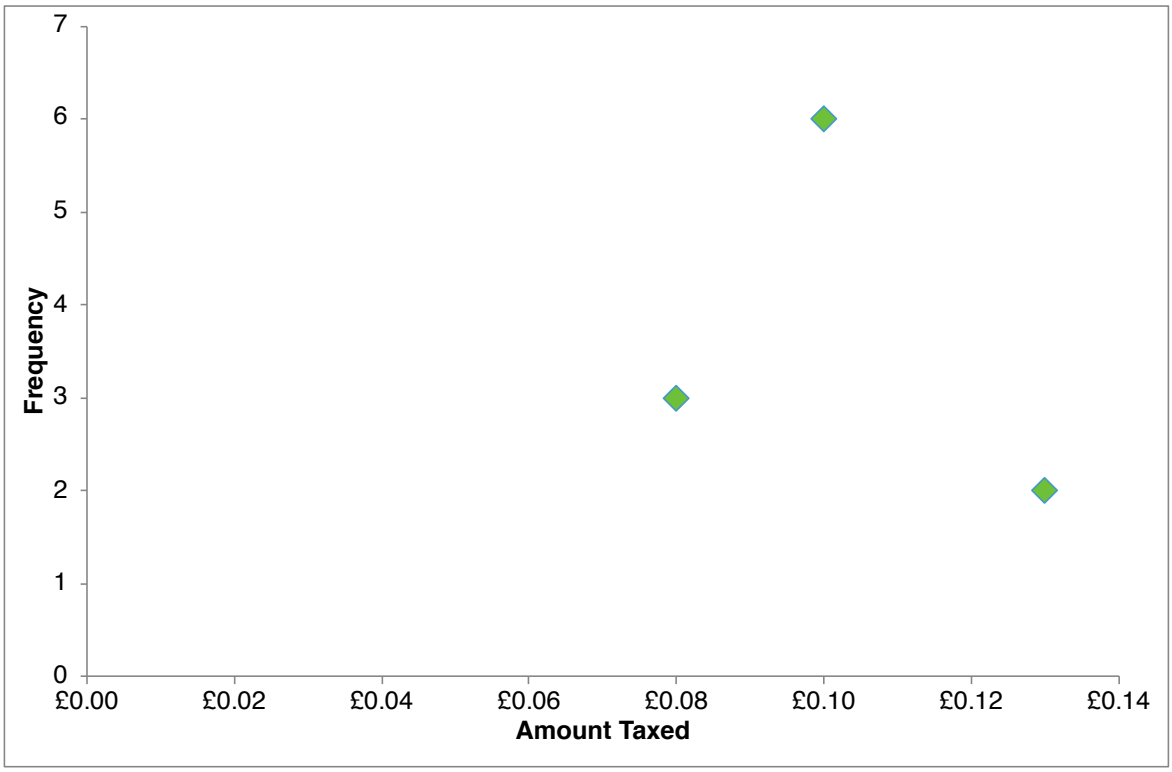


Figure 3.10: Dorset Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



As can be seen in Figure 3.10, the majority of seafarers were in the 'high' taxation bracket from 1377-1381, with the remaining three only just barely in the 'mid' category with a taxation amount of £0.08. This indicates that the seafarers located in Dorset were all of a similar income, and one that was consistently high compared with Devon, for example. It is interesting that, while Dorset has significantly more records than Devon, the standard deviation is still lower for the county. All men identified in Dorset were listed as *piscator*;[63] the fact that all the men were fishermen could explain why there is little variance in the Dorset tax amounts.

[63] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, pp. 163–64.

Hampshire

Hampshire is a county on the southern coast of England. With the Isle of Wight, Hampshire is one of the larger counties featured in this thesis, although it is still smaller than both Devon and Norfolk. The three wealthiest towns in Hampshire were Winchester, Southampton, and Portsmouth—the latter two of which were port towns, with only an occasional ship from Winchester listed.[64] Southampton was especially important, as it was ranked fifteenth in the 1334 Lay Subsidy.[65] Brick-making, farming, salt-making, iron-making, and fishing were all industries that helped make Hampshire a prosperous county during the first half of the fourteenth century. Iron was found in large quantities in Bracklesham, Barton, Headon, and Osborne. Salt was made by evaporating sea water, with Lymington the main town for its production in Hampshire. There was an active textile trade in Hampshire, which was facilitated by 'alien' competitors bringing cloth made in innovative ways into the country via ports.[66] Southampton was actively involved in a larger 'international web of production and marketing' within the cloth industry.[67] Additionally, both wine and wool were key items of trade, especially for Southampton.[68] Wine was the most important import for Southampton and was distributed to a wide range of places throughout England.[69] Wool was collected in London and then sent to Southampton for export, making it a vital export as well as an essential 'raw material for the textile area around' Southampton.[70] Fish, as an essential part of the medieval diet, made the fishing industry important in Southampton, which had many different kinds of fish come through its docks, including: herring, mackerel, salmon, hake, cod, mulwell, ling, pollock, whiting, broad fish, garfish, gurnard, sturgeon, pilchards, tuna, and oysters.[71] Other commodities include luxury goods like expensive dyes, exotic silks and cloths, and spices, as well as less lavish goods such as malt, hops, ores (like tin, lead, and iron), and salt.[72] Hampshire had several important ports, and the Exchequer records show that most naval requisitions were from Hook and Southampton (Table 3.16). Interestingly, Hook does not appear in the top ten most taxed

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[64] *A History of Hampshire: Including the Isle of Wight*, ed. by Thomas William Shore (London: Elliot Stock, 1892), p. 253.
[65] Glasscock.
[66] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight* (London: Archibald Constable, 1912), v, pp. 451–512.
[67] John Hare, 'Commodities: The Cloth Industry', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), p. 153.
[68] Shore, p. 237; Platt, *Medieval Southampton*, pp. 73–74.
[69] Winifred A. Harwood, 'Commodities: Wine', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015).
[70] John Hare, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), pp. 161–62.
[71] John Hare, 'Commodities: Fish', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), p. 147; *A History of Hampshire and the Isle of Wight*, v, pp. 466–67.
[72] Winifred A. Harwood, 'Commodities: Luxury Goods, Spices and Wax', in *English Inland Trade, 1430-1540: Southampton and Its Region*, ed. by Michael Hicks (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2015), p. 133; Hare, 'Miscellaneous Commodities', p. 161.

towns in Hampshire, indicating that the small port town may have had a lot of ships for the Crown to requisition, but did not have a high amount of tax collected (Table 3.17).

Table 3.16: Hampshire Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Hamele[73]	38 (7)
Hamelehoke[74]	15 (3)
Hook	201 (38)
Calshot	8 (1.5)
Keyhaven	10 (2)
Lymington	56 (11)
Southampton	192 (36.5)
Portsmouth	5 (1)
Total	**525**

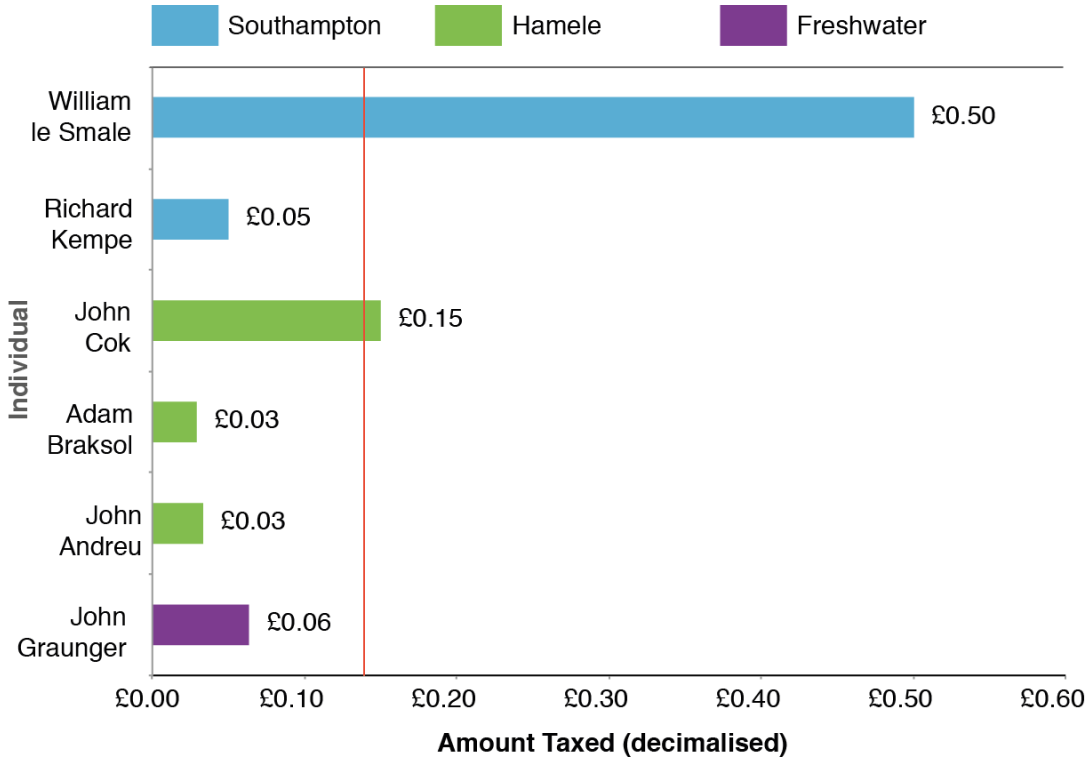
Table 3.17: Top Ten Most Taxed Hampshire Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Winchester*	51	10	4	(24.5)
2	Southampton*	51	2	4	(24.3)
3	Ringwood	22	2	6	(10.5)
4	Andover	19	19	11	(9.5)
5	Nether Wallop	12	1	8¾	(5.8)
6	Over Wallop	11	19	4½	(5.7)
7	Swainston	11	13	0	(5.5)
8	Soke of Winchester*	11	0	0	(5.2)
9	Broughton	10	1	5¾	(4.8)
10	Sandown*	8	10	0	(4)
Total		**210**	**0**	**7**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

[73] Hamele is likely referring to Hamble, a town on the River Hamble.
[74] Hamelhook is likely referring to Hook on Hamble.

Figure 3.11: Hampshire Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches

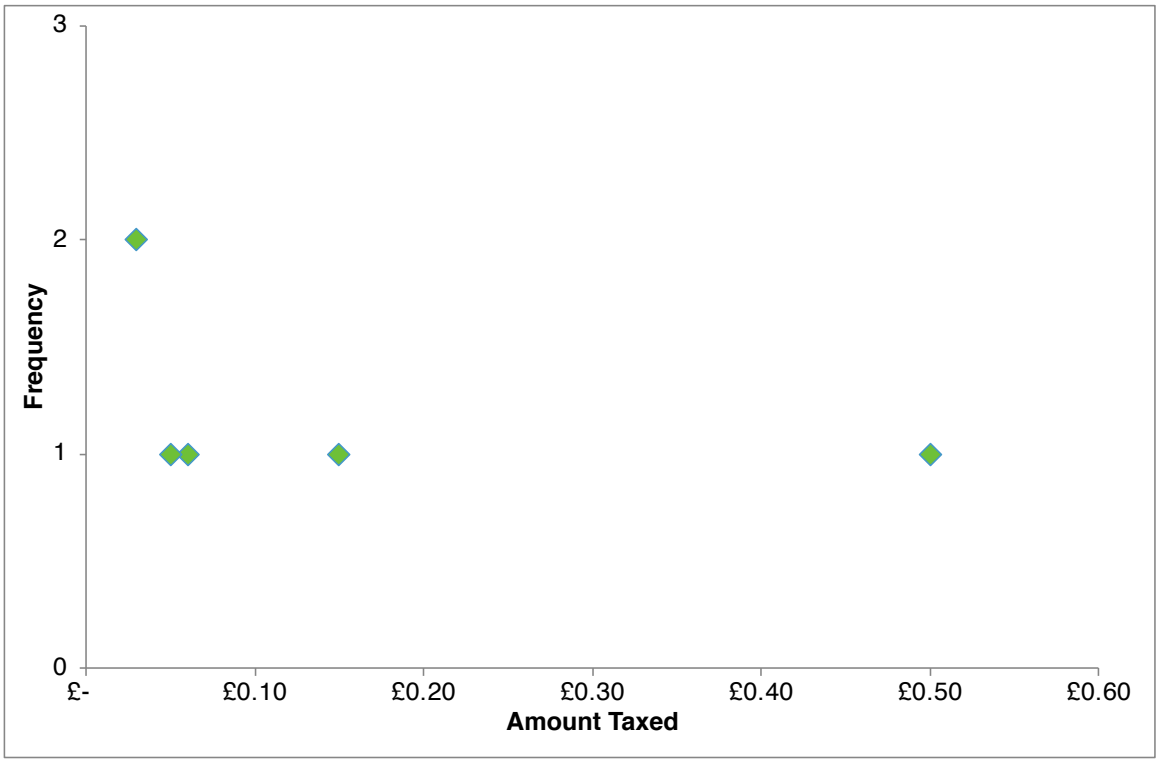


Dartmouth was not the only influential port in England, as can be seen in the skewed data for Hampshire. A mean (average) of £0.14 from 1327-1334 makes Hampshire appear as if it were on the same level as Essex and Dorset. However, the standard deviation for Hampshire is large, at £0.17, showing that there is a wide range of tax values (Figure 3.11). Southampton was one of the more prosperous port cities in the country, which is evidenced by the fact that William le Smale, who was recorded as operating from the city, was taxed 10*s.* (£0.50).[75] The next closest tax amount is John Cok, from Hamele, who was taxed 3*s.* (£0.15).[76] 'Hamele' is also called Hamble, which is on the River Hamble just outside of Southampton.[77] The lowest tax amount for Hampshire was 7*d.* (£0.03) from John Andreu[78] and Adam Braksol.[79] This shows that Hampshire's average is skewed by the prosperity of Southampton, which 'masks' the smaller stature of the other ports in the county.

[75] TNA E101/78/10a m2; *CPR, Edward III 1327-1330*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891), p. 27; *The Hampshire Tax List of 1327*, ed. by Patrick Mitchell-Fox and Mark Page, Hampshire Record Series (Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 2014), XX, p. 69.
[76] TNA E122/15/4; Mitchell-Fox and Page, XX, p. 69.
[77] 'Glossarial Index of the Names of Places and Boundaries', in *Liber Monasteri de Hyda; Comprising a Chronicle of the Affairs of England, from the Settlement of the Saxons to the Reign of King Cnut; and a Chartulary of the Abbey of Hyde, in Hampshire*, ed. by Edward Edwards (London: Longman and Co, 1866), p. 385.
[78] TNA E101/78/10a m3; Mitchell-Fox and Page, XX, p. 69.
[79] 'ECR MICH 1332-MICH 1333'; Mitchell-Fox and Page, XX, p. 69.

Only two shipmasters were matched in Southampton, yet these two show just how wide-ranging the moveable wealth of a shipmaster can be, with a low amount of £0.05 from Richard Kempe and a very high amount of £0.50 from William le Smale. While not as drastic as Southampton, the men of Hamele were also taxed on each end of the spectrum. The only other shipmaster to be taxed over the county's shipmaster-average was John Cok, who with £0.15 only just passes the £0.14 mean, but whose tax amount can still be called 'high', while Braksol's and Andreu's amounts are decidedly in the 'low' category. Hampshire displays a range of different people being taxed, with the majority in the 'low' bracket, and two in the 'high' bracket (Figure 3.12). In fact, the middle class seems to be completely missing from the demographic, possibly due to a lack of matches.

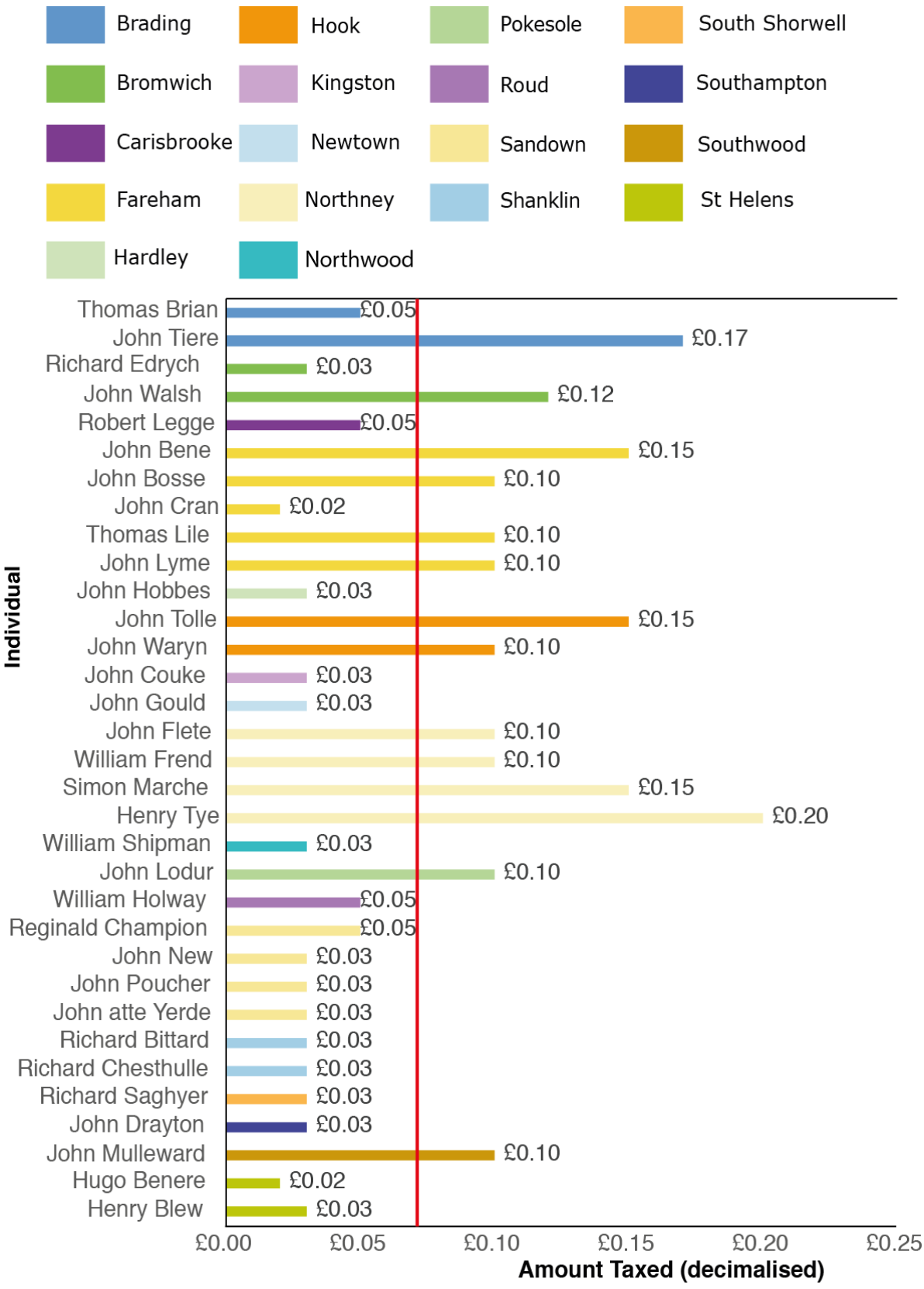
Figure 3.12: Hampshire Distribution, Lay Subsidy Matches



A high number of mariner identifications were made in the Hampshire Poll Taxes, thanks in part to the attention to detail given by the tax assessor, who often gave occupation information. Hugo Benere[80] and John Cran,[81] both of whom were identified with occupational information in the Poll Tax, were taxed the lowest amount at 4*d.* (£0.02). Henry Tye, also identified through Poll Tax occupational data, was taxed the highest amount for Hampshire, at 4*s.* (£0.20).[82] There is a nearly even split of taxpayers over and under the mean (average), £0.07. A standard deviation of £0.05 indicates that there was a spread of taxpayers, but not a huge disparity one way or the other. Hampshire seafarers stood above the rest of the county by a slight amount.

[80] Fenwick, I, p. 330.
[81] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 348.
[82] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 353.

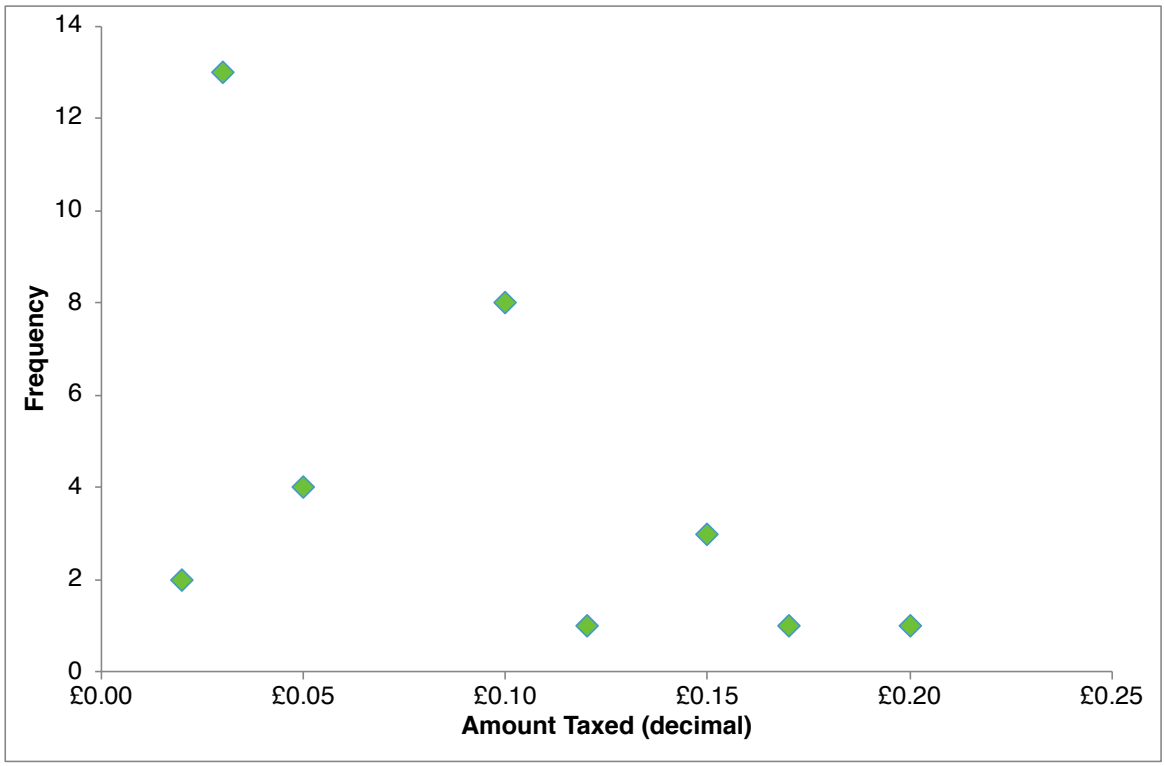
Figure 3.13: Hampshire Mariners, Poll Tax Matches



All of the taxpayers from Northney were above the county average. Southampton's seafarers in the Lay Subsidies were very highly taxed, however with only one match from Southampton in the Poll Taxes, Southampton is now on the other end of the spectrum.

The three taxation brackets can be easily seen in Figure 3.14, where the most Hampshire taxpayers (fifteen) appear at the lower end of the spectrum, with only a handful in the 'mid' bracket, jumping back up to fourteen in the 'high' category. This huge fluctuation could be due to the fact that Hampshire was a target of the French during the Hundred Years War, as Southampton and Portsmouth were both launching points for troops. Each of these towns were sacked and burned, leaving their inhabitants to pay for the damage's aftermath, and so they may have been taxed less.[83]

Figure 3.14: Hampshire Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



[83] Shore, pp. 235, 244.

Sussex

Figure 3.15: Map of Cinque Ports and Limbs

Source: Wikipedia Commons

Sussex is a county on the south-east coast, of roughly the same size as Essex and Suffolk. While many of its important towns were ports, there were other elements of industry apart from fishing and shipping, such as iron-making, pottery in Ringmer, glass-making, and farming.[84] Fishing, though, was an integral part of the Sussex economy: 'Sussex, with its extensive coast-line and numerous small harbours, has always been a centre of the fishing industry, the waters that wash its coast being prolific alike of free-swimming and shell fish'.[85] Additionally, shipping and naval activities formed a key part of the Sussex economy, as some of its ports were part of an important coalition called the Cinque Ports (Figure 3.15).

The Cinque Ports were originally made up of five towns: Hastings in Sussex, and Romney, Hythe, Dover, and Sandwich in Kent. Winchelsea and Rye, both in Sussex, were added later. In addition to these seven 'Head Ports', there were 'Corporate Members' that were associated with the larger Head Ports, but retained their autonomy except for financial and naval affairs: connected with Hastings were Pevensey and Seaford; Tenterden was connected to Rye; Lydd to Romney; Folkestone and Faversham to Dover; and Deal and Fordwich were connected to Sandwich. Furthermore, there were numerous 'Non-corporate Members' who were subject to the government of the Head Port for which they were attached: Hastings had the towns of Grange, Bekesbourne, Bulverhythe, Northeye, Eastbourne, Hydney, and Pebsham; Hythe had West Hythe; Dover had Margate, Birchington, St Johns, St Peters, Ringwould, and Kingsdown; and Sandwich had Ramsgate, Brightlingsea (in Essex), Reculver, Sarre, Walmer, and Stonar. Each Member 'received the right to share in the privileges of the Cinque Ports, in return for undertaking to discharge part of the burden of ship service', as well as to defend the coast and the English Channel.[86] Sussex and Kent, as the two most represented counties in the Cinque Ports, had a unified geographic area thanks to their 'common access to the sea' and the fact that the Weald acted as a natural inland barrier that stretched from western Sussex to central Kent. This maritime orientation of this coastal area was the 'key to its prosperity and one of the defining characteristics of Winchelsea and its urban neighbours'.[87]

It has been thought that the Cinque Ports steadily declined throughout the fourteenth century,[88] to the point that by the end of the century they had lost their position in the navy.[89] By the second half of the century, their national affairs became more and more insignificant, while their private affairs ballooned in exaggerated importance. In fact, in can be said that it is 'the tragedy of the history of the Cinque Ports that, when there was no longer a reason for their

[84] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Sussex* (London: Archibald Constable, 1905).
[85] *A History of Sussex*, p. 264.
[86] Katherine Maud Elisabeth Murray, *The Constitutional History of the Cinque Ports* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1935), p. 1.
[87] Martin and Martin, p. 8.
[88] *A History of Sussex*, p. 126.
[89] Katherine Maud Elisabeth Murray, p. 207.

existence, the barons continued to live on the tradition of their former prestige'.[90] However, this theory has been challenged in recent years. The theory that the Ports decline has been based on an 'examination of the Ports in isolation', not taking into account the wider changes happening across the entire country.[91] When examining the Ports in this wider context, it can be seen that in actuality the Cinque Ports continued to be important to the Crown into the fifteenth century, despite a dip in involvement during the second half of the fourteenth century. This decline can be explained by the fact that the Crown begins to take more advantage of the southwestern ports, an area that had previously received 'little attention'.[92]

Much like Kent, the men of the Cinque Ports impacted the taxes collected, though like Essex their impact cannot be seen in 1334. None of the Cinque Ports were listed in the ten most taxed towns and only one, Chichester, could be considered in a maritime location (Table 3.18), although it does account for eighteen percent of the tax collected from these towns.

The three men from Sussex left port from Shoreham-by-Sea, Rye, and Winchelsea respectively. As can be seen in Table 3.19, Winchelsea has by far the most number of ships leaving from its port for both shipping and naval purposes, as it served as a 'collection and distribution point for goods produced regionally – primarily fuel, timber, and fish – but also as an entrepôt for commodities originating from overseas'.[93] Shoreham and Rye (which was a Cinque Port) both had ships requisitioned from its ports at about twenty percent.

Table 3.18: Top Ten Most Taxed Sussex Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Chichester*	22	0	0	(18.1)
2	Sidlesham	13	7	0	(11)
3	Streat	13	1	5¾	(10.8)
4	Wadhurst & Mayfield	12	0	0	(9.9)
5	Framfield	11	6	1½	(9.3)
6	Ringmer	11	5	0	(9.3)
7	Lindfield	10	9	2	(8.6)
8	Rodmell	10	0	0	(8.2)
9	Wittering	9	11	0	(7.9)
10	Sheffield	8	10	0	(7)
Total		**121**	**9**	**10**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

[90] Katherine Maud Elisabeth Murray, p. 207.
[91] Craig Lambert and Andrew Ayton, 'Naval Service and the Cinque Ports, 1322-1453', 2016, p. 13.
[92] Lambert and Ayton, 'Naval Service and the Cinque Ports, 1322-1453', p. 15.
[93] Martin and Martin, p. 8.

Table 3.19: Sussex Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Chichester	3 (2)
Hastings	6 (3)
Pevensey	4 (2)
Rye	41 (22)
Seaford	13 (7)
Shoreham-by-Sea	39 (21)
Winchelsea	81 (43)
Total	**187**

While the Lay Subsidy records occasionally had these mariners listed within them, the Poll Taxes almost never did. This means that the only information on mariners in Sussex during the second half of the fourteenth century comes directly from the Poll Tax occupational information, and even then, this information does not represent the vast majority of mariners in Sussex during this period.

It is essential to note that as an additional privilege, the seafarers and merchants who made up the Cinque Port coalition, also called 'barons', were exempt from taxation. As a result of this, the recording of these mariners in the Lay Subsidies is not consistent and as such, finding matches between the tax records and foundation records is difficult, as can be seen in Figure 3.16.

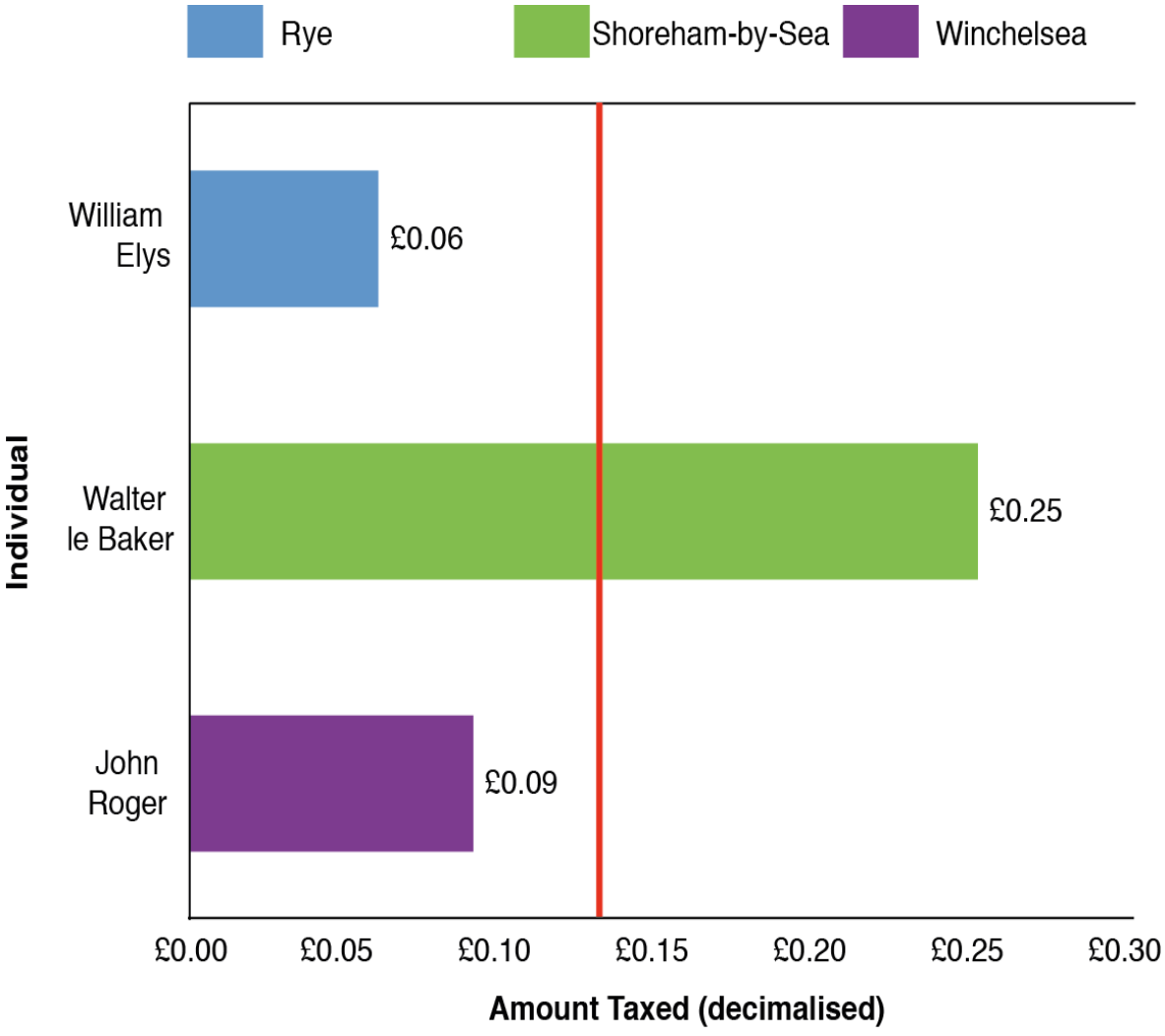
Even with so few matches, it is still important to look at the mean (average) and standard deviation, as the spread of taxation is still interesting. William Elys was taxed 1*s.* 2*d.* (£0.06), which, while being the lowest tax amount in the county, shows that he was in the 'mid' bracket, rather than the 'low', when considered in the context of the whole country.[94] Walter le Baker was taxed 5*s.* (£0.25).[95] This was a considerable amount, which puts him solidly in the 'high' bracket and also pulls the mean (average) up to £0.13. The standard deviation of £0.08 is also high, which would indicate that the Sussex mariners paid highly variable amounts of tax. However, given that the sample number is low, it is difficult to state this with certainty. With three different towns that have only one taxpayer each, sweeping statements about the

[94] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 129; 'Sussex Subsidy of 1327: The Rape of Hastings', in *The Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex - 1296, 1327, 1332*, ed. by William Hudson (London: Sussex Record Society, 1910) <www.british-history.ac.uk/suss-record-soc/vol10/pp205-222>.

[95] 'ECR MICH 1332-MICH 1333'; 'Sussex Subsidy of 1327: The Rape of Bramber', in *The Three Earliest Subsidies for the County of Sussex - 1296, 1327, 1332*, ed. by William Hudson (London: Sussex Record Society, 1910) <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/suss-record-soc/vol10/pp152-168>.

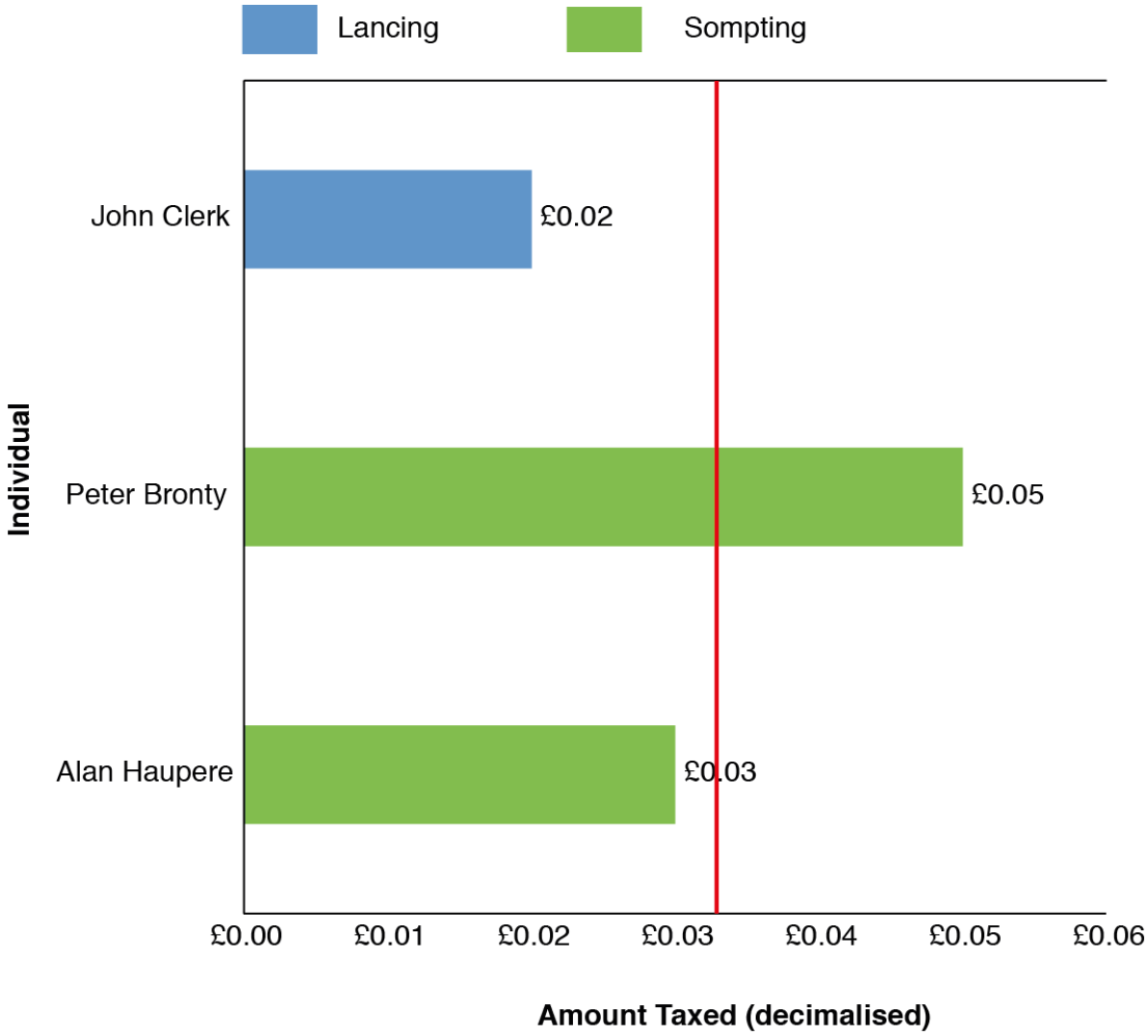
importance of Sussex's individual ports are also difficult, though it could be posited that Shoreham-by-Sea's taxpayers paid more, seeing as Walter le Baker was taxed a very high amount. However, without knowing how much the men living directly in the Cinque Ports, such as Rye and Winchelsea, were taxed even Baker's high amount might be dwarfed by Winchelsea's and Rye's direct inhabitants. Unfortunately, since the Cinque Ports were exempt from taxation the tax collector did not take the time to list those who lived in these towns.

Figure 3.16: Sussex Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches



Similarly, only three mariners were located within the Sussex Poll Tax records: Peter Bronty, John Clerk, and Alan Haupere,[96] none of who were living in a Cinque Port coalition town (Figure 3.17). Instead, they were living just outside of Shoreham-by-Sea, in the towns of Lancing and Sompting (just outside Shoreham, which was not part of the coalition), and were taxed at a low amount. Bronty and Haupere were both listed as a *piscator*, and Clerk was listed simply as a *semanus*. Bronty, who was taxed 12*d.* (£0.05), was the only one to be taxed higher than the average of £0.03, making him the only mariner to land in the 'mid' taxation bracket. John Clerk, at 4*d.* (£0.02), was not taxed much less than Bronty, which explains the low standard deviation of £0.01. None of these men can be found as shipmasters on existing naval campaigns, probably making them average mariners, which could explain their low taxation bracket.

Figure 3.17: Sussex Mariners, Poll Tax Matches



[96] Fenwick, II, p. 584.

Kent

Kent, which is roughly the same size as Essex and Suffolk, is located on the south-east coast of England. Militarily, Kent was an important county in England, due to its close proximity to the continent, the North Sea, and the English Channel. Like Sussex, several of Kent's coastal towns were members of the Cinque Port coalition, which provided the same benefits as Sussex, such as exemption from taxes. Kent was highly involved in the wars with Scotland and France due to the fact that it contained many of the Cinque Ports and limbs. Additionally, Kent's close location to France meant that its seafarers could be relied upon to help defend against French ships and help advise the king.[97]

Sandwich, which was one of the original Cinque Ports, can be seen on Table 3.17 as making up the bulk of Kent's shipping and naval commitments, with over thirty percent of ships leaving from this port. In all, Dover, Hythe, and Sandwich were all Head Ports of the Cinque Ports, with Faversham as a 'Corporate Limb' of Dover. Cliffe and Hope are the only two ports in the foundation records that are not part of the coalition. This nicely highlights the huge effect that Cinque Ports had in reducing the number of mariners who were taxed, as four of the six towns in Table 3.20 would have harboured mariners who were exempt from taxation.

Table 3.20: Kent Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Cliffe	7 (3)
Dover	26 (11)
Faversham	3 (1)
Hope	5 (2)
Hythe	40 (17)
Sandwich	102 (42)
Northfleet	13 (5)
Romney	18 (7.5)
Small Hythe	28 (11.5)
Total	**241**

[97] Lambert and Ayton, 'A Maritime Community in War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners 1320-1400', p. 71.

Figure 3.18: Map of Hundreds in Kent

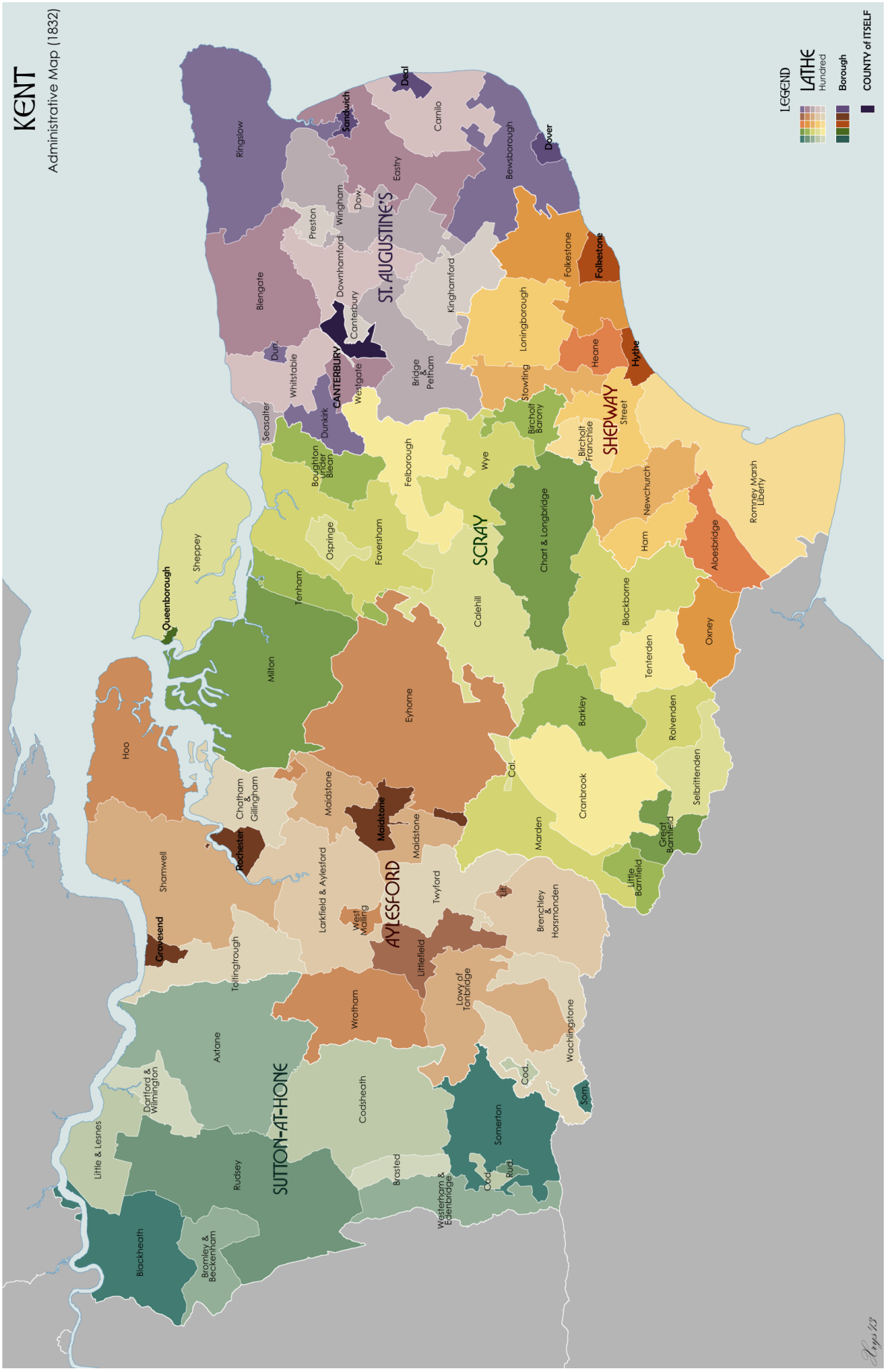


Table 3.21: Top Ten Most Taxed Kentish Hundreds, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	Hundred	Amount Taxed			(% total)	Men of Cinque Ports			(% hundred)
		£	*s.*	*d.*		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Ringslow*	110	17	7	(19)	48	9	2	(44)
2	Faversham*	60	13	9	(10.4)	17	12	1½	(30)
3	Canterbury	59	18	11¼	(10.3)	0	0	0	(0)
4	Bleangate*	55	19	2¼	(9.6)	7	9	5½	(13)
5	Wingham*	50	10	4½	(8.7)	16	12	10	(33)
6	Axton	50	3	10	(8.6)	0	0	0	(0)
7	Maidstone	50	0	1	(8.6)	0	0	0	(0)
8	Eyhorne	49	12	3	(8.5)	0	0	0	(0)
9	Folkstone*	47	17	1¼	(8.2)	8	13	10	(18)
10	Ruxley	47	0	2½	(8.1)	0	0	0	(0)
Total		**582**	**13**	**4**		**98**	**17**	**4**	**(17)**

This can clearly be seen in the breakdown of taxes seen in the 1334 Lay Subsidy from Kent. Unlike other coastal counties, Kent documented the taxation amounts that would have been required from those living in the Cinque Ports, despite the fact they did not need to pay it. This allows for a rare glimpse at the relative wealth of those living in these ports, although only at the Hundred level (Figure 3.18), as there are no specific listings for villages (Table 3.21). The Hundreds of Ringslow, Faversham, Bleangate, Wingham, and Folkstone made up fifty-six of the most taxed Hundreds, and it is these hundreds that had men of the Cinque Ports listed. These men made up forty-four percent of the tax that was—or would have been—collected in Ringslow, thirty percent in Faversham, thirteen percent in Bleangate, thirty-three percent in Wingham, and eighteen percent in Folkstone.

Although a part of the Cinque Port coalition, there were many other different trades and industries that allowed Kent to prosper. For example, while primarily being a port town, Dover was also a key site for iron-making. Canterbury and Whitstable both had fishing fleets operating out of them. There were successful quarries in Folkestone, and the 'monks of Battle Abbey had an important factory of tiles during the fourteenth century in the place called Nackolt.[98] Furthermore, Kent was the most important county for chalk, which was made into lime and used for building in London.[99]

[98] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Kent* (London: Archibald Constable, 1932), III, p. 393.
[99] *A History of Kent*, III, p. 396.

Unlike the tax collector in Sussex, the Kent Lay Subsidy tax collector did take the time to list the men and women living in the Cinque Ports, as well as how much they would have paid if it had been required. This allows us to catch a glimpse of Kent shipmasters' wealth, when observing their taxation amounts. A total of forty-two men were matched, and overall their taxation distribution was strong. Figure 3.19 clearly shows a wide variety of tax amounts, which explains the relatively high standard deviation of £0.14. Robert Newendon who sailed from Small Hythe, was taxed the least amount at 8*d.* (£0.03).[100] The range of taxation amounts is huge, with the highest taxed man being Peter Seman, who sailed from Faversham and paid 17*s.* (£0.85).[101] Even with such a high amount, Seman does not skew the mean (average)—£0.16—overly much as there were seven other men taxed over 3*s.*: John Palmer (4*s.* or £0.20),[102] Simon Daniel (4*s.* ½*d.* or £0..20),[103] Peter Shipman (5*s.* 4*d*. or £0.27),[104] Salomon Litherer (6*s*. 1¾*d*. or £0.31),[105] John Condy (6*s*. 8*d.* or £0.33),[106] Simon Lytherer (8*s.* 8*d.* or £0.43),[107] and John Broun (9*s.* or £0.45).[108] Of these men, Palmer and Shipman sailed from Faversham, Daniel and Broun from Dover, Litherer and Lytherer (who were probably part of the same family) from Margate, and Condy from Sandwich.

[100] *CPR, Edward III 1350-1354*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1907), p. 367; 'Kent Lay Subsidy of 1334/5', ed. by H. A. Hanley and C. W. Chalklin (KAS, 2008), p. 20 <http://www.kentarchaeology.ac/publications/Kent%20Lay%20Subsidy.pdf>.
[101] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 130; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 99.
[102] TNA E36/204, p. 239; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 74.
[103] TNA E101/19/22 m3; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 90.
[104] *CCR, Edward II: 1318-1323*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893), p. 660; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 99.
[105] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 129; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 74.
[106] TNA E101/78/4a m2; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 76.
[107] TNA C47/2/35 m2; *Foedera: Conventiones, Literæ, et Cujuscunque Generis Acta Publica. A.D. 1307 to A.D. 1343*, ed. by Thomas Rymer, 20 vols (London: Hagae Comitis: Neaulme, 1745), II; TNA E36/204, p. 230; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 74.
[108] TNA E101/26/37 m2; Hanley and Chalklin, p. 90.

Figure 3.19: Kent Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches

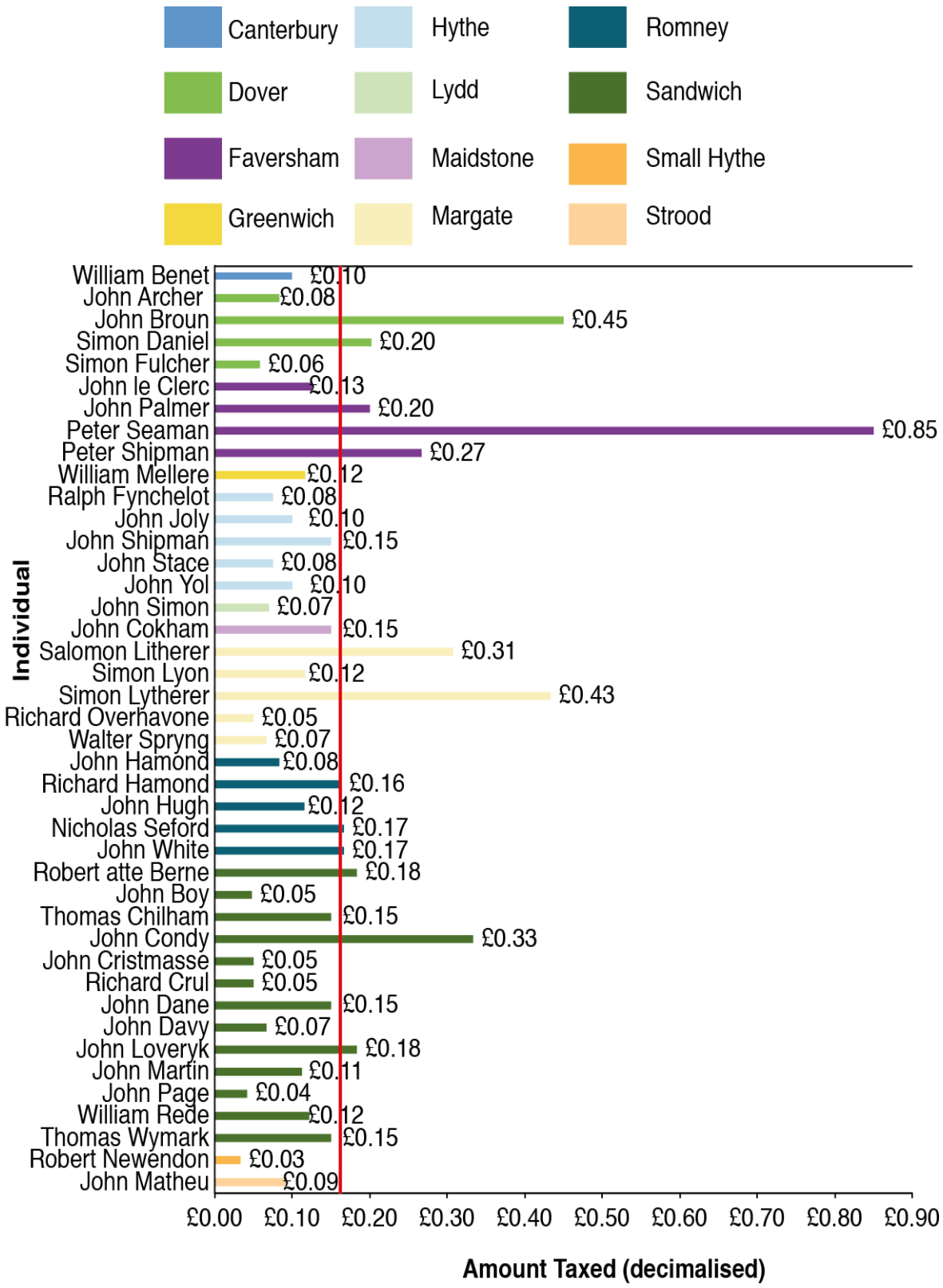
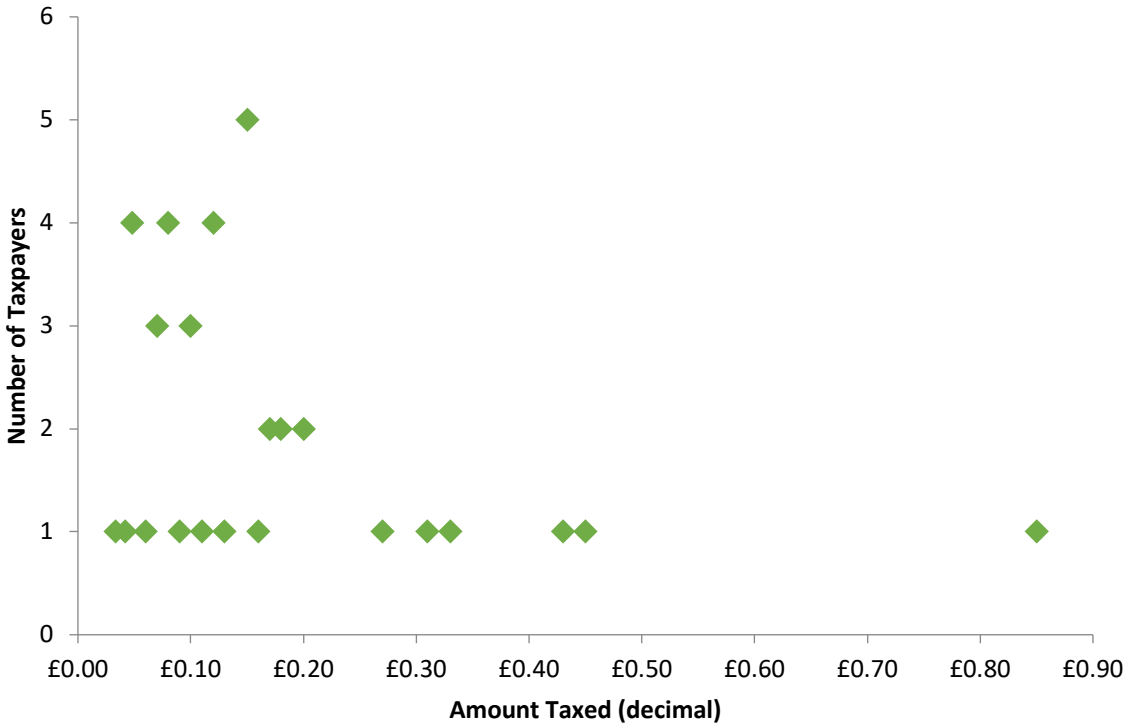


Figure 3.20: Kent Distribution, Lay Subsidy Matches



Small Hythe is the only town that can be considered in the 'low' category. The majority of ports fall within the 'mid' category, including Sandwich. Maidstone, Margate, Dover, and Faversham all have 'high' average taxation amounts, ranging from £0.15 to £0.36. The same can be said for the county as a whole, with the majority of taxpayers falling within the 'mid' category (Figure 3.20).

Those living in Kent's Cinque Ports during the Poll Tax collections were not listed as they were in the Lay Subsidies, which made matches between tax data and foundation records difficult. As such, only two matches were made: John Neal and Gilbert Emery. Both Neal and Emery were located via occupational data, as they were listed as *fysschere* in Canterbury.[109] While there were only two matches made, both men fall into the middle-class range, as Emery was taxed 3*s*. (£0.20) and Neal was taxed 4*s.* (£0.15). With only two matches, the mean (average), £0.18, is relatively easy to see. Given the relative lack of data for the county, the frequency of taxation cannot be looked at, and it is difficult to draw conclusions about the variability of the data. It can be said, though, that both seafarers fall within the 'high' taxation bracket for the Poll Taxes.

[109] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 425.

Essex

Essex is a county on the eastern coast of England, which is slightly larger than Dorset. Industry in Essex varied from brick and tile making to corn milling (where millstones were often imported through Colchester and Harwich) to agriculture (such as saffron and weld) to fisheries and salt-making. The most powerful towns in Essex were Saffron Walden, which helped make the spice Saffron famous in England, and Colchester, due to its proximity to the sea.[110] Brightlingsea, a limb of Sandwich, was the only member of the Cinque Port confederacy in Essex. Interestingly, Brightlingsea stopped providing ships for naval operations in 1352, despite being part of the confederacy, and did not begin to contribute again until 1423.[111] Oyster fisheries in Essex, said to have produced the best oysters available, were found in the estuaries of the Colne, the Blackwater, the Crouch, and the Roach.[112] Fisheries supplied not only Essex, but London as well. Additionally, salt-making was an essential industry for Colchester, Manningtree, and Maldon.[113] Colchester was also the main port for Essex, and relatively high ranked in the 1334 Lay Subsidies at thirty-eighth.[114] As was discussed previously, Colchester in the beginning of the fourteenth century was not a strong port for international trade, but rather focused more on coastal trading. Colchester was unable to moor large ships, unlike Dartmouth. Despite this fact, Colchester still had the highest number of voyages leaving from its harbour (Table 3.22).

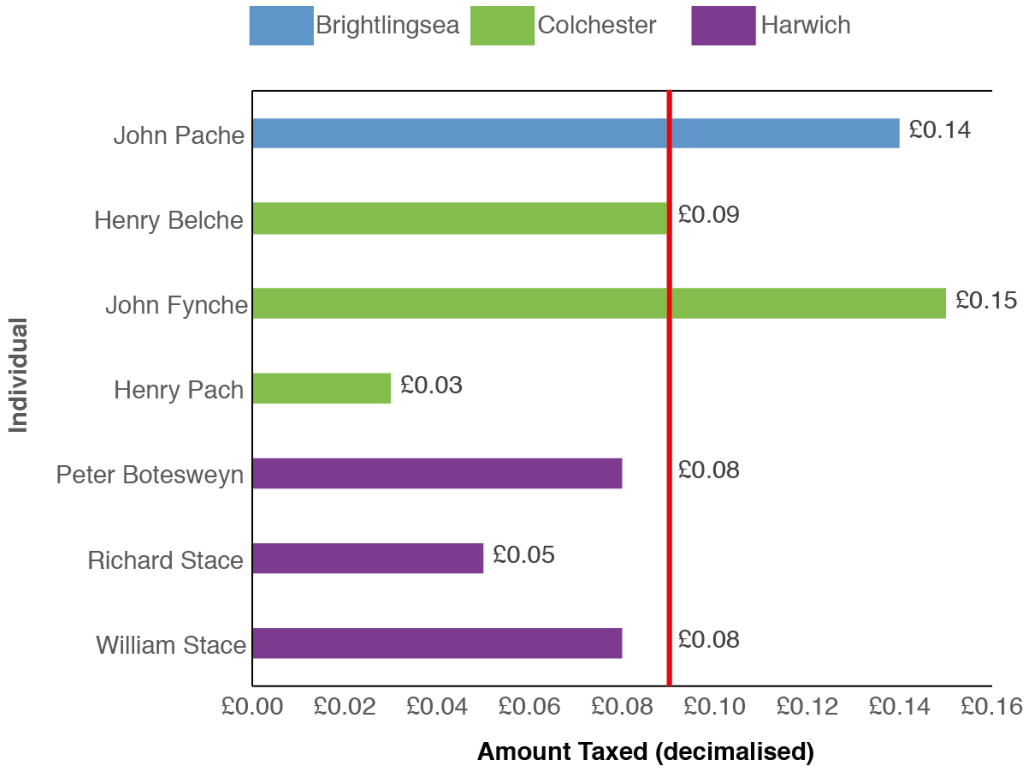
Table 3.22: Essex Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Benfleet South	10 (4)
Bradfield	7 (3)
Brightlingsea	10 (4)
Colchester	123 (48)
Fobbing	9 (3)
Harwich	70 (27)
Maldon	10 (4)
Mersea West	2 (1)
Salcott	3 (1
Manningtree	10 (4)
Saint Osyth	2 (1)
Total	**256**

[110] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Essex* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), II, pp. 355–460.
[111] Lambert and Ayton, 'Naval Service and the Cinque Ports, 1322-1453', p. 6.
[112] *A History of Essex*, II, p. 425.
[113] *A History of Essex*, II, p. 445.
[114] Glasscock.

The tax disparity might be explained by the fact that Dartmouth was a more powerful and international port than Colchester. Essex also has a less varied range of taxation than that of Devon. Henry Pach was taxed the lowest amount for Essex at £0.03[115] and John Fynche from Colchester was taxed the highest amount for Essex at £0.15 (Figure 3.21).[116] The mean (average) for Essex is £0.09 and the standard deviation is £0.04. John Fynche from Colchester was living in one of the larger port cities, similar to the men of Devon residing in Dartmouth and Plymouth. However, the amount taxed for the richest mariners in Devon is twice that of the richest mariners in Essex. The men living in Harwich were all taxed below the county mean (average), with Colchester averaging out to be exactly the same. All three towns fall within the 'mid' category, despite Brightlingsea's average being greater than the county's. However, it should be mentioned that Brightlingsea was a part of the Cinque Port Confederation and therefore the taxpayers living directly in Brightlingsea were exempt from tax. Therefore, Brightilngsea's absence from the ten most taxed towns in Essex in 1334 is unsurprising, as is Colchester's position as the most taxed town (Table 3.23). While there were only three maritime towns in the ten most taxed towns, they still made up thirty-nine percent of the total amount collected from these ten towns.

Figure 3.21: Essex Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches



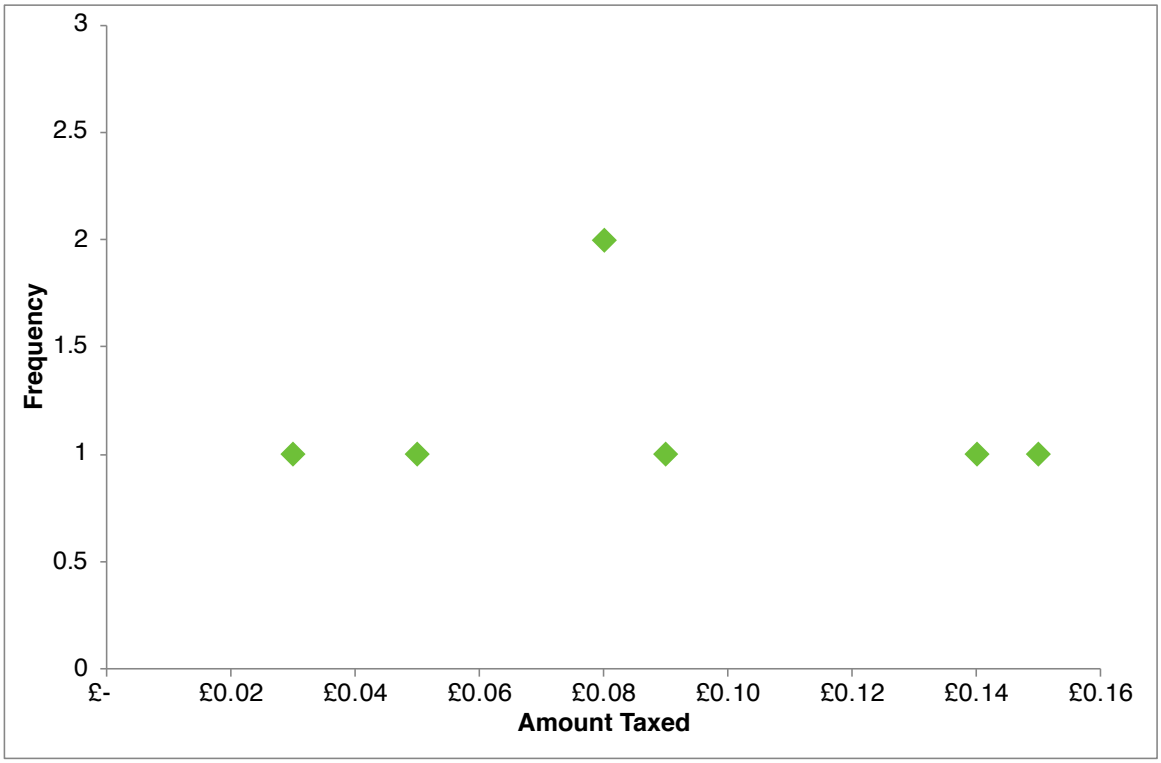
[115] TNA E101/78/4a m4; TNA E101/78/9 m1; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 132; TNA C47/2/35 m2; TNA E36/204, p. 232; *The Medieval Essex Community: The Lay Subsidy of 1327*, ed. by Jennifer C. Ward, Essex Historical Documents, 1 (Essex: Essex Record Office, 1983), p. 15.
[116] TNA E101/78/8 m2; Jennifer C. Ward, p. 17.

Table 3.23: Top Ten Most Taxed Essex Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	Town	Amount Taxed			(% total)
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Colchester*	26	2	9	(17)
2	Barking*	22	15	0¾	(14.8)
3	Writtle	17	15	6	(11.6)
4	Waltham Holy Cross	17	9	8¾	(11.4)
5	Havering atte Bower	15	19	4	(10.4)
6	East Hanningfield	11	7	0	(7.4)
7	West Ham	11	1	1¾	(7.2)
8	Hatfield Broad Oak	10	12	4¾	(6.9)
9	Prittlewell and Milton*	10	11	9¾	(6.9)
10	Finchingfield	9	11	4¾	(6.2)
Total		**153**	**6**	**3**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

Figure 3.22: Essex Distribution, Lay Subsidy Matches



The frequency chart for Essex shows that there was a uniform spread of wealth in Essex during this time. There is no single tax amount that is significantly higher than the others, showing that the tax amounts were varied and relatively even (Figure 3.22). This can be even more clearly seen when dividing them into brackets: two shipmasters are in the 'low' category, four in the 'mid', and one in the 'high'.

Unlike Sussex and Kent, Essex does not have the explanation of a large number of Cinque Ports to elucidate why there are so few mariners represented in the Poll Taxes, as the only town that was a part of the coalition was Brightlingsea. The Poll Taxes from 1381 in Essex are incomplete, often missing taxation amounts, which indicates the disparity comes from the survival of documents. Ralph Fot was taxed 2*s.* (£0.10),[117] placing him in the 'high' taxation bracket. Thomas Kyl, while taxed a slightly lower amount of 18*d.* (£0.08), was at the higher end of the 'mid' bracket.[118] Both were found through the Poll Taxes, listed as a *mercator* and *piscator* respectively. The mean (average), £0.09, is an accurate average for the county, as the two tax amounts were so close to one another.

[117] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 218.
[118] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 216.

Suffolk

Table 3.24: Top Ten Most Taxed Suffolk Towns, 1334

Suffolk in 1327[a]		Suffolk in 1332[a]		Suffolk in 1334[b]	
Town	No. Taxpayers	Town	Taxable Wealth	Town	Amount Taxed
Ipswich*	235	Ipswich*	£64 10*s.*	Ipswich*	£64 10*s.* 6*d.*
Beccles*	205	Bury St Edmonds	£24 0*s.*	Bury St. Edmunds	£24
Bury St Edmonds	167	Sudbury	£18 14*s.*	Sudbury	£18 14*s*
Sudbury	167	Beccles*	£14 4*s.* 3*d.*	South Elmham	£14 13*s.* 3½*d.*
Hoxne	123	Exning	£14 4*s.* 2*d.*	Beccles*	£14 4*s.* 3*d.*
Exning	80	Dunwich*	£12 0*s.*	Dunwich*	£12
Hadleigh	76	Mildenhall	£11 10*s.*	Mildenhall	£11 10*s.* 0¾*d.*
Mildenhall	71	Hoxne	£11 0*s.* 8*d.*	Hoxne with Denham	£11 0*s.* 8*d.*
Northales	71	Orford*	£10 0*s.*	Orford*	£10
Orford*	69	Northales	£9 0*s.*	Covehithe*	£9
Total	**1264**	**Total**	**£189 3*s.* 7*d.***	**Total**	**£181 15*s.***
Port Cities	**509 (40%)**	**Port Cities**	**£100 14*s.* 9*d.* (53%)**	**Port Cities**	**£109 14*s.* 9*d.* (58%)**

[a]Mark Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Boydell & Brewer Ltd, 2010), p. 128.
[b]*The Lay Subsidy of 1334*, ed. by Robin E. Glasscock (London: Oxford UP, 1975).

As can be seen from Table 3.24 above, ports usually formed socio-economic centres within their counties. Suffolk, much like the rest of England in the fourteenth century, was primarily agrarian in nature. However, it is clear from Table 3.24 that port towns made up a high percentage of the counties' taxpayers, especially the larger port towns of Ipswich, Orford and Dunwich. Not only was Ipswich the largest town in Suffolk, but it was also one of the more important towns in all of England: in the 1334 Lay Subsidy, Ipswich was ranked 11th.[119] The added aspect of maritime trade (bolstered by its safe, large harbour) helped make Ipswich the largest town in Suffolk. Ipswich was comfortably the richest town in Suffolk in 1327, with the margin between itself and the next largest towns (Beccles and Bury St Edmunds, respectively) growing from 1327 to 1332. In fact, by 1332, the ports in Table 3.21 make up over half of the counties' taxable wealth and by 1334 they reached nearly sixty percent. Ipswich, as well as to a less extent Dunwich and Orford, were each centres of a wide variety of trade, including wool and grain. However, each port had its own significance. With many specialist tanners residing in the city, Ipswich was the centre of

[119] Glasscock.

the leather trade. In addition to leather, the city also traded in 'wine, ale, herrings, hides, linen and canvas cloth, wool, millstones and salt'.[120] In addition to being the largest town and port in Suffolk, Ipswich also served as the 'centre of the county's administration and system of justice'.[121] Dunwich and Beccles existed only because of the herring trade, for which they were established. Orford was a military stronghold. The smaller port towns of Orwell and Gosford on the Deben Estuary, both of which no longer exist today, relied heavily on importing German and French wine.[122]

Suffolk, on the eastern coast, is roughly the same size as Dorset and Essex. Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds were consistently in the top three towns for Suffolk, with port cities representing fifty-three percent of taxable wealth for the top ten towns.[123] The chief industry for Suffolk was cloth-making, centred in Bury St Edmunds and the surrounding area, as it was the 'chief manufacturing district' of England.[124] Fishing and shipping were also important. There were herring, mackerel, cod, and ling fisheries operating out of many towns in Suffolk, such as Lowestoft and Dunwich.[125] One aspect that Suffolk had to contend with that few other counties did was sea erosion, specifically in the case of Dunwich, which was falling into the sea.

Dunwich was built in a protected harbour at the mouth of the estuary of the Dunwich and Blyth rivers. It flourished thanks to its access to fishing and trade routes, mainly to the Low Countries, Germany, and France, but also occasionally to Spain and Iceland. The town was also a centre for shipbuilding and through this heavily supported the king's navy (Table 3.25). However, there are records from as early as the Domesday Book that reference the loss of land Dunwich had to contend with. For example, in 1328, '375 out of 400 houses were lost from the parishes of St Leonards, St Martins and St Bartholomew'.[126] The loss of land lead to inhabitants leaving the city and surrounding countryside, which led to a reduction in farm rents. There were also high costs associated with the rebuilding of the town, repairs to the infrastructure, and the cost of fixing sea defences. All of these factors contributed to the decline of the town throughout the fourteenth century. Today, Dunwich harbour is isolated from the sea by a spit that began to form in the Middle Ages.[127] Suffolk mariners mainly focused on coastal shipping and fishing.

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[120] Mark Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk: An Economic and Social History, 1200-1500* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010), p. 130.
[121] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, pp. 129–30.
[122] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 130.
[123] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 128.
[124] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Suffolk* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), II, pp. 249, 254.
[125] *A History of Suffolk*, II, p. 249.
[126] D. A. Sear and others, 'Cartographic, Geophysical and Diver Surveys of the Medieval Town Site at Dunwich, Suffolk, England', *IJMH*, 40.1 (2011), 113–32 (p. 3).
[127] See Appendix 2 for map of Dunwich's coastal erosion over the centuries.

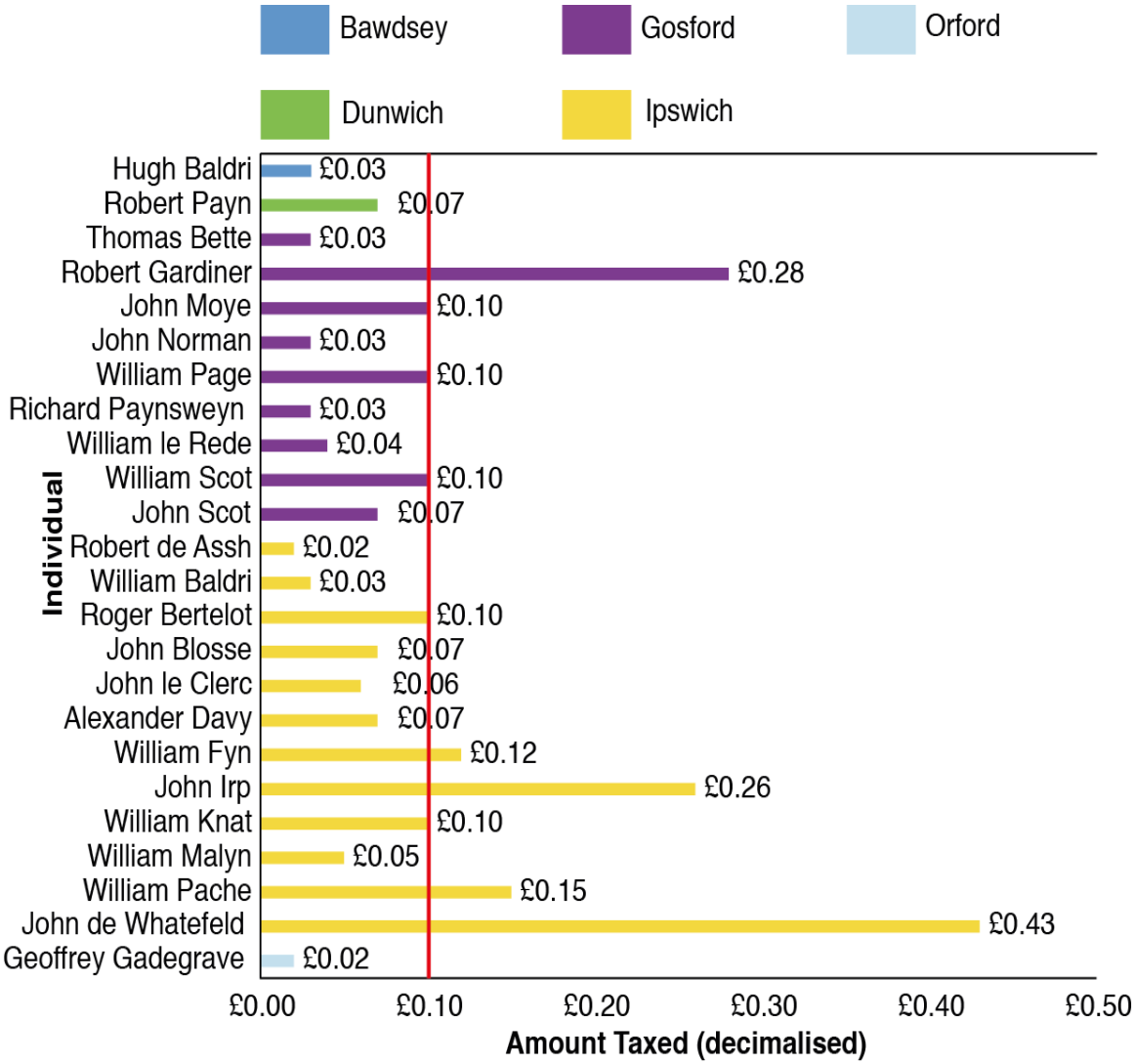
Table 3.25: Suffolk Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded
Gosford	112 (26)
Bawdsey	40 (9)
Dunwich	43 (10)
Ipswich	215 (50)
Little Yarmouth	5 (1)
Lowestoft	12 (3)
Orford	6 (1)
Total	**433**

If an individual owned more than one property during the time of the Lay Subsidies, he was taxed for each property. As such, John de Whatefeld[128] is by far the richest man matched in Suffolk during 1327. While he sailed from Ipswich, he was taxed in 1327 for two properties each roughly three miles outside Ipswich: one in Sproughton for 2*s.* (£0.10)[129] and one in Branford for 6*s.* 8*d.* (£0.33),[130]for a total of 8*s.* 8*d*. (£0.43). Robert Gardiner[131], William Fyn[132], and John de Whatefeld[133] were also taxed for multiple properties, putting both of them over the county mean (average) of £0.10 (see Figure 3.23). Gardiner's properties were in Aldertone, Boytone, and Baudresseye; Fyn's were in Belingges Magna and Kessegrave; and de Whatefeld's were in Brannford and Sprouton. On the other end of the spectrum was Robert de Assh and Geoffrey Gadegrave of Ipswich and Orford, respectively, who were taxed 6*d.* (£0.02).[134] While all towns but Orford and Bawdsey were in the 'mid' category on a national level, only Ipswich's average was above the Suffolk-county average.

[128] TNA E101/16/40 m1.
[129] Booth, II, p. 9.
[130] Booth, II, p. 18.
[131] TNA E101/25/9; Booth, II, pp. 112–13.
[132] TNA E101/78/10a m2; Booth, II, pp. 119, 121.
[133] TNA E101/25/9; Booth, II, pp. 112–13.
[134] TNA C47/2/35 m2; TNA E36/204, p. 232; 'E101/26/18'; TNA E101/612/40; TNA E101/23/22, roll 1; Booth, II, pp. 8, 221.

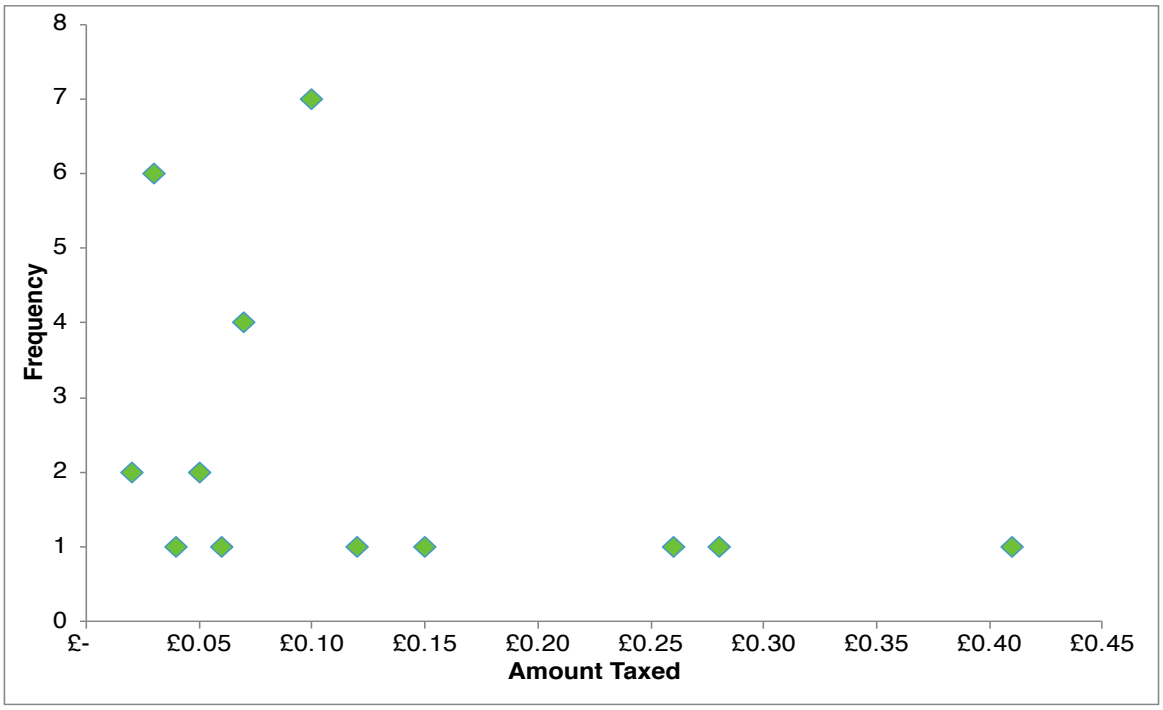
Figure 3.23: Suffolk Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches



It would appear that, as shown in Figure 3.24, the majority of Suffolk's mariners fall into the 'mid' taxation bracket, closely followed by the 'low' bracket, with four shipmasters in the 'high' category. John Irp,[135] however, was the richest man who was taxed for only one property, in Ipswich, at 5*s.* 1.75*d.* (£0.26).[136] Suffolk has a relatively high standard deviation, at £0.10, indicating that there were those who fell far below and far above the mean (average), such as Robert de Assh and John de Whatefeld as featured above.[137] As can be seen, mariners' wealth within each county varied greatly, and therefore when comparing county to county, though the mean (average) results are often the same, the degree of variability can often differ.

[135] 'E101/16/40' m1.
[136] Booth, II, p. 76.
[137] 'E101/26/18' m1; 'E101/612/40'; 'E101/23/22', roll 1; 'E101/16/40' m1.

Figure 3.24: Suffolk Distribution, Lay Subsidy Matches

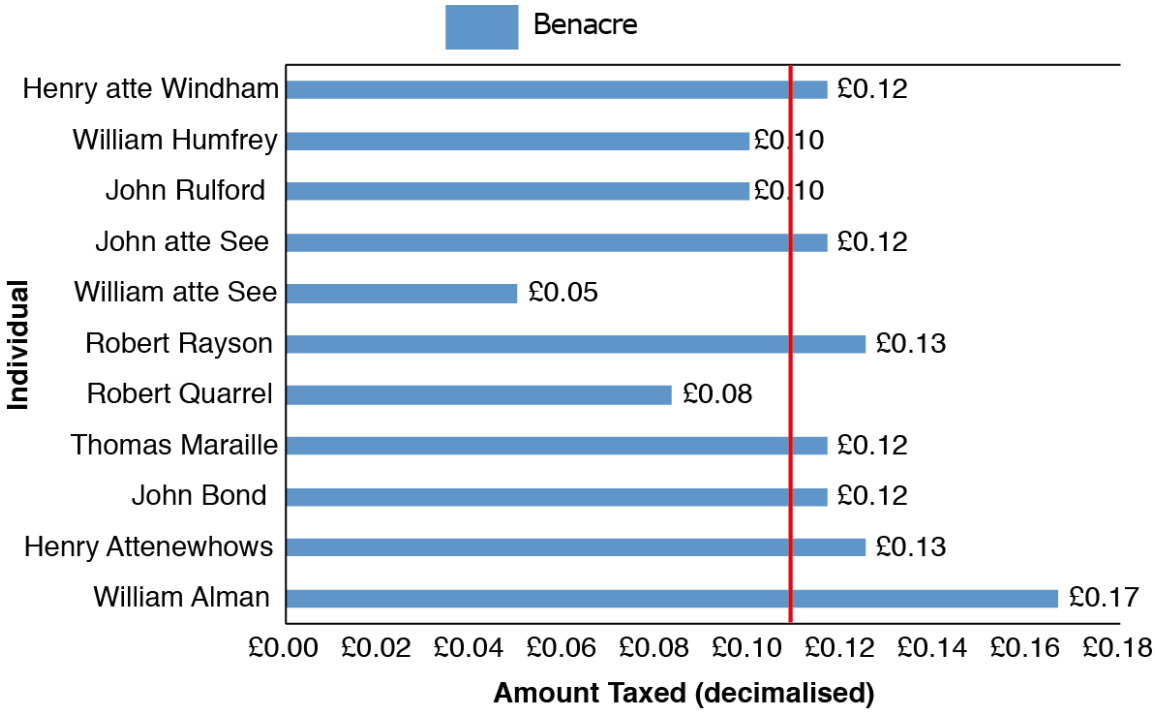


After the Black Death, Suffolk's wool textile manufacturing grew in importance, allowing the county's trade overseas to the Baltic and south-west France to expand with it.[138] Furthermore, the fishing industry in Suffolk during this period is thought to have remained strong, even going so far as to break the hold that Yarmouth had over the herring trade (though the fish industry in Yarmouth was also severely declining at the time).[139] As for shipping during this time period, Ipswich remained the most important port, shouldering fifty-five percent of voyages leaving from Suffolk ports. Interestingly, Dunwich was still operating as a port, despite the documented coastal erosion the town was experiencing.

Of the eleven mariners identified in the Suffolk Poll Taxes, all of whom were from Benacre, Henry ate Windham was taxed the least amount at 12*d.* (£0.05)[140] and William Alman was taxed the most at 3*s.* 4*d.* (£0.17, see Figure 3.25).[141] Both were listed as fishermen (*piscator*), and the records also specified that Windham was unmarried. The mean (average) for Suffolk is £0.11 and the majority of those taxed fell above this amount. The standard deviation is £0.03, showing that there is little variation. Despite a high number of matches, Suffolk's seafarers were taxed at more than double the county mean, perhaps showing that those counties with similar results, but a low match count, are still accurately representing seafarers in those counties (such as that in Essex).

[138] Bailey, *Medieval Suffolk*, p. 270.
[139] G. Booth, *Suffolk in 1327: Being a Subsidy Return*, XI (Woodbridge: Suffolk Green Books, 1906), II, p. 277; Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries'.
[140] Fenwick, II, p. 510.
[141] Fenwick, II, p. 501.

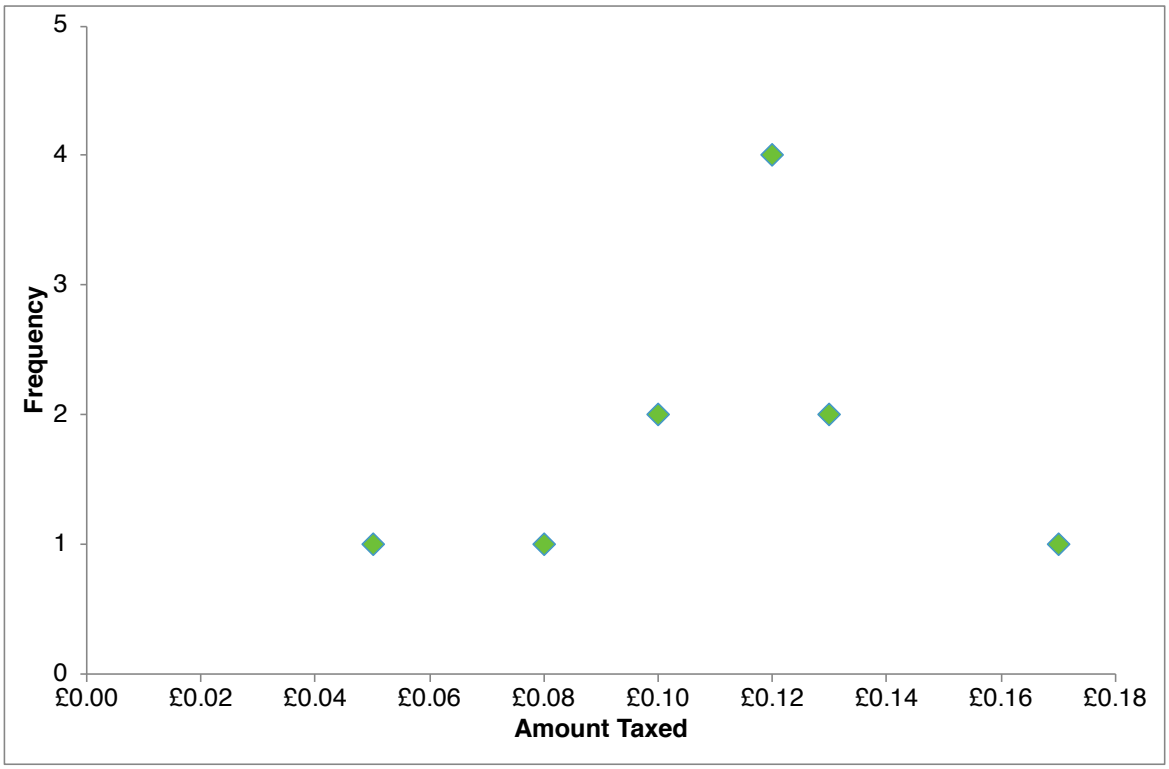
Figure 3.25: Suffolk Mariners, Poll Tax Matches



It can be seen in Figure 3.26 that Suffolk mariners for the most part fell at the higher levels of wealth, with almost all taxpayers falling between £0.09 and £0.14, and only two seafarers in the 'mid' bracket. Furthermore, it is interesting that there is no one at all that was taxed below £0.05. All of the men taxed were listed as *piscator*, with the exception of one match, John Waryn, from Hadleigh. However, the choice has been made to leave him out of the data for Suffolk. While Waryn matches up in all required areas (name, town-port radius), the added aspect of occupational information makes it hard to determine whether or not this John Waryn is the same John Waryn who sailed out of Ipswich. He is listed as *operator* in the Poll Taxes, which translates as a 'workman'. It is possible that at this point Waryn was serving in another capacity, or that they are not the same man.[142]

[142] 'E101/29/1'; Fenwick, II, p. 513; *The Poll Taxes of 1377, 1379, and 1381: Part 3 Wiltshire-Yorkshire*, ed. by Carolyn C. Fenwick, Records of Social and Economic History, 3 vols (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1998), III, p. 602.

Figure 3.26: Suffolk Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



Norfolk

Norfolk is situated in East Anglia. It has a rich record of shipping data owing to the large numbers of ships its ports contributed to the English wars against Scotland and France at this time. The three largest cities—Norwich, Great Yarmouth, and King's Lynn—were all major ports that traded the goods made throughout the county; namely, textiles, such as cloth, woollens, and leather, since the 'coastal industry remained close to the farming world'.[143] Although, cloth-making replaced leather making in Norwich during the first half of the fourteenth century.[144] However, only Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn showed significant numbers of requisitioned ships throughout the century (Table 326). The fact that Norwich makes up only just under two percent of ships requisitioned from Norfolk can be explained by the fact that Great Yarmouth was used by Norwich as an out-port. The dominance of Great Yarmouth as a Norfolk port implies that there was a wide range of maritime occupations operating out of it. Great Yarmouth and King's Lynn were both utilised by Crown requisitioners. Not only were they important ports in Norfolk, they also helped make Norfolk one the most important counties in England, as in the 1334 Lay Subsidy, Great Yarmouth was ranked fifth, Norwich sixth, and King's Lynn sixteenth overall (Table 3.27).[145] The top three most taxed towns are all major ports in the county, making up just over fifty percent of the total tax collected from the top ten towns. Combined with the smaller coastal towns and ports, maritime-based towns make up nearly seventy-five percent.

Table 3.26: Norfolk Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Scotmouth	1 (0.1)
Blakeney	29 (3.5)
Brancaster	2 (0.2)
Cley Next the Sea	12 (1.5)
Greay Yarmouth	382 (46)
Heacham	5 (0.5)
King's Lynn	373 (44.5)
Norwich	15 (1.7)
Salthouse	8 (0.9)
Snettisham	8 (0.9)
Total	**835**

[143] Miller and Hatcher, p. 5.
[144] Miller and Hatcher, p. 122.
[145] Glasscock.

Table 3.27: Top Ten Most Taxed Norfolk Towns, 1334

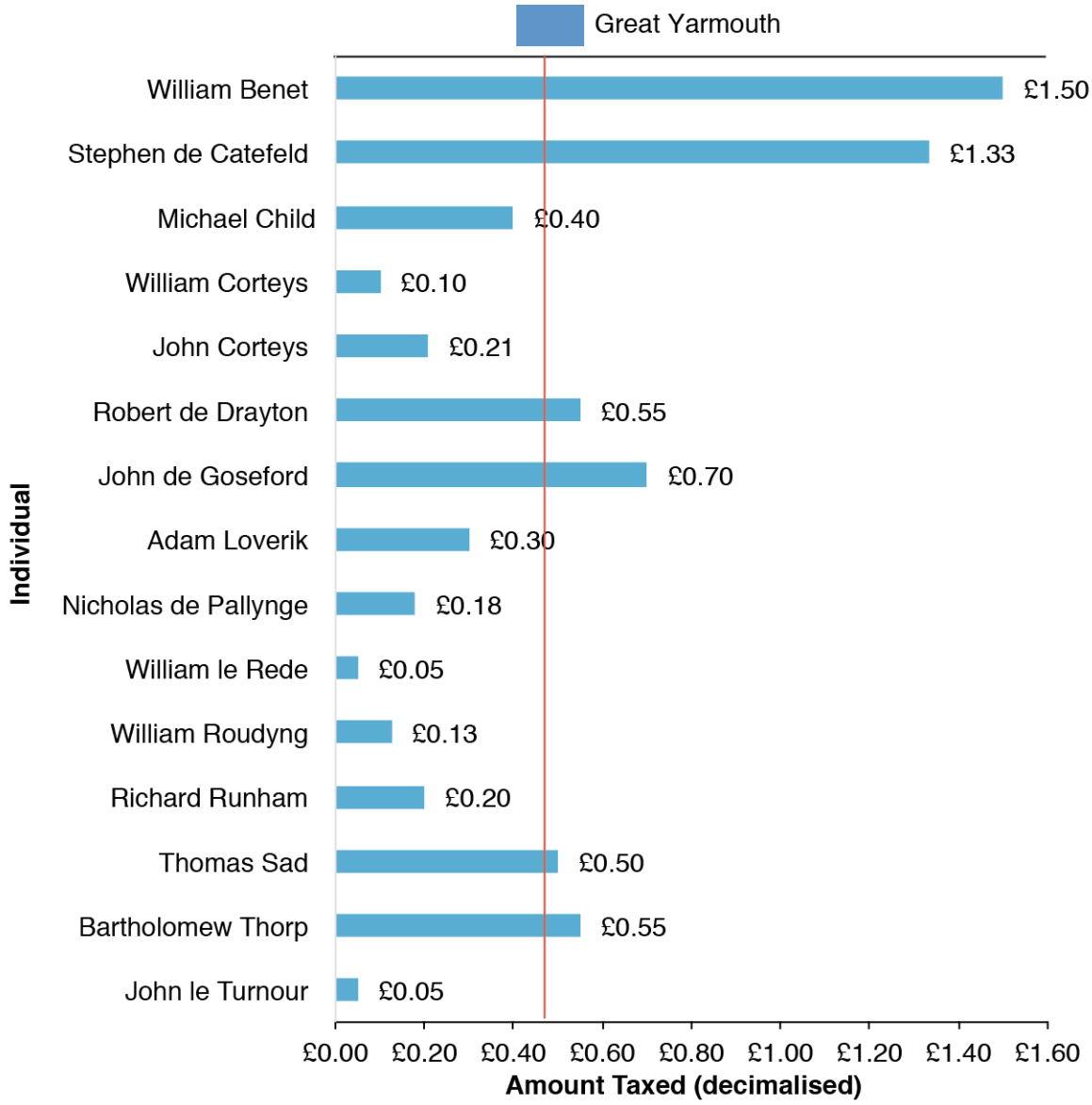
Tax Amount Ranking	Town	Amount Taxed			(% total)
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Great Yarmouth*	100	0	0	(21.9)
2	Norwich*	94	12	0	(20.7)
3	King's Lynn*	50	0	0	(10.9)
4	Terrington	40	9	0	(8.9)
5	Wiggenhall*	37	0	0	(8.1)
6	Walpole*	35	10	0	(7.8)
7	Tilney	30	0	0	(6.6)
8	Walsoken	26	8	0	(5.8)
9	West Walton*	23	0	0	(5)
10	Swaffham	20	0	0	(4.4)
Total		**456**	**18**	**11**	**74%**

**indicates port or coastal town*

As can be seen in Figure 3.17 below, the lowest tax amount for the Lay Subsidies was for 8*d.* (£0.05) from John le Turnour[146] and William le Rede.[147] The highest, however, is thirty-times higher than Turnour and Rede's tax amount, at 30*s.* (£1.50) from William Benet.[148] The mean (average) for the county is high. at £0.52, possibly due to the fact that the data is slightly skewed. The taxation amounts for William Benet and Stephen de Catefeld[149] push the mean up, making it seem as though the shipmasters in Norfolk were better off on average. When taking their extremely high amounts out of the equation, the mean (average) is $0.36—an amount that is still quite high (Figure 3.27). However, as in Devon, Hampshire, and Kent, the standard deviation here is high, at £0.43, showing that the mean (average) is not necessarily indicative to the overall wealth of the majority of the county. However, Norfolk differs from counties like Hampshire in that all the matches came from one town, namely Great Yarmouth. It should be mentioned that the King's Lynn subsidy return was too faded to be of use. That is not to say that Norfolk, and Great Yarmouth in particular, did not have a wide-range of taxation amounts, only that the vast majority—nearly seventy-five percent—were in the 'high' range.

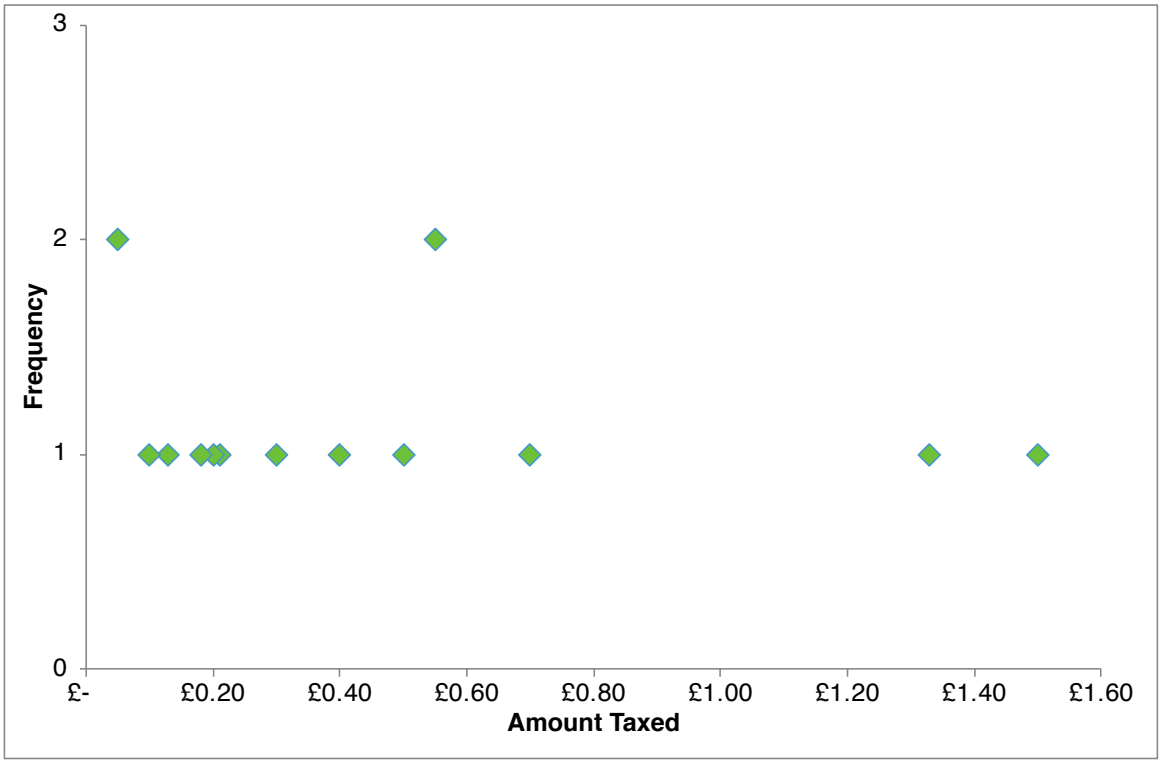
[146] *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1307-49*, II, p. 45; *The Inhabitants of Norfolk in the Fourteenth Century: The Lay Subsidies 1327 and 1332 Preserved in the Public Record Office: 42,000 Names and Payments*, ed. by Timothy Hawes (Noriwch: Hawes Books, 2000), p. 195.
[147] Lyte, *CPR 1338-1340*, p. 492; Hawes, p. 196.
[148] TNA E101/78/4a m4; TNA E101/78/5 m5; Hawes, p. 196.
[149] Lyte, *CPR 1327-1330*, p. 104.

Figure 3.27: Norfolk Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches



Norfolk differs from Hampshire as there are multiple taxpayers paying large sums of money, rather than just one. The amount of tax is more varied in Norfolk than many of the other counties as well, with few people being taxed the same amount, as can be seen in Figure 3.28. Even with the varied taxation amounts, four people were in the 'low' and 'mid' brackets and eleven were in the 'high', showing that even with slightly skewed data the majority of shipmasters in Norfolk were taxed at a high amount. Additionally, it demonstrates that the wealth of seafarers can vary significantly not only within a county, but also within a city.

Figure 3.28: Norfolk Distribution, Lay Subsidy Matches

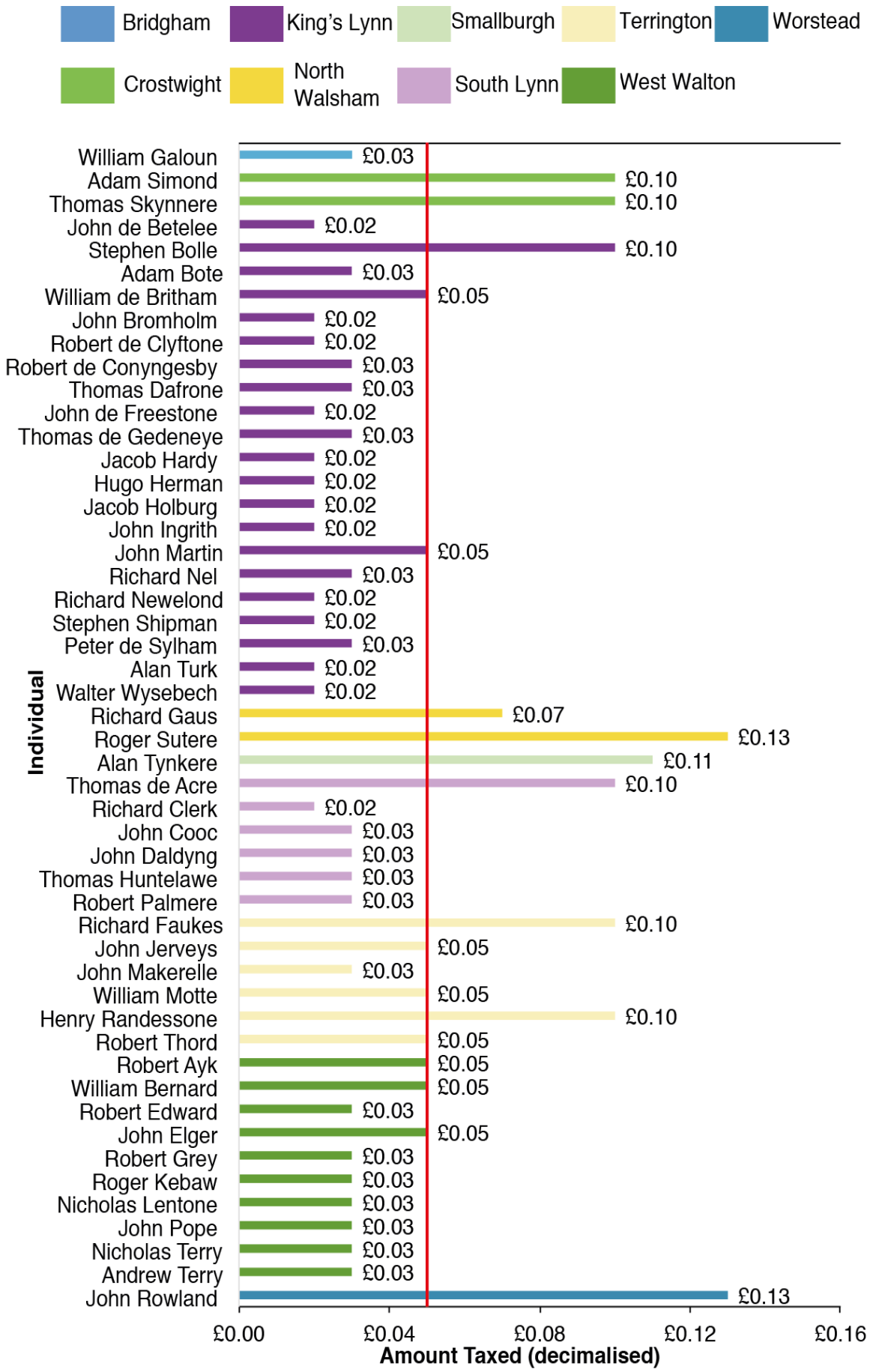


There were fifty-one seafarers identified in the Norfolk Poll Taxes, made up of a mixture of matches to foundation records and of identifications made from occupational data. However, it should be noted that despite the mixture of skilled shipmasters and ordinary mariners, King's-Lynn shipmasters were in the top six percent of all taxpayers.[150] There were thirteen men taxed at the lowest amount, 4*d.* (£0.02): John de Betelee, John Bromholm, Richard Clerk, Robert de Clyftone, John de Freestone, Jacob Hardy, Hugo Herman, Jacob Holburg, John Ingrith, Richard Newelond, Stephen Shipman, Alan Turk, and Walter Wysebech, almost all of whom are listed as *maryners coniugati* or 'married mariner' (see Figure 3.41).[151] Of these men, John Ingrith is the only one for whom foundational records exist.[152] Ingrith proves to be an interesting case, as the owner of his ship is listed as William Ingrith, who is possibly his father or an uncle. John Rowland a 'shipman' and Roger Sutere a *nauta* or 'sailor' were both taxed the highest amount, 2*s* 6*d.* (£0.13).[153] The mean (average) for Norfolk is £0.05, with only ten of the fifty-one listed taxed more than the average. The standard deviation is low, at £0.03, which shows that the tax amounts do not vary much. With its high number of matches, Norwich's comparison to the entire county shows that those counties where mariners stood far above their peers are skewed

[150] Lambert and Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 173.
[151] Fenwick, II, pp. 95, 182–85.
[152] 'E101/42/22'.
[153] Fenwick, II, p. 198.

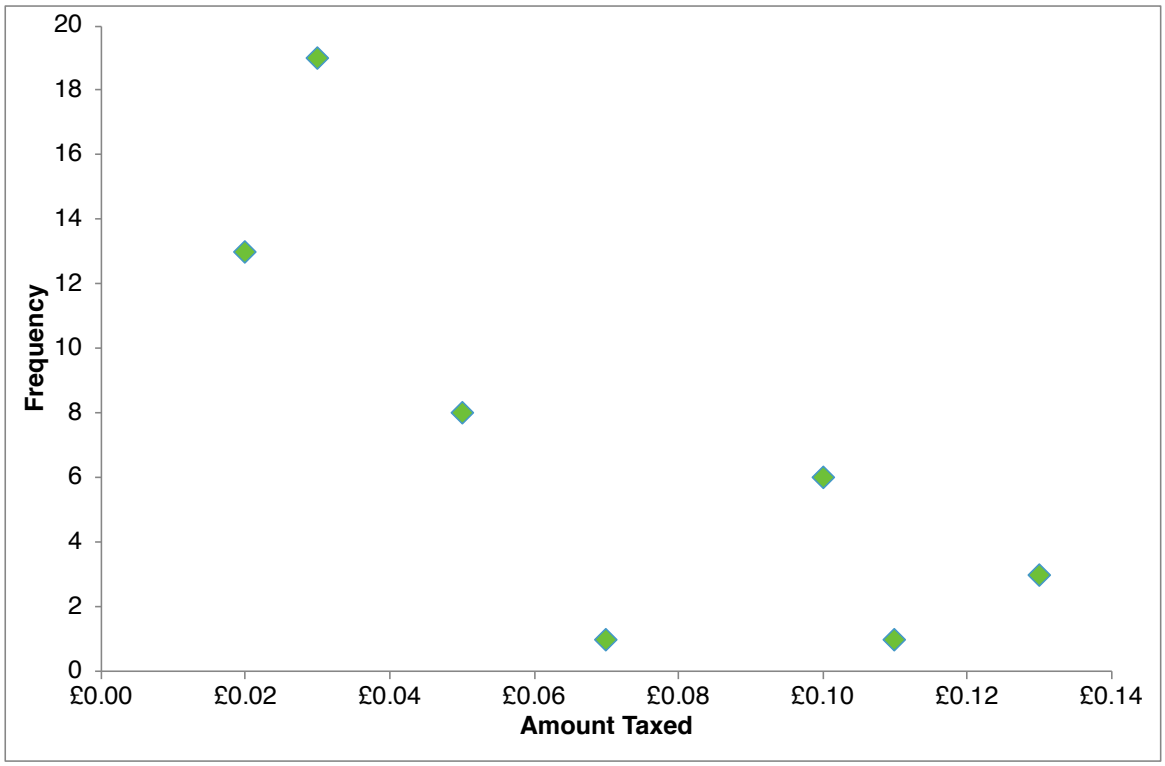
by a lack of matches, as the mean for Norwich is only very slightly above that for the rest of the county. Alternatively, it could simply suggest that seafarers in Norfolk were not as wealthy as the southwestern counties during this period. Half of the towns in Norfolk were taxed higher than the mean: Terrington, Crostwight, North Walsham, Smallburgh, and Worstead. The seafarers from Worstead had the highest average taxation amount, although there was only one seafarer found. In fact, of these five towns, only Terrington had more than two taxpayers matched, which means that the high amounts of the other towns might not be indicative of the actual taxation amounts of seafarers living there.

Figure 3.29: Norfolk Mariners, Poll Tax Matches



Norfolk's frequency chart (Figure 3.30) shows that the majority of seafarers from Norfolk in the latter half of the century fell within the 'low' tax brackets, with thirty-two seafarers having been taxed 6*d.* (£0.03) or less. Nine seafarers were within the 'mid' taxation bracket and ten were in the 'high' category. While it could be argued that there were more seafarers in the 'low' category because there is a mixture of ordinary mariners and shipmasters, of the four known shipmasters there are three who were in the 'low' bracket and one in the 'mid' category. It would be expected that shipmasters would be taxed more as their profession was more specialised than a fisherman or mariner, so it could be that those ten people that were taxed higher than 1*s.* 8*d.* (£0.08) were indeed shipmasters in addition to their listed occupation.

Figure 3.30: Norfolk Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



Lincolnshire

Table 3.28: Lincolnshire Naval Voyages, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Barton-upon-Humber	62 (13)
Boston	119 (25.5)
Grainthorpe	7 (1.5)
Grimsby	171 (37)
Lincoln	13 (3)
Saltfleet	65 (14)
Surfleet	11 (2)
Wainfleet	19 (4)
Total	**467**

Lincolnshire is an eastern county that is roughly the same size as Devon, at about 2,700 mi^2. The main industries seen in Lincolnshire were wool, mining, and deep-sea fishing. Boston and Grimsby were the main ports due to their fishing activity, and as can be seen, they also had the most naval requisitions throughout the century (Table 3.28). Lincoln and Boston were ranked quite high in the 1334 Lay Subsidies, at fifth and ninth, with Barton-upon-Humber eighty-fourth.[154] They both make up forty percent of the top ten most taxed towns in Lincolnshire (Table 3.26). By including towns such as Spalding, another thirty-one percent of the tax collected can be attributed to maritime towns.

The sample size for Lincolnshire is small, making it difficult to talk about the Lay Subsidies from this county in too much detail. John Grene was taxed 1*s.* 9.75*d.* (£0.09) and Richard Warine was taxed 1*s.* 3*d.* (£0.06);[155] the mean (average) is therefore £0.075. Both Grene and Warine were in the 'mid' taxation bracket. There were no matches made in the Poll Taxes.

[154] Glasscock.
[155] D.A. Postles, 'Lincolnshire Lay Subsidy, 1332', 2001 <http://www.historicalresources.myzen.co.uk/LINC/lincers.html>; TNA E122/193/8 m3; TNA E101/78/4a m4.

Table 3.29: Top Ten Most Taxed Lincolnshire Towns, 1334

Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Lincoln*	100	0	0	(23.3)
2	Boston*	73	6	8	(17.1)
3	Pinchbeck*	45	0	0	(10.5)
4	Spalding*	42	0	0	(9.8)
5	Holbeach	33	0	0	(7.7)
6	Whaplode	32	0	0	(7.4)
7	Moulton	31	0	0	(7.2)
8	Kirton	27	10	0	(6.4)
9	Sutton St. James*	25	0	0	(5.8)
10	Old Leake*	21	0	0	(4.9)
Total		**429**	**16**	**6**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

Yorkshire

Table 3.30: Yorkshire Shipping, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Doncaster	5 (.95)
Faxfleet	11 (2)
Hedon	14 (2.7)
Hull	396 (75.7)
Ravenser	13 (2.5)
Scarborough	10 (2)
Selby	5 (.95)
Sternthorp	1 (0.1)
Withernsea	3 (0.5)
York	65 (12.5)
Total	**523**

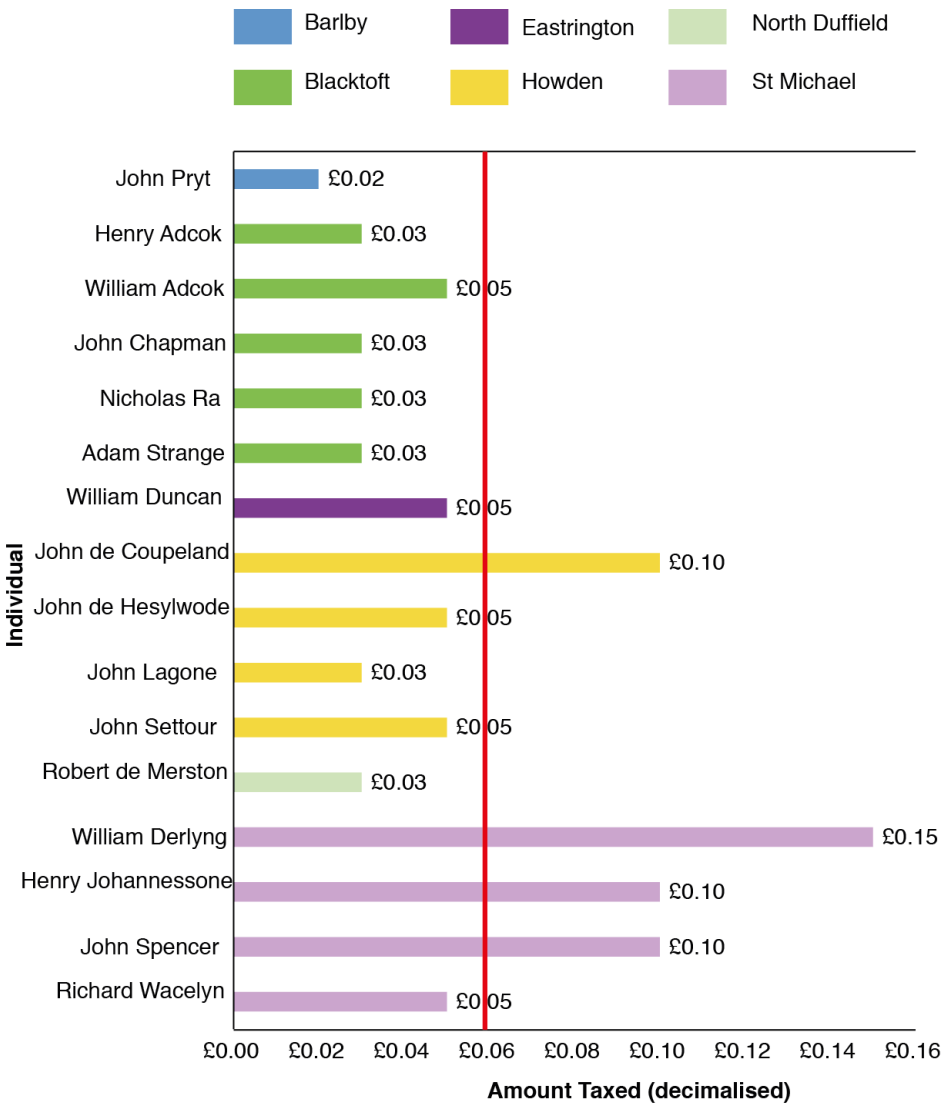
Yorkshire is a very large county in the north-east of England. York and Hull were the most important towns, with York being consistently more powerful.[156] Industry in Yorkshire was varied: iron working, tile-making, salt-making, and stone quarrying were all trades in the county.[157] What makes Yorkshire somewhat unique from other counties is the huge influence monasteries had over the social and economic fabric of the county. This is not to say that other counties were not influenced by religious orders, but they played an especially huge role in Yorkshire. Whitby Abbey, of the Benedictine Order, for instance, had a foothold in the herring industry. Furthermore, monastic wool dominated the wool trade in Yorkshire, and the 'incentive to Italian, and later English merchants, to take a share in it was great'.[158] As for shipping, Whitby and Scarborough developed quickly throughout the fourteenth century. Hull can definitively be called the most important port town for Yorkshire, with over seventy-five percent of naval requisitions coming from there during the fourteenth century, as shown in Table 3.34. Ravenser had only 2.5% of requisitions, probably because of the fact that it was washed away by a storm in 1340 leading to its decline in requisitions and the removal of ships to Hull.[159] Yorkshire

[156] Bryan Waites, 'The Monasteries and the Medieval Development of North-East Yorkshire.', *HR*, 31.84 (1958), 231–34 (pp. 232–33).
[157] Bryan Waites, 'Medieval Iron Working in Northeast Yorkshire', *Geography*, 49 (1964), 33–43; J. Stopford, 'The Organisation of the Medieval Tile Industry', *Oxford Journal of Archaeology*, 11.3 (1992), 341–63; Stephen Moorhouse, 'The Quarrying of Building Stone and Stone Artefacts in Medieval Yorkshire: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach', in *Arts and Crafts in Medieval Rural Environment*, ed. by Jan Klápště and Petr Sommer, Ruralia (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), VI, 295–319; Waites, 'The Monasteries and the Medieval Development of North-East Yorkshire.'
[158] Waites, 'The Monasteries and the Medieval Development of North-East Yorkshire.', p. 234.
[159] John Murray, *Handbook for Travellers in Yorkshire. With Map and Plans* (London: John Murray, 1867), p. 104.

manuscripts have not survived well, which means no matches could be made in the Lay Subsidies.

There were sixteen identifications made in the Yorkshire Poll Taxes, as can be seen in Figure 3.43. John Pryt, a fisherman, was taxed the lowest amount at 4*d.* (£0.02).[160] William Derlyng, a 'maryner', on the other hand, was taxed the highest amount at 3*s.* (£0.15). It is important to note that of those listed as a 'fyssher' in the Poll Taxes, only one person—John de Coupeland—was taxed more than 12*d.* (£0.05).[161]

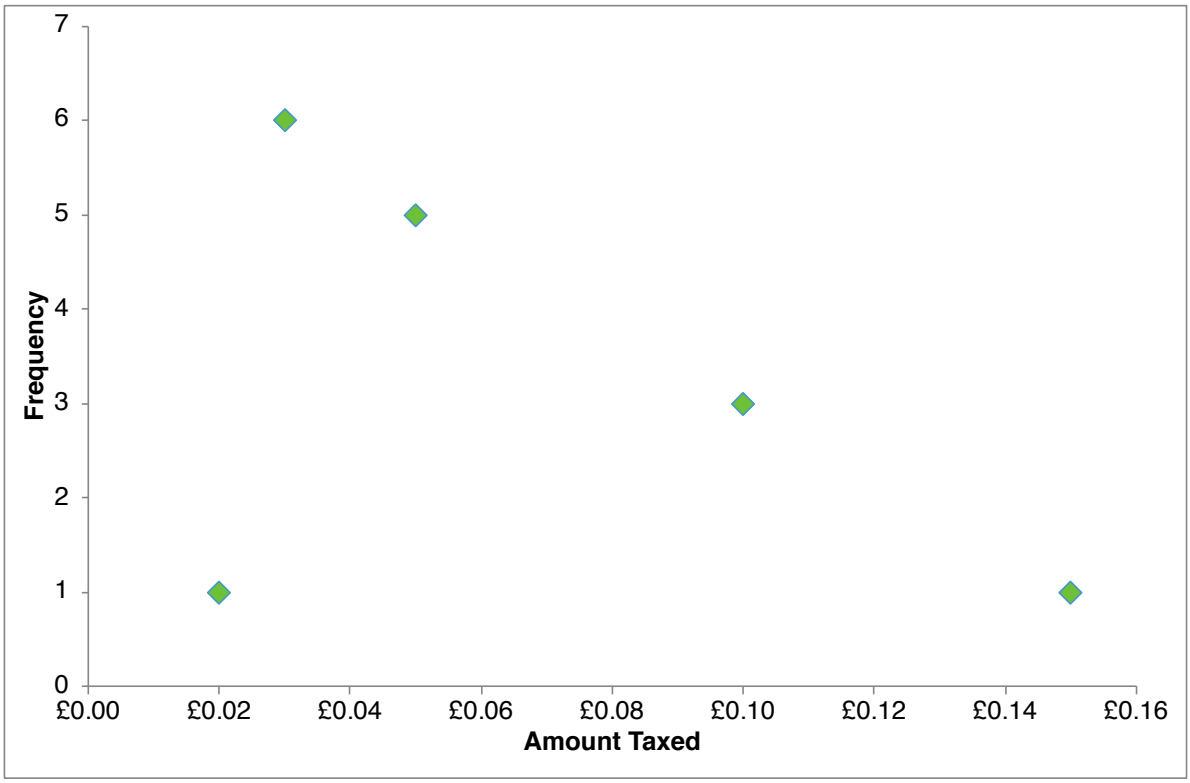
Figure 3.31: Yorkshire Mariners, Poll Tax Matches



[160] Fenwick, III, p. 203.
[161] Fenwick, III, pp. 195, 200, 203.

The standard deviation for Yorkshire is £0.04 and the average is £0.06. Many of the seafarers in the individual towns in Yorkshire were not taxed higher than the overall county mean. In fact, with only one town—St Michael—above the mean, the low standard of deviation is made very clear. Therefore, the majority of taxpayers fall below the mean (average) of £0.06 (Figure 3.31). Since there is littler variability in the taxation amounts, the standard deviation is relatively low at £0.04. This lack of variability, as well as the higher number of seafarers in the 'low' tax bracket, can be clearly seen in Figure 3.35. The frequency plot shows that the most frequently taxed mariners were relatively poor, as the majority of taxpayers were taxed at £0.05 or below. There was also a smaller group of richer men being taxed £0.10, placing them in the 'high' bracket.

Figure 3.32: Yorkshire Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



Lancashire

Table 3.31: Lancashire Shipping, 1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Lancaster	1 (2.5)
Liverpool	40 (97.5)
Total	**41**

Lancashire, on the north-western coast of England, is a small county roughly the same size as Gloucestershire. It was also a Palatinate county during the fourteenth century. Fisheries were the main source of income for Lancashire's economy. Towns like Barrow, Piel, and Roosebeck fished for mussels; Baycliff, Bardsea, and Ulverston for cockle and shrimp; and Bolton-le-Sands and Morecambe for mussels and shrimp. Liverpool was also a hub of shipping and fishing for the county. In addition to sea-based trades, Lancashire also dealt in coal and iron from south of the Ribble, farming, and wool.[162] As for shipping in Lancashire, Liverpool dominated with 97.5% of all voyages, according to the foundational records (Table 3.31). This pattern is the same as Bristol's domination of the Gloucestershire records. It is important to note that in this instance, the only foundational records for Lancashire were from the first half of the century. There are no usable, surviving Lay Subsidy records to try to match with foundational records.

There are no foundational record matches for the second half of the century; all of the seafarers located in the second half of the century were identified directly through the use of occupational information provided within the Poll Taxes. There was only one tax amount for Lancashire mariners during this time period: 12*d.* (£0.05), in the 'mid' bracket. All of the men identified from the Poll Tax occupational data were fishermen, or *piscator*. While having just one tax value for this county clearly shows that there was absolutely no variance between tax amounts, there is an interesting aspect to those who were taxed, Thomas Davy and William Davy. While it is impossible to know for sure, it would appear that these two men were related.

[162] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Lancaster*, ed. by William Farrer and J. Brownbill (London: Archibald Constable, 1906), pp. 351–409.

Gloucestershire

Table 3.32: Gloucestershire Naval Voyages,1300-1399

Home Port	Number of Voyages Recorded (%)
Berkeley	2 (1)
Bristol	205 (95.5)
Forest of Dean	5 (2)
Frampton-on-Severn	2 (1)
Gloucester	1 (.5)
Total	**215**

Gloucestershire is a smaller county on the western coast of England. Shipping and ship-related industry played a huge role in the economic makeup of Gloucestershire, due to Bristol's high volume of shipping and shipbuilding. The Forest of Dean had large quantities of iron, timber, and coal. Large amounts of timber that were 'goodly woodes fit for building of howses and shippes'[163] came from Ireland as well. These sources of timber highly contributed to Bristol's shipbuilding industry, where several hundred men were employed to build ships and manage the crafts.[164] In addition to maritime occupations, Gloucestershire also was involved in bell-founding, the wool industry, and mining. The mining took place in the valley between the Cotswolds and the Severn, and in the Forest of Dean.[165] The wool and cloth industries were especially important to seafarers in Bristol, one of the most influential ports in all of England.[166] Additionally, Bristol was active in the iron trade, where it often imported iron from Spain, which exported iron as a 'vein, mass or worked'.[167] In fact, by the fifteenth century, ninety-two percent of Bristol's iron imports were recorded as having come from Spain.[168] Table 3.32 shows that Bristol saw the most requisitions in the county by a significant amount more than any other port. This is unsurprising, due to the importance of Bristol as a port in Gloucestershire. Its importance to the Crown as a port becomes even clearer in the second-half of the century, as after 1369 Bristol was targeted by the Crown for ships more than previously. Table 3.31 shows that with the exception of 1380-1385, the period after 1369 has a much higher amount of ships in Royal service than previously seen. In fact, the number of ships from 1370-1375 is more than

[163] E.M. Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, Kindle (London: Routledge, 2010), l. 769.
[164] Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, loc. 501-1167.
[165] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Gloucestershire* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), p. 215.
[166] Carus-Wilson, *Medieval Merchant Venturers*, ll. 186–284.
[167] Childs, *Anglo-Castilian Trade in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 115.
[168] Wendy R. Childs, 'England's Iron Trade in the Fifteenth Century', *EHR*, 34.1 (1981), 25–43 (p. 35).

double that of 1360-1365. The lack of surviving Lay Subsidy records and incomplete Poll Tax records greatly affected the ability to match these foundational records with taxation records, however.

Table 3.33: Ships in Royal Service, 1350-1400[169]

Years	Bristol
1350-1355	0
1355-1360	5
1360-1365	17
1365-1370	11
1370-1375	39
1375-1380	40
1380-1385	8
1385-1390	27
1390-1395	21
1395-1400	28

[169] Christian D. Liddy, 'Urban Communities and the Crown: Relations between Bristol, York, and the Royal Government, 1350-1400' (University of York, 1999), p. 92.

Bristol was one of the highest ranked towns in England in 1334, second only to London. Gloucester was also ranked quite high at thirteenth, showing that Gloucestershire was a relatively powerful county as a whole.[170] In fact, the tax gathered from Bristol made up nearly fifty percent of the tax collected from these ten towns. In combination with other ports and coastal towns, seventy percent were from the maritime towns of Bristol, Gloucester, Barton Regis, and Wotton under Edge (Table 3.34).

Table 3.34: Top Ten Most Taxed Gloucestershire Towns, 1334

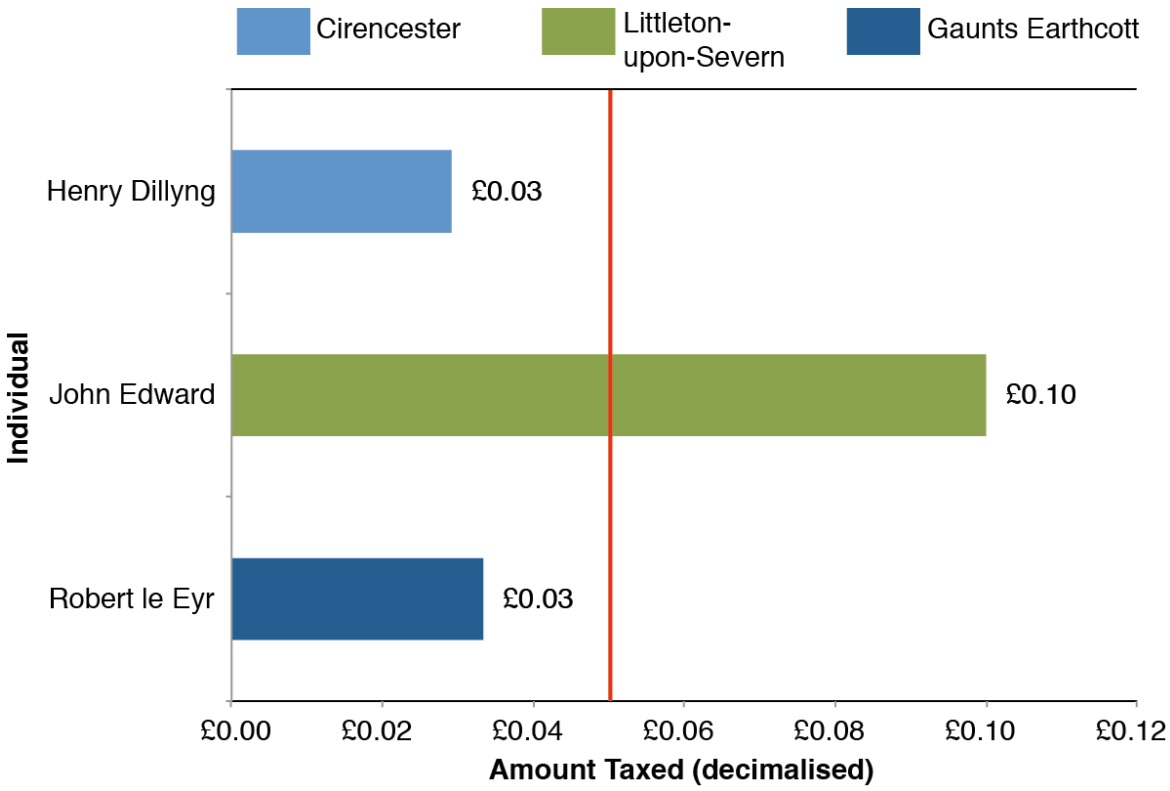
Tax Amount Ranking	**Town**	**Amount Taxed**			**(% total)**
		£	*s.*	*d.*	
1	Bristol*	220	0	0	(49.9)
2	Gloucester*	54	1	6	(12.3)
3	Beckford	25	11	7	(5.8)
4	Cirencester	25	0	0	(5.7)
5	Deerhurst	18	13	4	(4.2)
6	Marshfield	18	0	0	(4.1)
7	Barton Regis*	17	0	0	(3.9)
7	Campden	17	0	0	(3.9)
8	Tewkesbury	16	3	4	(3.7)
9	Bourton on the Hill	15	10	0	(3.5)
10	Wotton under Edge*	13	11	4	(3.1)
Total		**440**	**11**	**0**	

**indicates port or coastal town*

Gloucestershire has a small number of matches during the early-fourteenth century. John Edward was taxed the highest amount, at 2*s.* (£0.10),[171] putting him in the 'mid' taxation bracket, with Henry Dillyng and Robert le Eyr in the 'low' bracket having been taxed nearly half as much at 7*d.* and 8*d*. respectively (£0.05).[172] The mean (average) of the three is £0.05 and the standard deviation is £0.03 (Figure 3.31).

[170] Glasscock.
[171] Peter Franklin, *The Taxpayers of Medieval Gloucestershire: An Analysis of the 1327 Lay Subsidy Roll with a New Edition of Its Text* (London: Alan Sutton, 1993), p. 32; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1348-77*, III, p. 64.
[172] Franklin, pp. 105, 109; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1348-77*, III, p. 64; Kowaleski, *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, p. 189.

Figure 3.33: Gloucestershire Mariners, Lay Subsidy Matches



Five identifications were made for Gloucestershire in the Poll Taxes. Thomas Chyken, John Miblank, and John Poteslop were all taxed at a lower amount of 12*d.* (£0.05),[173] while Richard Wikynges, listed as a *piscator*, was taxed the most for Gloucestershire mariners at 3*s.* (£0.15, see Figure 3.32).[174] Although Wikynges and Walter Copyng[175] were the only two men to be taxed over the mean (average) amount of £0.08, the standard deviation of £0.04 shows that there is only a small amount of different between all the men taxed. Looking at Figure 3.34 it is interesting that there is no mariner that was taxed less than £0.05. The majority of taxpayers were charged £0.05, placing them in the 'mid' taxation bracket, with a few richer individuals who were charged £0.10 or more meaning they fell into the 'high' bracket (Figure 3.33). Those living in Cirencester were the only ones to be taxed higher than the county mean, by large amount.

[173] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, pp. 273, 283, 304.
[174] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 295.
[175] Fenwick, *The Poll Taxes*, I, p. 295.

Figure 3.34: Gloucestershire Mariners, Poll Tax Matches

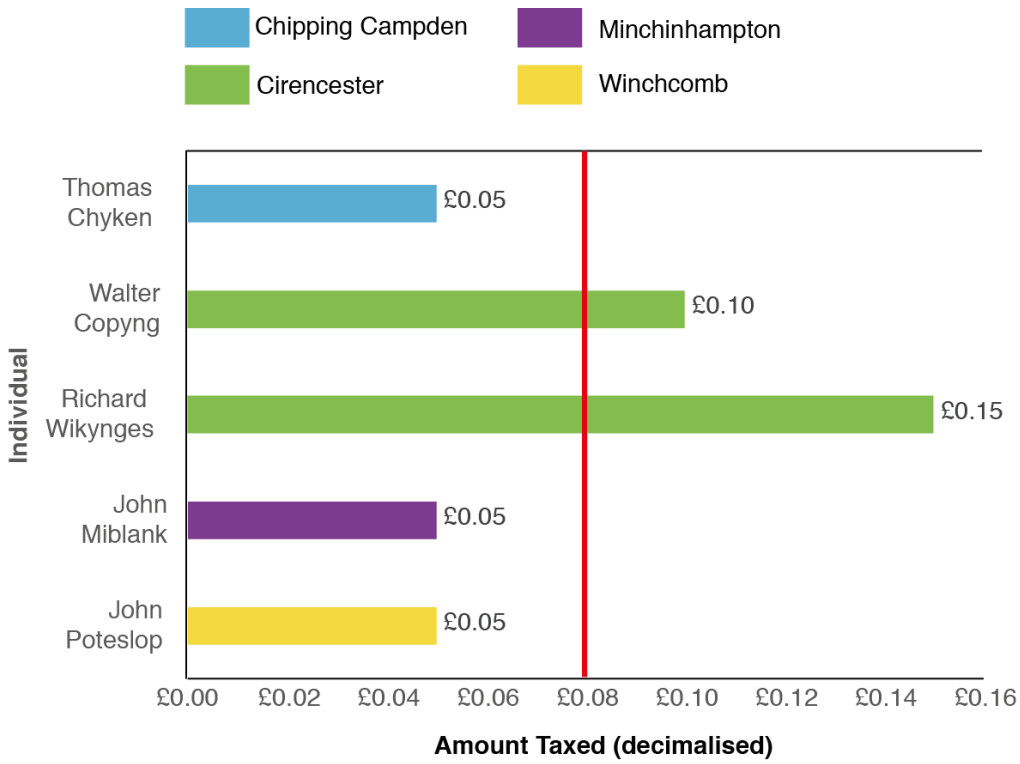
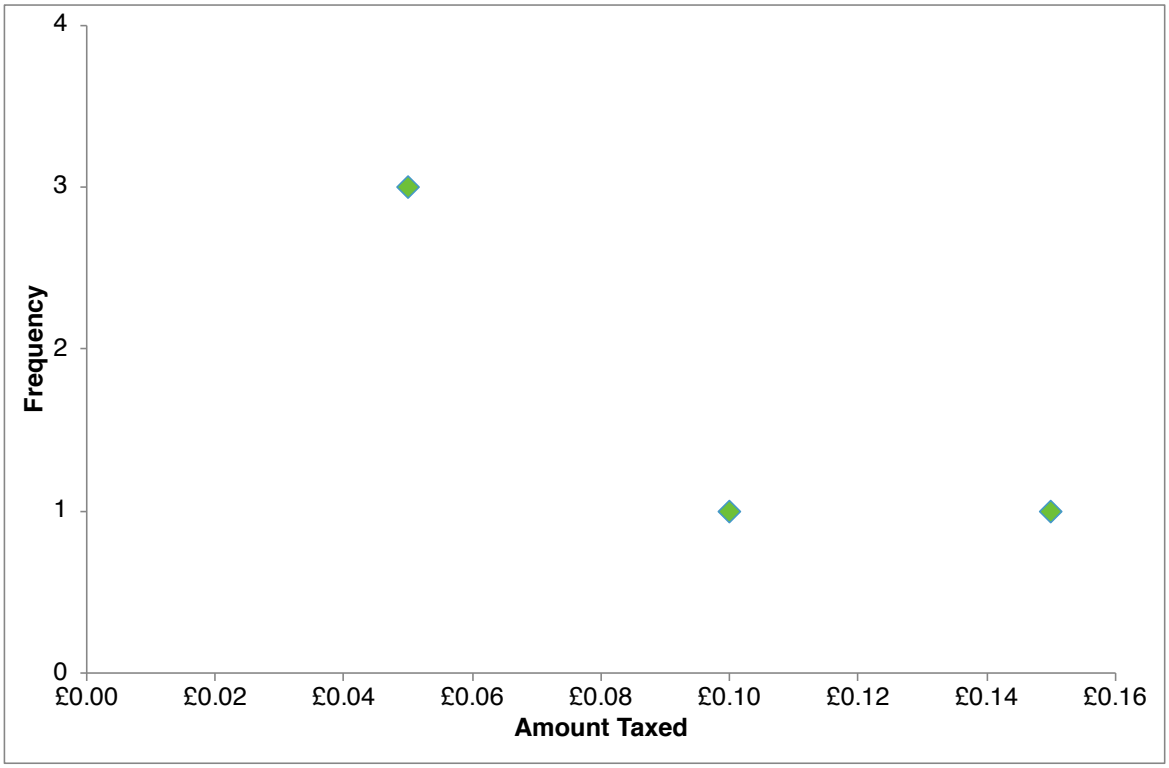


Figure 3.35: Gloucestershire Distribution, Poll Tax Matches



Overall Comparisons

The means (averages), as discussed above, allow us to compare the socio-economic position of mariners from different counties. However, these numbers can sometimes be misleading. When looking at Figure 3.36 below, it would appear that the only 'rich' coastal counties (that there is data for) during this period are Kent, Norfolk, and Devon. These three counties' means placed them within the 'high' taxation bracket. The majority of counties fall within the 'mid' taxation bracket, with only Gloucestershire in the 'low' bracket.

However, Norfolk's and Kent's seafarer taxation amounts were so high that its inclusion in the county comparison increases the overall average, skewing the data and making counties that were relatively wealthy seem poor, and those that were average seem impoverished. With Norfolk, the mean for the Lay Subsidies was 3*s.* or £0.15, putting Devon and Kent only just barely above the average. Removing this result from the data gives an adjusted mean of 2*s.* or £0.10 (overall), which Devon, Hampshire, Cornwall, Suffolk, and Sussex all fall at or above (Figure 3.37). While the £0.10 mean (average) is not the true average, the removal of Kent's high mean (average) of £0.18 and Norfolk's high mean (average) of £0.45 makes it easier to look at the other counties' data.

The skewed data can possibly be explained by the fact that the eastern fisheries, particularly in Norfolk, were heavily commercialised during this period.[176] It could also be due to the fact that because Great Yarmouth, King's Lynn, and Sandwich all played an important role in the Hundred Years' War, meaning that there is more data from these communities than from ports whose ships were not as essential. Furthermore, it can be posited that Devon, Hampshire, and Sussex (without the distortion of Kent's and Norfolk's data), are important counties thanks to ports such as Dartmouth, Southampton, and Winchelsea, all of which played a key role in the wine trade.

[176] Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries'.

Figure 3.36: Mean Taxation, 1327-1334

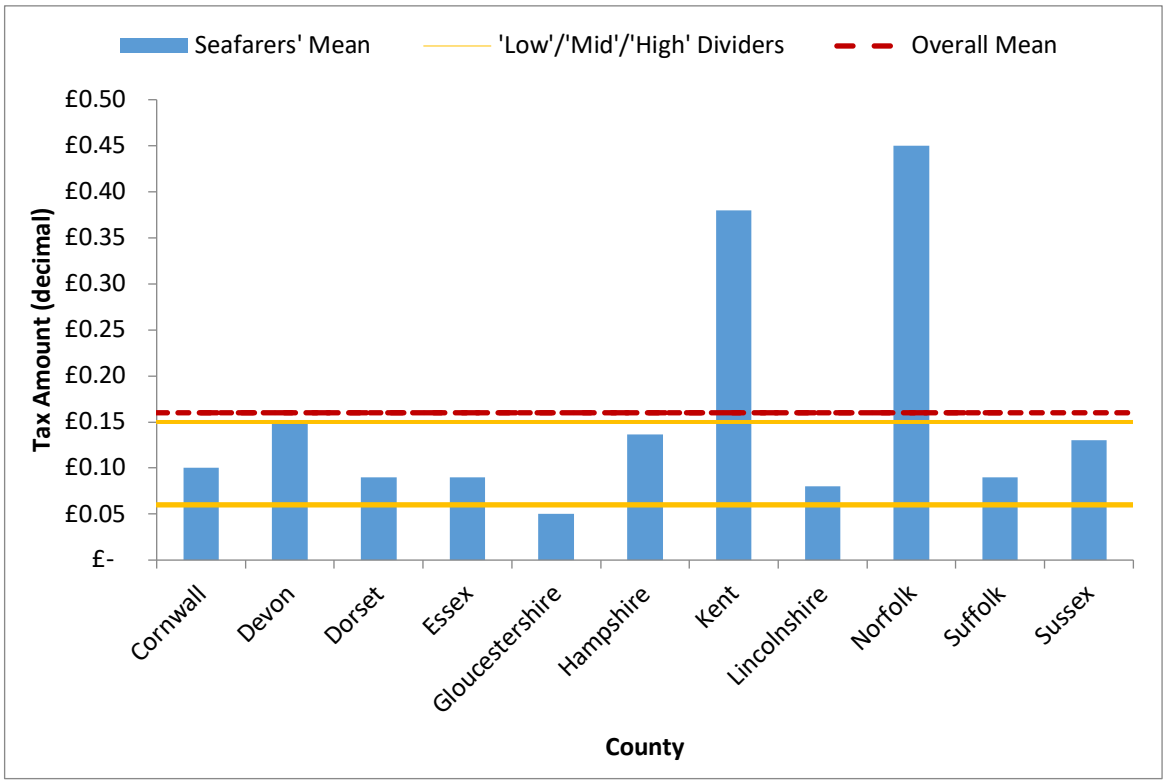
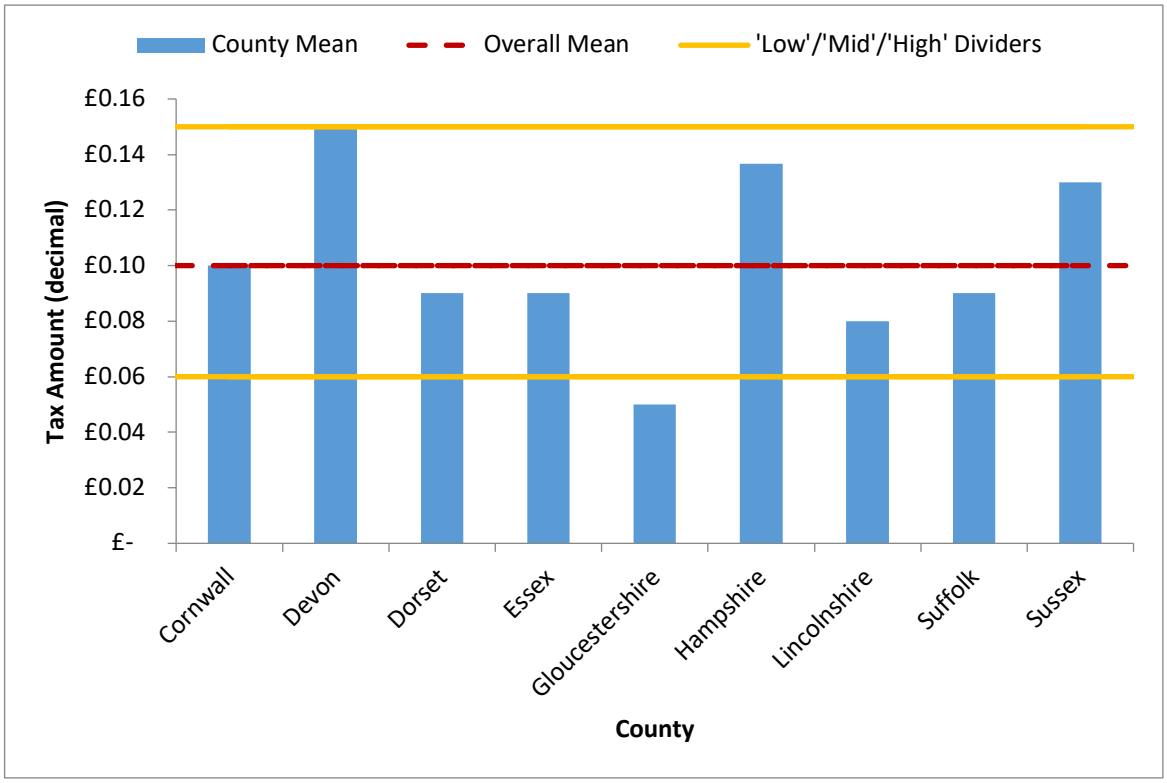


Figure 3.37: Mean Taxation, 1327-1334 (without Norfolk & Kent)



An interesting trend in seafarer-means can be seen when looking at these brackets on a more microscopic level (Figure 3.38). While Gloucestershire is the only county in the 'low' bracket, its highest taxed town, Littleton-upon-Severn, is in the 'mid'. Unsurprisingly, as Norfolk has the highest taxation amount of all the counties observed in the Lay Subsidies, Great Yarmouth has the highest amount. Faversham was not far below Great Yarmouth, which is interesting as Kent on the whole did not have a remarkably high overall taxation amount.

Figure 3.38: Town Means, 1327-1334

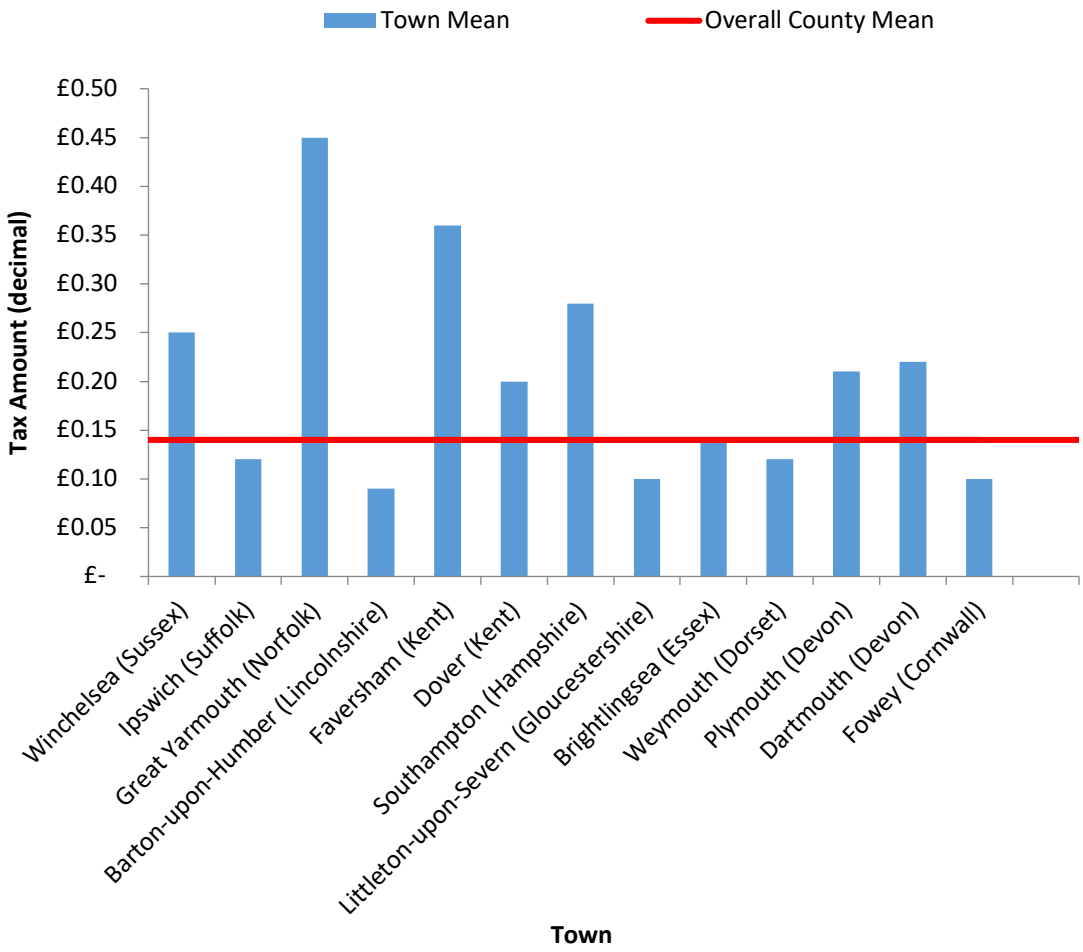


Figure 3.39: Standard Deviation, 1327-1334 (by county)

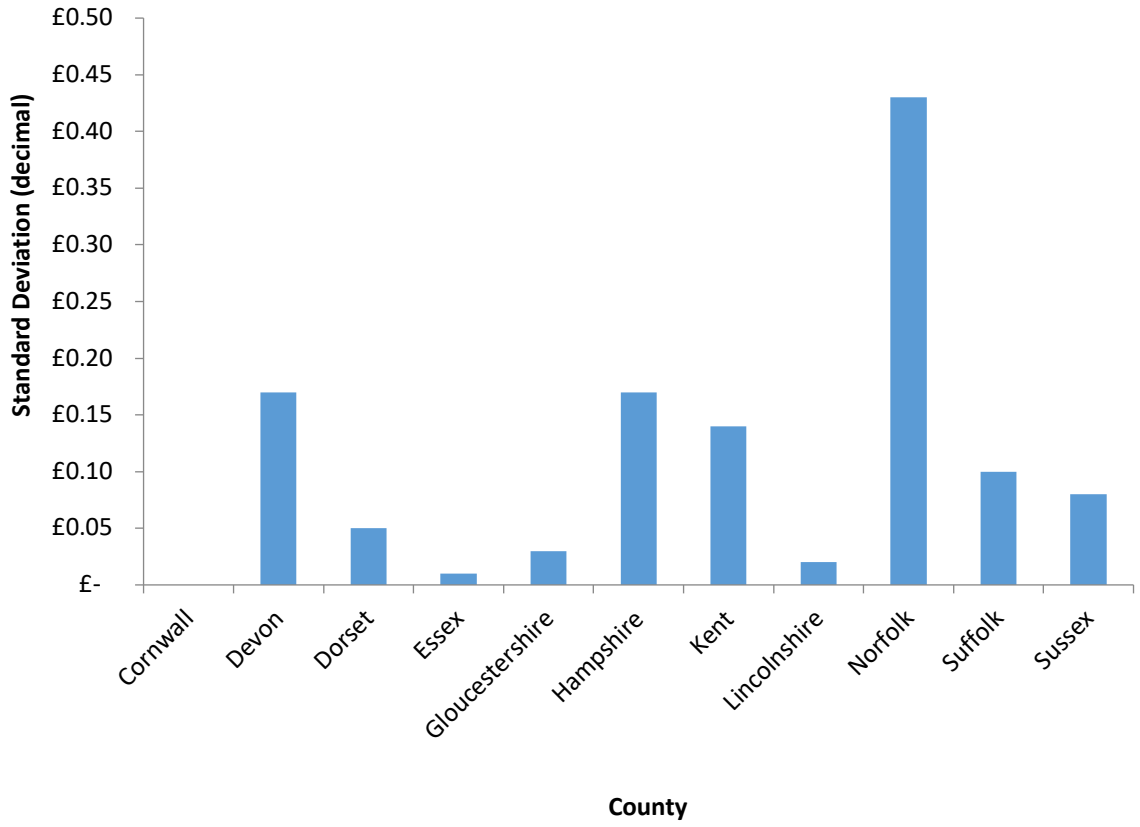
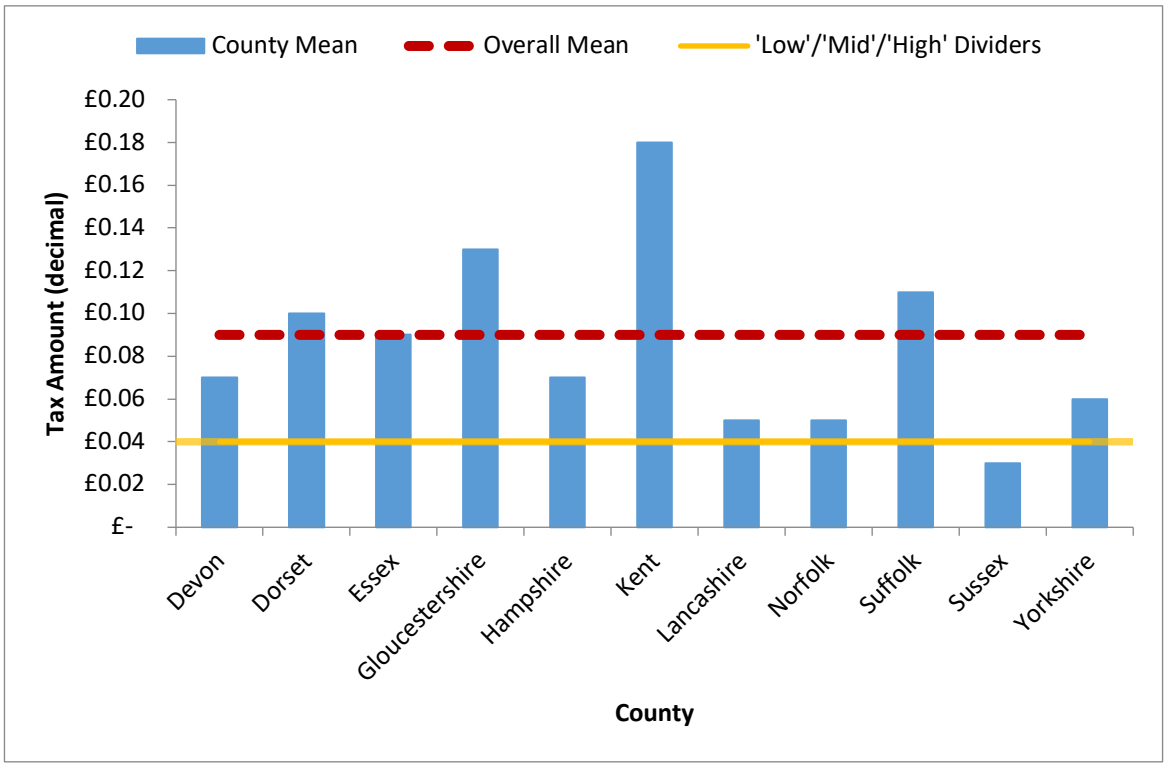


Figure 3.39 shows the variation in tax for seafarers across those counties featured in the Lay Subsidies. It is interesting that the highest taxed county, also shows the most variability in the taxation of their sea. Devon and Hampshire also show a comparably high variation, even though they had less overall tax. Devon has by far the most number of seafarers taxed (Table 2.2) and so this might explain the greater range of tax amounts (shown by the high standard deviation). Hampshire however, also shows a large standard deviation, despite having fewer people being taxed than several other counties. Essex's low standard deviation may be explained by the fact that its mean (average) tax amount is low, indicating that there is little room for variation. Overall, there is no one clear factor determining the variation in tax for each county. It can be seen, however, that even though Norfolk and Kent have the highest averages, they are not solely composed of rich mariners. Therefore, even in prosperous counties, there were still mariners at the bottom end of the spectrum.

Figure 3.40: Mean Taxation, 1377-1381



There were more counties that fell into the 'high' taxation bracket for the Poll Taxes, with Dorset, Essex, Gloucestershire, Kent, and Suffolk all falling at or above £0.09 (Figure 3.36). The only county to fall within the 'low' bracket was Sussex, with £0.03 as its average. No single county drastically changed the overall mean (average), showing that the counties' averages did not vary that much. Figure 3.41 gives an indication of the variation in Poll Taxes across all of the counties featured. The variation is much lower overall than for the Lay Subsidies (see Figure 3.39), which is unsurprising given that taxpayers were assigned standardised amounts to pay for the Poll Taxes. Unlike the Lay Subsidies, the counties with the highest variation do not match up to the counties with the highest mean (average) tax. Furthermore, it does not appear that variation is directly related to the number of mariners taxed in each county either: while Hampshire has the most seafarers identified and also shows high variation, Devon has high variation but only a few mariners identified.

Figure 3.41: Standard Deviation, 1377-1381 (by county)

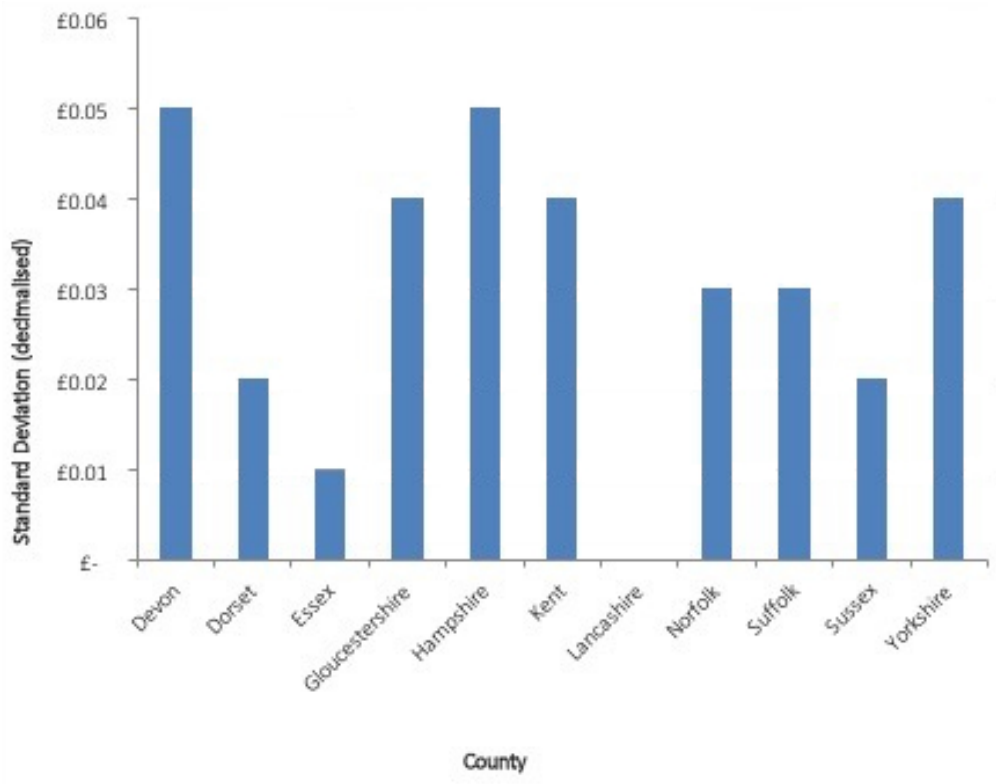


Figure 3.42: Sample Size, 1300s-1350s

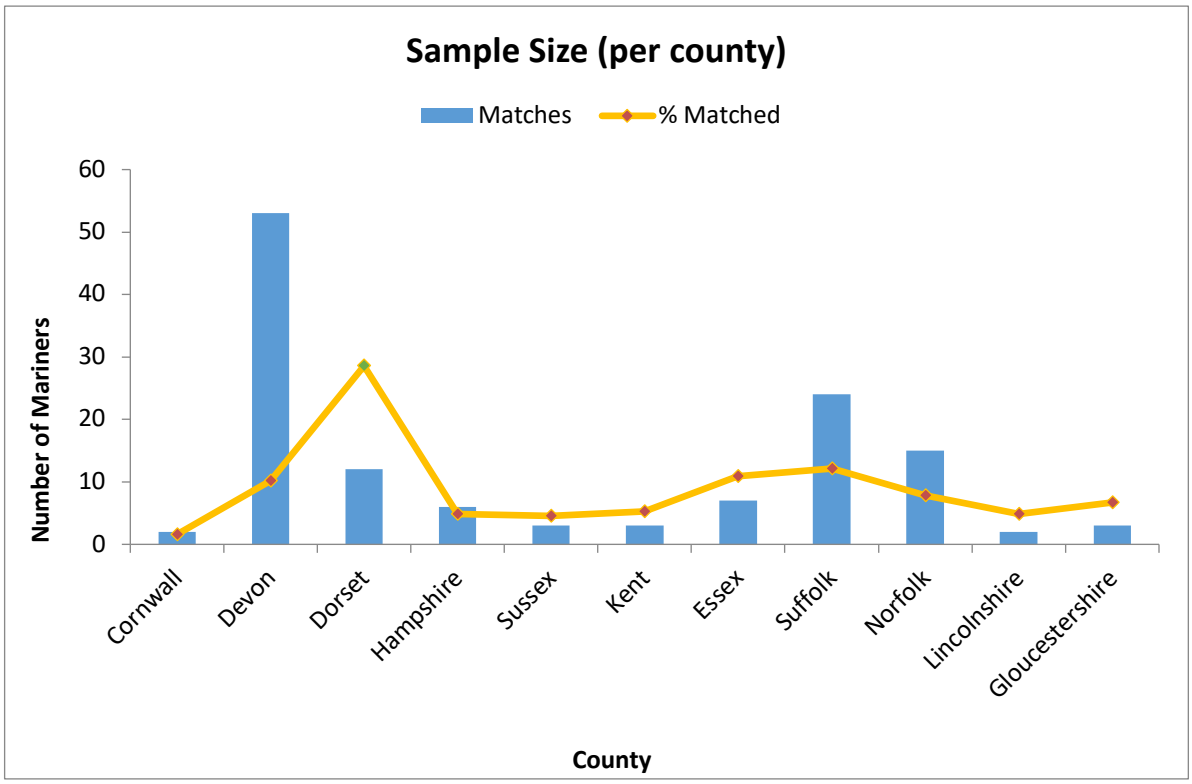


Figure 3.42 above shows the sample size for each county (i.e., the number of seafarers matched using Lay Subsidy records for each county). In addition to this, the percentage of the total number of mariners that were successfully matched is shown alongside. Comparing the results to the mean (average) taxation per county there appears to be little correlation, suggesting sample size is not a contributing factor to tax amount. Furthermore, there seems to be little correlation between sample size and variation in tax amounts. It is interesting that though Devon has the highest number of matches, this represented only a small percentage of the total number of mariners for the county, while Dorset has a much lower number of matches, but these represent a far higher proportion of the total mariners examined from the county. Apart from these two counties however, the number of matches per county and percentage matched per county appear to correlate well.

Figure 3.28 shows the overall mean (average) taxation for all of the coastal counties that have been featured above. Mainly the south and east coasts have surviving Lay Subsidy records that can be matched to individual seafarers, but Gloucestershire on the west coast also had surviving data. It might be expected that the counties closest to France and the continent in general would have seafarers with higher taxation levels, as they had easy access to the lucrative wine trade. The money made from this might have put them into a higher assessed bracket. This seems to be true for Kent, as well as Sussex and Hampshire to a lesser extent. It is interesting, however, that Norfolk's mean (average) is so high. As expressed above, this is less to do with its location to the continent and more to do with the wealth of the eastern fisheries during this period, as well as the fact that Norfolk was one of the more important agricultural centres in the country. It is also very clear from looking at the map that there is a large variation along each coastline. This may be due to the county figures being influenced predominately by the varying importance of key ports within each county. For example, in Dorset and Essex there were not many large, deep-water ports, whereas Devon, even though it appears isolated, had a large, influential port in Dartmouth. However, Bristol in Gloucestershire was one of the richer ports in England, but is poorly represented in both the naval voyage data (Table 2.1) and the taxation data. With less naval payroll documents to work with, there would be less opportunities to make matches—Gloucestershire had only three matches from the Lay Subsidies, which does not allow for many definitive interpretations to be made about the seafarers living in Bristol at the time.

Figure 3.43: Map of Means (Averages), 1327-1334

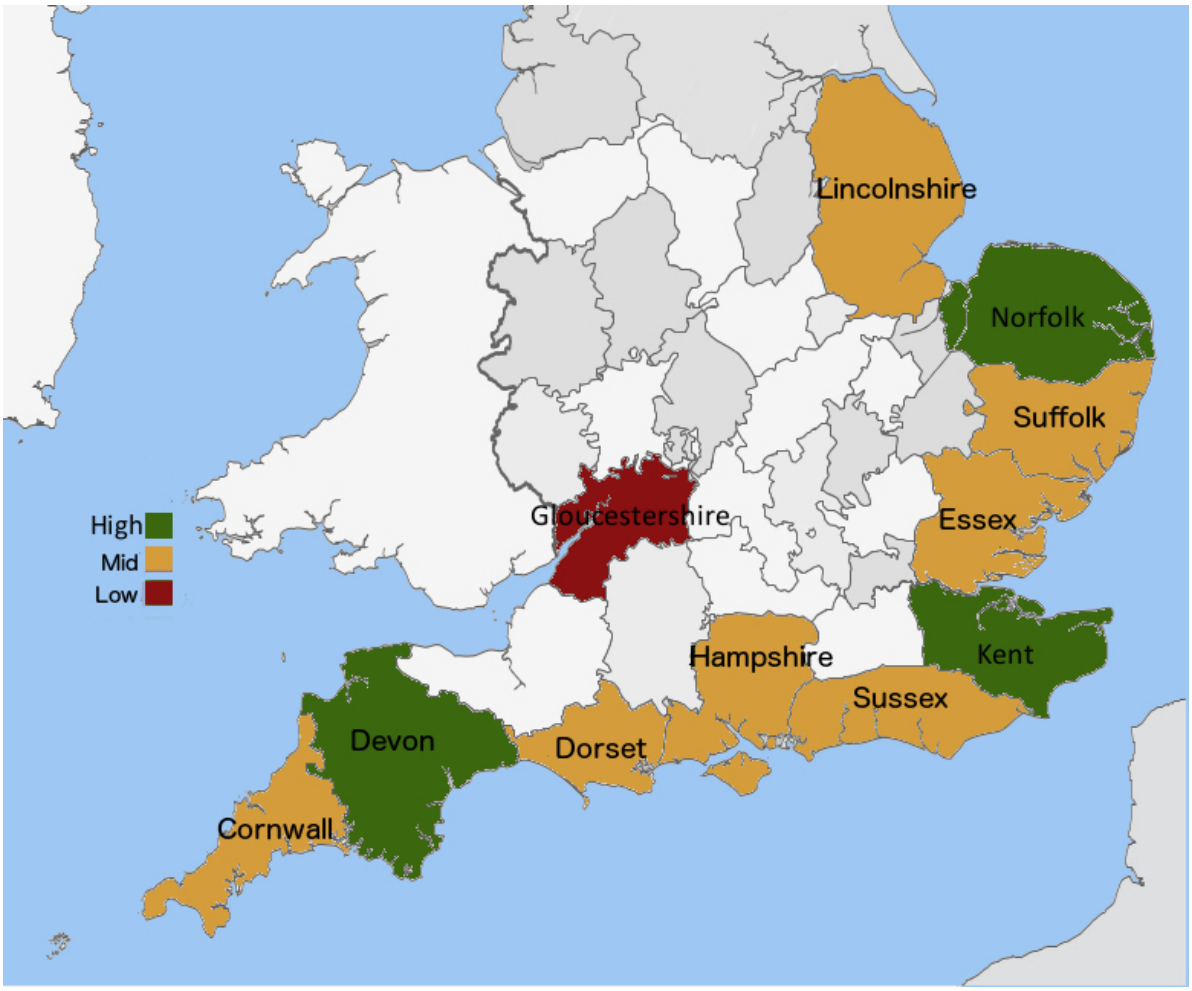
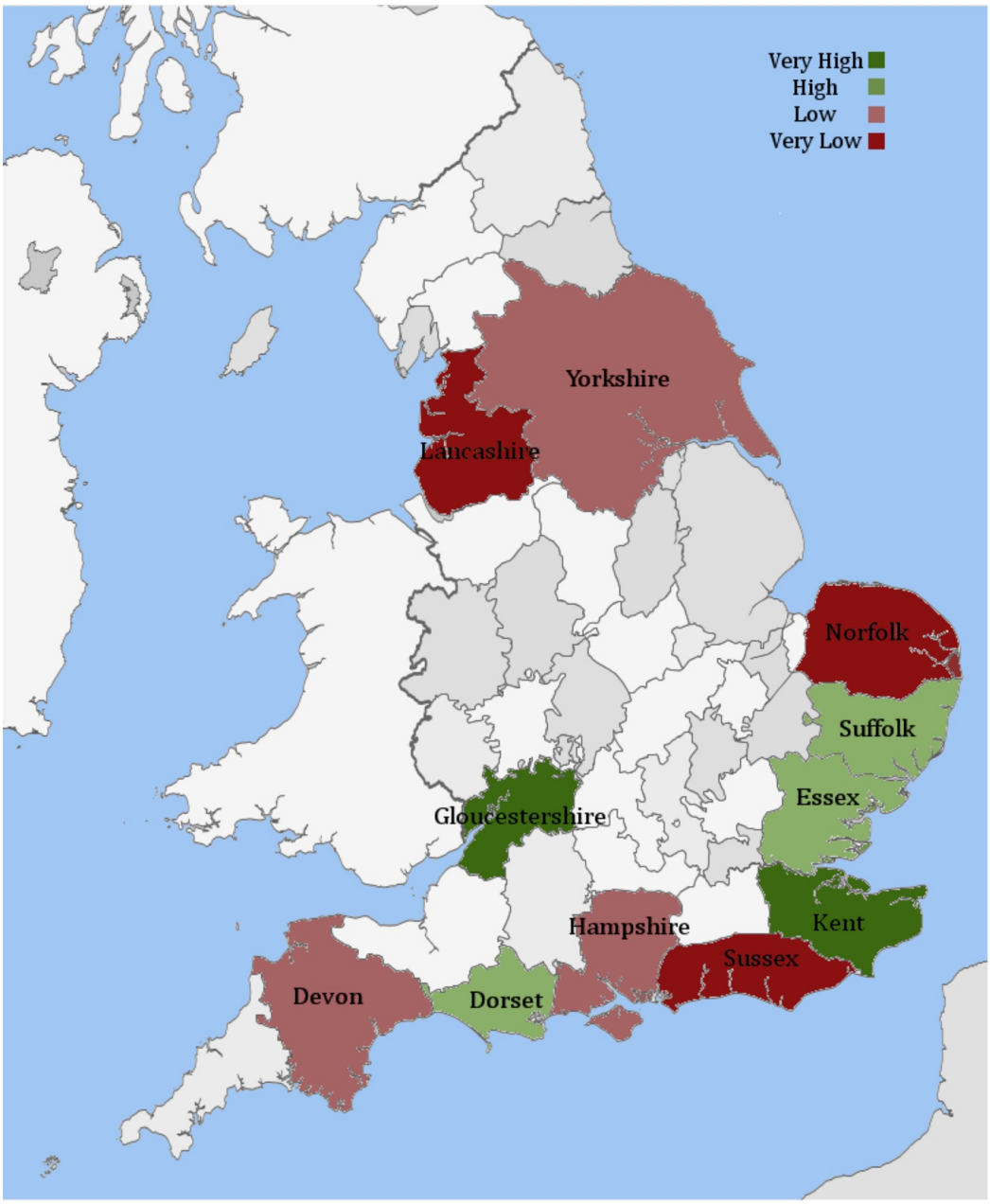


Figure 3.44 (below) shows the relative mean (average) taxation for all of the coastal counties that have been featured above. In the case of the Poll Taxes, all coasts of England have representation, rather than only the south and east coasts seen in the Lay Subsidies. This map is interesting in that, with the exception of Kent, all counties that were also represented in the Lay Subsidies have reversed. Norfolk, which had a 'very high' mean (average) for the Lay Subsidies moved to 'very low' for the Poll Taxes. This change can be explained by the fact that only four of the documented seafarers are known shipmasters, and therefore the ordinary mariners are artificially lowering the average. Suffolk, Essex, and Dorset all had means (averages) in the 'low' category, but in the second half of the century had averages that were 'high'. The opposite was true for Devon and Hampshire, which went from 'high' to 'low' means (averages) from the beginning to the end of the century. Like Norfolk, most of Hampshire's seafarers listed in the Poll Tax were not specifically shipmasters, but ordinary mariners as well. However, Devon's listed seafarers were all known shipmasters, making the cause of their fall less sure. Sussex, once with a 'high' mean (average) showed a 'very low' mean (average) for the Poll Tax data. Kent is the only county that stays steady throughout the century. The two

northern counties both had below average means (averages), with Lancashire especially low. Gloucestershire, however, was the only county apart from Kent to have a 'very high' mean (average).

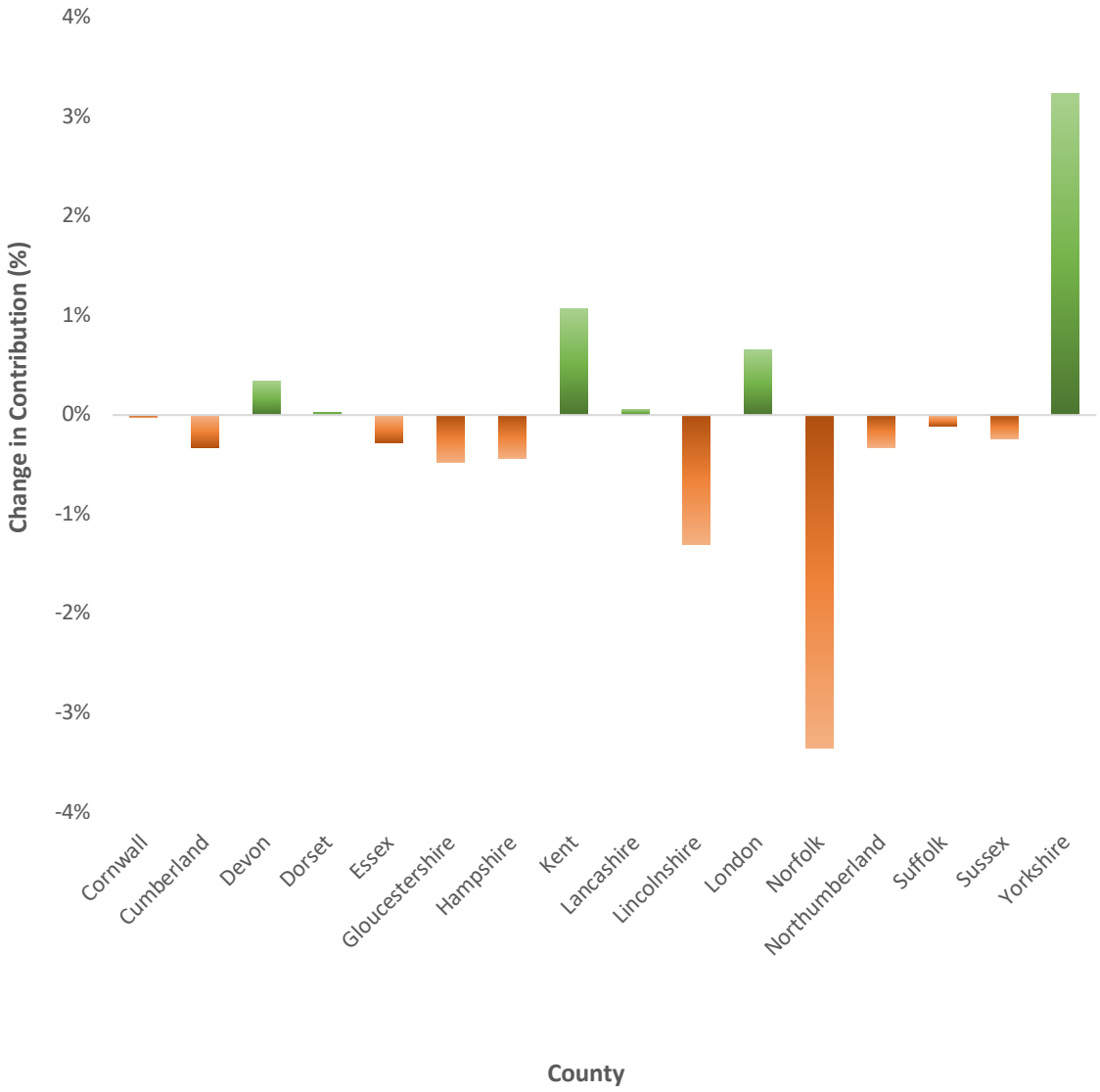
To a certain extent, this information can be explained by the fact that during the second half of the fourteenth century, eastern fisheries declined while western fisheries expanded, although it might have been expected that Devon's mean (average) would be higher because of this. The northern counties have consistently been poorer counties, when compared with those in the south, which explains the low tax representation of Lancashire and Yorkshire mariners.

Figure 3.44: Map of Means (Averages), 1377-1381



3.2 County-to-County Comparisons across the Fourteenth Century

Figure 3.45: 1334 Lay Subsidy vs. 1377 Poll Tax

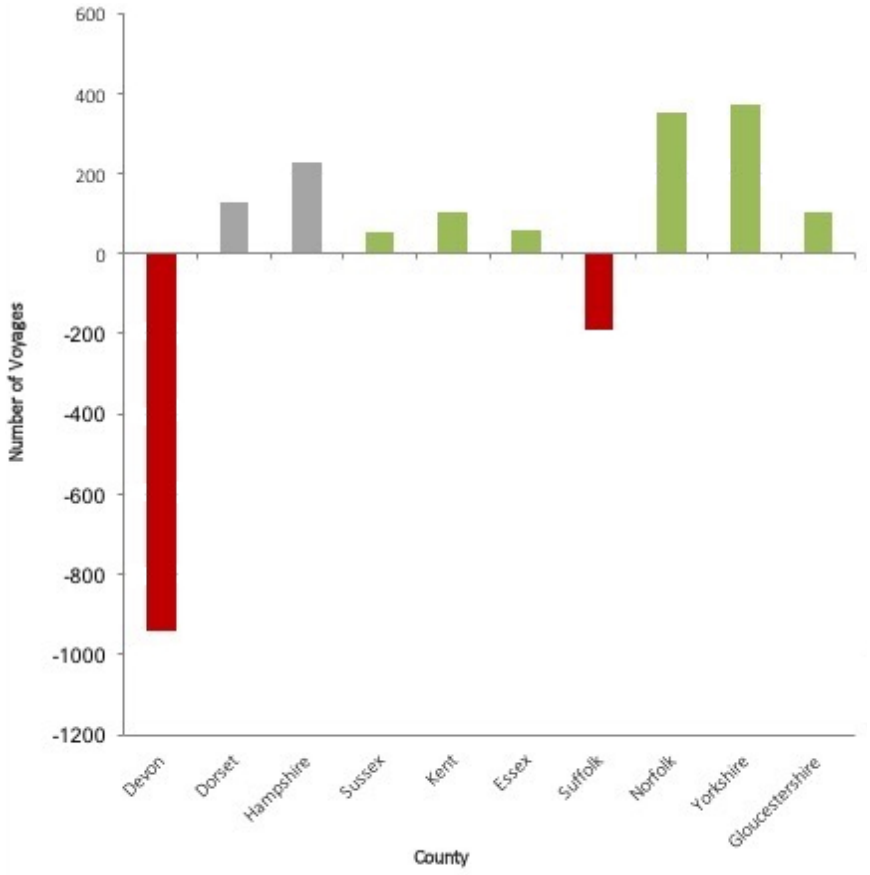


Thus far, this study has explored this occupational group by comparing known mariners identified in foundational records to the names of mariners recorded in tax data. One way to compare Lay Subsidies and Poll Taxes is to look at how much an individual county contributed. Figure 3.45 above shows the changes in contribution to the overall tax collected from the 1334 Lay Subsidy to the 1379 Poll Tax. Twelve of the sixteen coastal counties have less than one percent change, showing that these counties contributed relatively the same amount. Kent and Lincolnshire both change by just over one percent, which is still not a very large change. The two counties that changed the most were Norfolk, which dropped by 3.3%, and Yorkshire, which grew by 3.2%. When looking at all counties, the small amount of changes matches up with the non-coastal counties as well. Thirty-one of the total thirty-eight English counties had less than

one percent change, with Norfolk and Yorkshire remaining the largest changed contributors. However, the percent of contribution each county made is where the possible direct comparisons end.

While it may not be possible, therefore, to directly compare the taxation of mariners in different counties for the first and second half of the fourteenth century, a comparison can still be made between the activities of the various port towns within each county. Figure 3.46 shows the change in the number of voyages leaving each county from the first half of the century to the second half (i.e., an increase implies more voyages leaving after the 1350s). While Devon had the highest number of naval voyages for both halves of the century, it can still be seen here that the number of voyages leaving the county significantly decreased by the end of the century. Suffolk also showed a decline, though less severely. Overall, however, the trend across the coastal counties presented here was an increase in naval voyages going into the latter half of the century. Since these naval voyages represent the number of requisitioned ships, the increase makes sense as the second half of the century saw a strong naval presence in the Hundred Years' War.[177]

Figure 3.46: Number of Voyages - Changes Over the Century

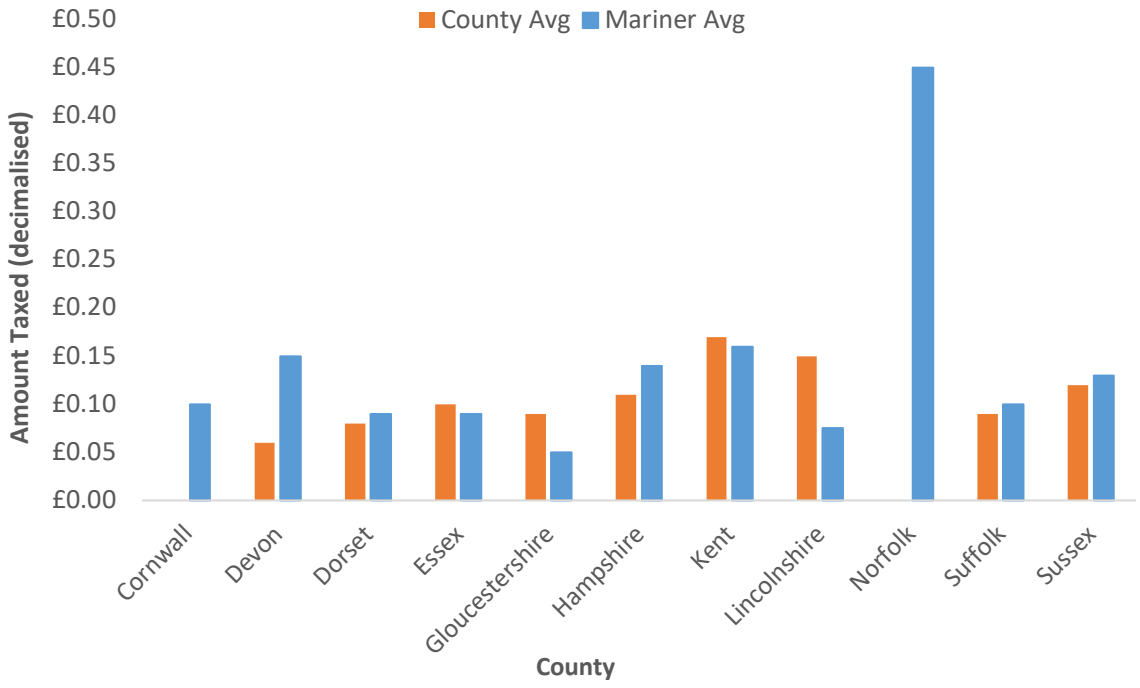


[177] Lambert and Ayton, 'Naval Service and the Cinque Ports, 1322-1453', pp. 13–14; Craig Lambert, 'Henry V and the Crossing to France: Reconstructing Naval Operations for the Agincourt Campaign, 1415', *JMH*, 43.1 (2017), 24–39 (pp. 29–30).

Overall, seafarers were taxed higher amounts in the Lay Subsidies than in the Poll Taxes, but when compared to the average citizen in individual counties it can be seen that on the whole shipmasters fared better during the second half of the century. Additionally, there was a greater variance in the tax paid by different mariners during the Lay Subsidies than in the Poll Taxes. However, it is equally important to determine where seafarers stood economically in comparison to the rest of the county's inhabitants.

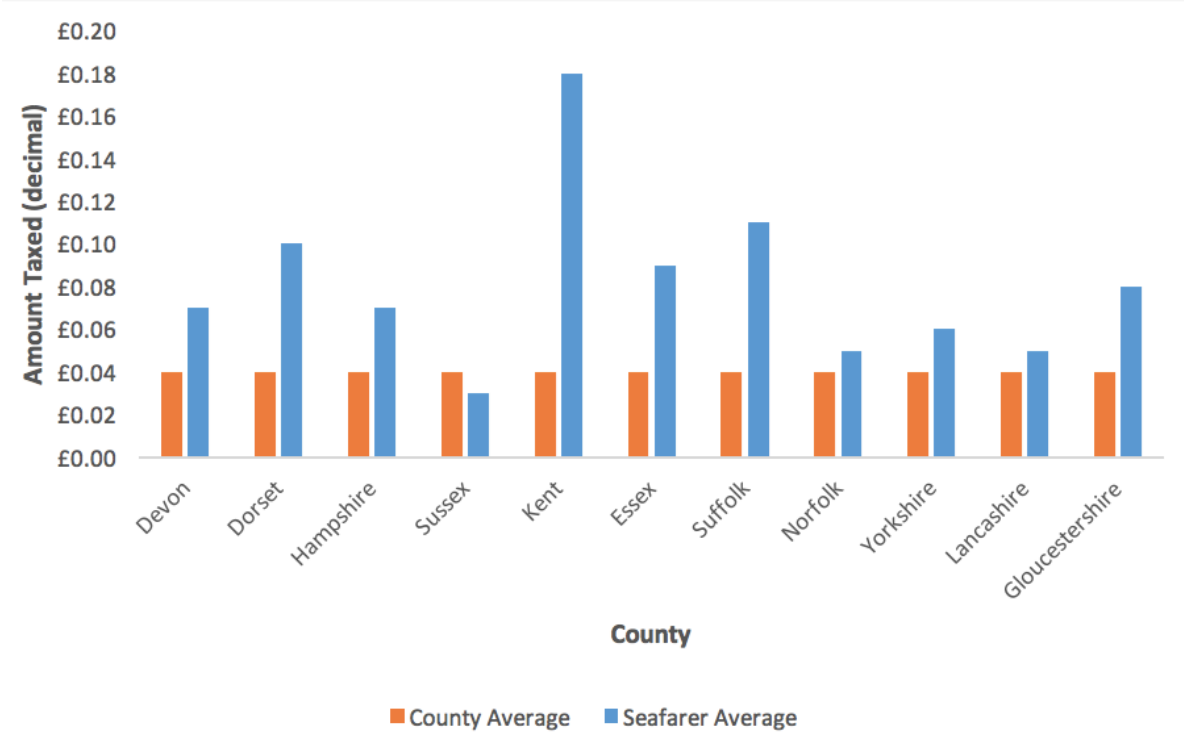
Norfolk seafarers were taxed the highest amount for the Lay Subsidies, with a mean (average) of £0.45, though data for the overall county average is not readily available. Kent is the next highest, at £0.38, and also has the highest overall county average. Gloucestershire seafarers had the lowest mean (average) with £0.05 and Lincolnshire and Essex were only a little higher with £0.08 and £0.09 respectively. Kent's seafarers, at £0.16, were only just below the county mean, of £0.17. These four counties are the only ones were seafarers are taxed less than the county average (see Figure 3.47). There is a huge range, as can be seen when looking at the standard deviation, which is £0.13. It should be mentioned that no county averages are provided for Cornwall (since the manuscripts on the whole are too faded) or Norfolk (since the quantity of people pushed this project outside of its time constraints).

Figure 3.47: Seafarers vs. Overall County, 1327-1334



Obviously, the means (averages) for the Lay Subsidies are higher overall than those for the Poll Taxes. It is important to reinforce, however, that the method of taxation is different for the Lay Subsidies and the Poll Taxes. These differences are explained, at least in part, by the different methods for assigning tax amounts. Additionally, the major influences over variation for the Lay Subsidies and the Poll Taxes appear to be different: means (averages) and the number of records appear to affect the Lay Subsidies, while it is unclear what the control factor is for the Poll Taxes. As such, variation in taxation was not only high for the Lay Subsidies between counties, but also within counties and within single ports. For example, Hampshire varied greatly (its standard deviation is £0.17), with its mariner taxpayers coming from multiple towns; Norfolk also had a high variation (its standard deviation is £0.43), with its mariner taxpayers coming just from Great Yarmouth. The county means (averages) for the Poll Taxes of 1377 and 1381 remain consistent throughout the century, perhaps because of their sliding scale method of taxation. For each of the counties observed, the county-wide mean (average) is £0.02 (decimal) for 1377 and £0.05 (decimal) for 1381, with a mean (average) of £0.04 (decimal) for the whole period. This makes it relatively easy to see the differences between seafarers and the average citizen in each county (Figure 3.48).

Figure 3.48: Seafarers vs. Overall County, 1377-1381



As can be seen in the above figure, with the exception of Sussex, the seafarers in all maritime counties observed are taxed a higher amount than the average, with Sussex only just under that of the county average. In fact, if the seafarer tax amounts are averaged together, the mean is £0.08 (decimal), which is double that of the counties' average. Like the earlier tax records, Kent's seafarers were taxed at a much higher amount than the general population of the county in the second half of the century, perhaps showing just how powerful Kent was, despite the fact that the Cinque Ports' mariners were not highly represented in the Poll Taxes. In both cases, however, there are a low number of matches that could be skewing the data.

There are two counties that have reversed fortunes between the two taxation periods: Sussex and Gloucestershire. For the Lay Subsidies, Sussex's shipmasters are eight percent higher than the county average and Gloucestershire's are forty-four percent lower than the average, while for the Poll Taxes they are twenty-five percent lower and one-hundred percent higher respectively. However, like Kent, there were few matches made for both time periods for both Sussex and Gloucestershire, which could explain the jump in fortunes. Another explanation for the out-of-character results (whether positively or negatively influencing seafarers) in Kent and Sussex is the Cinque Ports. The Cinque Ports were an important factor in the wealth of mariners, and the exclusion of these seafarers from taxation is artificially lowering the data in Sussex at the very least. Further, with the tax exemption, it is possible that Sussex and Kent appear poorer than they actually were, as they were often poorly represented in the Lay Subsidies and almost entirely missing from the Poll Taxes.

In reality, however, the mariners themselves were probably better off due to the advantages given by the Cinque Ports agreements. For instance, in Sandwich in the 1340s, it is clear from a comparison of Cinque Port lists and the assessment of properties outside of the Cinque Ports, that some of these men were extremely wealthy: Hugh Champneys was taxed over £1 and owned property in Cornilo, Eastry, Wingham, and Bewsborough.[178] Winchelsea, on the other hand, was extremely powerful throughout the thirteenth and most of the fourteenth century, where it provided a large number of ships for naval operations and also was highly involved in fishing and other commercial ventures. In fact, in 1307-1308, seventy-one percent of all Cinque-Port export traffic left from Winchelsea.[179] However, throughout the fourteenth century there was a shift in commercial activity from the eastern ports to the western ports (specifically Bristol). Further, while Winchelsea was one of the premier naval ports in all of England at the beginning of the Hundred Years' War, as it went forward 'the Crown looked increasingly to western ports to provide for its fleets, and Winchelsea faded'.[180] This downtick

[178] Clarke and others, p. 61.
[179] Martin and Martin, p. 9.
[180] Martin and Martin, pp. 13, 19.

in the prosperity of Winchelsea could be an explanation for the change in fortunes for Sussex seafarers over the century. While Kent would have lost commercial activity throughout the century as well, Sandwich focused mainly on luxury goods[181] and therefore those involved with their shipping might have been able to maintain their high fortunes, giving a possible explanation to why Kentish seafarers did not see the same downward trend over the century.

The same could be said for the Palatinate counties of Durham, Cheshire, and Lancashire. While there are some records of mariners in Lancashire, they are otherwise poorly represented in the both the tax records and the foundational records. For example, Liverpool in Lancashire would have been a main hub of sea-trade for the northwest, yet we know very little of what occurred there during this period. Similarly, there are many instances where the lack of records has affected the results obtained. For example, Hull was an extremely powerful port in Yorkshire, yet because of the poor condition the county's Lay Subsidies are in, it is impossible to locate mariners within the city or surrounding area.

As has been discussed previously, the fisheries in the southwest (especially Dorset) surged in the second half of the century, which is a likely explanation for the increase seen in Dorset;[182] seafarers were taxed only thirteen percent higher in the Lay Subsidies than other citizens, but 150% higher in the Poll Taxes. On the whole, with the exception of Sussex, shipmasters were taxed considerably higher than the average population in the second half of the century.

One aspect not yet discussed is the idea of hinterlands. A hinterland is a remote area that is away from the coast or banks of major rivers. The amount of hinterland served by each of these counties varies. For example, Cornwall is a thin peninsula, with only a limited area for its ports to serve, while Gloucestershire (Bristol specifically) served much of the midlands. Further, 'large towns inevitably had a wider hinterland than small ones',[183] though it could be that large hinterlands led to larger port towns, rather than the other way around. Naturally, London's trade links and range of crafts held the greatest influence and created a larger hinterland than any other port town. In the great spectrum of towns and hinterlands, a common link can be found. The relationship between ports and their hinterlands went both ways, as the ports would bring supplies in needed in the more rural areas, and these areas would in turn help supply food

[181] Clarke and others, p. 65.
[182] Kowaleski, 'Commercialization of the Sea Fisheries'; Kowaleski, 'The Expansion of the South-Western Fisheries in Late Medieval England'.
[183] Amor, p. 84.

to the city.[184] To help supply their respective hinterlands, towns could focus on a trade-based system, like Lynn and Yarmouth, or an industry-based system, like Norwich and York.[185]

[184] Christian D. Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns: Bristol, York and the Crown, 1350-1400* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2005), pp. 8, 179; Derek Keene, 'Medieval London and Its Supply Hinterlands', *Regional Environmental Change*, 12.2 (2012), 263–81; Amor, p. 84.

[185] Amor, p. 85; Kate Parker, 'A Little Local Difficulty: Lynn and the Lancastrian Usurption', in *Medieval East Anglia*, ed. by Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), p. 119; Penelope Dunn, 'Trade', in *Medieval Norwich*, ed. by Carole Rawcliffe and Richard George Wilson (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 215–17.

Chapter Four – Seafarers and Standards of Living in a Turbulent Time

With regard to seafarers the Lay Subsidy data revealed that there was disparity between the amounts the coastal counties were taxed in the first half of the century, with Kent and Norfolk being taxed considerably more than the other coastal counties. In the second half of the century, the Poll Taxes showed that Kent's mariners were once again the most highly taxed. Additionally, while Gloucestershire was the least taxed in the first half of the century, it was now contributing the second highest amount of tax during the Poll Taxes for coastal counties. Furthermore, Norfolk's seafarers' contribution to tax decreased to the point that it was the second least taxed coastal county in the second half of the century, which is interesting as Norfolk is usually seen as one of the wealthiest counties. When broadening the view of seafarers outwards to other occupational groups, it was found that in the first half of the century, Kent's shipmasters paid two times more in tax than the county's average amount, while Essex, Gloucestershire, and Lincolnshire's seafarers all fell below the county average. Similarly, for the Poll Taxes, Kent's seafarers contributed over four times as much tax than the county average. Sussex was the only county to see its seafarer's average dip below the county average, perhaps because we cannot see the tax records of the key Cinque Ports of Winchelsea and Rye.

A basket of consumables allows for greater analysis of shipmasters and mariners throughout the fourteenth century. Shipmasters were the only occupational group to rise above the Phelps-Brown/Hopkins (PBH) basket of consumables index line, but appear in a cursory glance to be hit harder by social events—such as the Black Death—throughout the century. Shipmasters were a resilient occupational group, which ebbed and flowed with the changing social climate, but eventually returned to their relatively wealthy status by the end of the century, and even through some of the more turbulent times. This chapter, therefore, will examine the careers of shipmasters over three key phases of famine, plague, and war.

When considering standards of living in the fourteenth century, it is essential to discuss the debate surrounding English currency during the period, as '[m]oney supply is one of the fundamental variables in the economic history of medieval Europe, comparable in importance with population, agricultural production, trade, and urban commerce'.[1] Due to the wars in Scotland during Edward I's reign, there was a drop in the amount of money circulating during the 1290s, one which recovered going into the 1300s.[2] From 1304-1309, there was a high amount of mint outputs, due to the import of foreign silver and the subsequent 'inflationary

[1] Martin Allen, 'The Volume of the English Currency, 1158-1470', *EHR*, 54.4 (2001), 595–611 (p. 595).
[2] Martin Allen, pp. 595–96; Michael Prestwich, 'Edward I's Monetary Policies and Their Consequences', *EHR*, 22.3 (1969), 406–29 (pp. 409–16).

effects of the consequent increase in money supply'. A period of deflation began in the 1320s, as there was a fall in mint output and currency; this became much severe by the 1330s and early 1340s.[3] It is thought that a declining money supply was the cause of the economic recession seen in the late-fourteenth century.[4]

There are three different sources of data when estimating the 'volume of currency: recorded mint outputs, coin hoards, and the number of dies used to produce coins'.[5] Recently, Martin Allen has built upon the work of Richard Britnell and N.J. Mayhew, who compiled and used estimates of English currency in circulation throughout the fourteenth century.[6] There was one key element missing from these earlier estimates, which Allen works to remedy: the amount of money in coin hoards. These hoards 'may indicate the proportions of coins of different mint output periods in the currency at a particular time', and as a key source it is important to include them in any estimates. Table 4.1 compares the estimates found by Mayhew to those compiled by Allen. As can be seen, the coin hoards added a considerable amount of currency to the estimates, showing that there was perhaps more currency in circulation than originally thought. There was a significant drop in silver currency after 1331, which 'can be associated with the exceptional exports of silver in the 1330s and 1340s', which was unpreventable even with the importing and minting of gold coins. The per capita amount of currency in circulation went from 'about 4*s.*-7*s*. in 1300 to about 5*s.*-9*s.* in 1351', an occurrence that can be explained by the Great Famine early in the century and the Black Death in 1348-1349.[7] The money supply was just one variable that affected the standards of living for seafarers in the fourteenth century.

[3] Martin Allen, p. 596; Mavis Mate, 'The Role of Gold Coinage in the English Economy, 1338-1400', *The Numismatic Chronicle*, 18.138 (1978), 126–41; Mavis Mate, 'High Prices in Early Fourteenth-Century England: Causes and Consequences', *EHR*, 28.1 (1975), 1–16.
[4] David H. Allen, *Ipswich Borough Archives, 1255-1835: A Catalogue* (Boydell & Brewer, 2000), p. 596; Harry A. Miskimin, 'Monetary Movements and Market Structure—Forces for Contraction in Fourteenth-and Fifteenth-Century England.', *The Journal of Economic History*, 24.4 (1964), 470–90.
[5] Martin Allen, p. 597.
[6] Martin Allen; Richard Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society, 1000-1500* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1996); N.J. Mayhew, 'Numismatic Evidence and Falling Prices in the Fourteenth Century', *EHR*, 27.1 (1974), 1–15.
[7] Martin Allen, p. 606.

Table 4.1: Estimates of English Silver Currency, 1300-1351

Date	Total Silver Currency (Mayhew)	Total Silver Currency (Allen)
1300	£900,000	-
1310	-	£1,500,000-£1,900,000
1311	£1,100,000	-
1319	-	£1,900,000-£2,300,000
1324	£1,100,000	-
1331	-	£1,500,000-£2,000,000
1351	£500,000	£700,000-£900,000

Sources: N. J. Mayhew, 'Population, Money Supply, and the Velocity of Circulation in England, 1300-1700', EHR, 48.2 (1995), 238–57, pp. 243-244. Martin Allen, 'The Volume of the English Currency, 1158-1470', EHR, 54.4 (2001), 595–611, p. 603.

4.1 Seafarers in the Context of a Basket of Consumables

Until now, this thesis has compared seafarers' standards of living in a variety of ways, but strictly within the context of the taxation documents from the fourteenth century. While this helps to analyse the socio-economics of fourteenth century seafarers and their peers, it does not use a basket of consumables to do so. A basket of consumables and services is defined as 'a hypothetical group of different items, with specified quantities of each one meant to represent a 'typical' set of consumer purchases, used as a basis for calculating how the price level changes over time'.[8] The use of a basket of consumables allows for an in-depth analysis of the living standards of mariners and shipmasters throughout the century. This gives a meaningful idea of their spending power, or worth, throughout the century, helping to frame them within the economic situation they were living. On a whole, little work has been done on shipmasters and mariners in the fourteenth century, particularly concerning their socio-economic status in the general community when linked with real wages and standards of living. It is therefore essential to continue this work by comparing shipmasters and mariners to other members of society, in order to gain a better perspective of their place. Do shipmasters only appear to be rich when compared to builders, labourers, and mariners? Or are they actually in the middle of the socio-economic hierarchy? This can be examined through comparisons to Dyer's work on standards of living in the Middle Ages. Furthermore, it would be interesting to see whether the purchasing power of other societal groups, on the same level as shipmasters or higher, felt the economic pressures of the Great Famine and the Black Death, as it appears shipmasters did. This section will begin the process of evaluating seafarers' standard of living, much like Christopher Dyer, John Hatcher, and Mark Bailey have done for other occupational groups.[9]

[8] Textbook Equity Edition, *Principles of Economics* (Textbook Equity, 2014), p. 461.
[9] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*; Hatcher, 'Unreal Wages: Long-Run Living Standards and the "Golden Age" of the Fifteenth Century'; Mark Bailey, 'Peasant Welfare in England, 1290-1348', *EHR*, LI.1 (1998), 223–51.

Figure 4.1: Average Decadal Cost — Basket of Consumables

Arguably, the three most significant events of the fourteenth century were: the Great Famine over 1315-1322 the onset of the Hundred Years War in 1337, and The Black Death through the middle of the century. Existing research by David L. Farmer, as well as Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila Hopkins, has examined the effect of the Black Death upon the real incomes and living standards of peasants and builders through the use of baskets of consumables.[10] This 'basket of goods' however is not free of criticism. Christopher Dyer[11] has suggested that, for the middle ages, the estimated cost of the Phelps Brown/Hopkins (PBH) basket of consumables is too high. Phelps Brown and Hopkins constructed their basket of consumables from the accounts of two priests and a servant in the 1450s.[12] Dyer, while agreeing with the logic behind using the available accounts, raises issue with the fact that 'two priests with an income approaching £20 were a good deal wealthier than any craftsman. They paid no rent, and their household contained a single servant, not a wife and a brood of hungry children'.[13] He further explains his caution by considering the priests' diet as compared to craftsmen:

> If we assess their diet in terms of the ratio between cereal products (bread, pottage and ale) and other foods (*companagium*, that which goes with bread) we arrive at a figure of 55:45, whereas building craftsmen in the fifteenth century received from their

[10] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage- Rates'.
[11] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 220.
[12] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, *A Perspective of Wages and Prices*, l. 532.
[13] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 220.

employers' diets with a ratio of 60:40, and earlier the figures were probably nearer to 70:30.[14]

Farmer's basket, on the other hand, seems to have been well received, if slightly underused.[15] For the fourteenth century, Farmer's data might be the better choice if just looking at source material, as he uses documents from across the country (or at least south of the Severn and the Wash).[16] However, the PBH basket has data for each year of the fourteenth century, making it ideal for tracking changes in the purchasing power and real wages of shipmasters. With Dyer's concerns in mind, it was important to determine by how much this basket over estimated, by comparing it to another basket of consumables created by Farmer.[17] It was thought that Farmer's basket would be far less expensive than Phelps Brown and Hopkins', however, it was instead found that the PBH basket is on average lower than the Farmer basket (Figure 4.1).

Since the PBH Index was calculated year to year and the Farmer basket of consumables was calculated as decadal averages, it was essential to compare both indexes on the same scale. This required not only finding decadal averages for the PBH Index, but also converting the Farmer basket into the same index as Phelps Brown and Hopkins.

Phelps Brown and Hopkins calculated their basket of consumables as an index, to better compare it to the real wages of builders, and so the same approach has been taken for the Farmer basket. In the Phelps-Brown/Hopkins Index, the years 1451-1475 were averaged, and the rest of the data was normalised against this period; the years 1451-1475 were determined to be the most stable.[18] To do the same for Farmer's data first required the average from 1451-1475. To find this, the decadal cost of the basket (converted from shillings to pence) was plotted on a graph from Farmer's data in four different ways. This ensured that where each point was plotted within its decade did not affect the final outcome. Therefore, each data point was plotted at the beginning of the decade, the middle of the decade, and the end of the decade; the overall average from 1450-1480 was also calculated. For these first three methods, a linear equation was used to generate a value for the years in between each point. For example, from 1435-1465 the equation found is

$$y = -2.6x + 4145.2$$

and from 1465-1495 the equation found is

$$y = -0.568x + 1168.4$$

[14] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 220.
[15] Bruce M. S. Campbell, 'A Fair Field Once Full of Folk: Agrarian Change in an Era of Population Decline, 1348–1500', *Agricultural History Review*, 41.1 (1993), 60–70 (pp. 61–62).
[16] David L. Farmer, 'Part V. Prices and Wages, 1350-1500', in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: 1348-1500*, ed. by Edward Miller (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991), III, p. 431.
[17] Farmer, III, p. 447.
[18] Phelps Brown and Hopkins, *A Perspective of Wages and Prices*, l. 602.

with '*x*' being the year in question and '*y*' being the value of the basket. Through the use of these equations, a value was determined for each of the years between 1451 and 1475, and through these an average value for the period was calculated. These were: 322.37 *d.* for the beginning, 320.31 *d.* for the middle, 318.99 *d.* for the end, and 319.20 *d.* for the overall average of 1450-1480. Calculating the 1451-1475 average in these different ways allowed more certainty when converting Farmer's data to an index to compare it against the PBH Index. From the values above, it is clear that there is little difference between the various methods used. The 'middle' average was used, as this value lies within the range of the other calculated averages.

This idea was explored further by testing the sensitivity of the final index values to the average value used. It was not until a ten percent change in the 1451-1475 average used that the Farmer basket index ever dipped below the PBH Index (Figure 4.2). Farmer's original data only shows a ten percent variation in total across the period, and so it is unlikely that the index values calculated would off by more than ten percent.

Figure 4.1 shows that the calculated index for the Farmer basket was actually higher than the PBH basket index. This goes against the expected outcome; as highlighted above, the PBH basket has often been thought to be over-expensive. The difference between the two indexes is not great, however, and the two indexes track each other well, suggesting that both indexes reflect real changes. Though the data has a low resolution, the two broad peaks reflected by both indexes roughly coincide with the Great Famine and Black Death, and the minimum between these peaks occurs just after the start of the Hundred Years War. The PBH basket has data from every year of the century, rather than the decadal averages that Farmer uses. Being able to track changes in the real wages from year to year, rather than over a decade, is more beneficial for this study, which is why the PBH index is used. Using the real wage information for builders and labourers provided by PBH, the original prices of the basket were calculated for each year. This in turn allowed real wage data to be determined for shipmasters and mariners (Figure 4.3 A&B).

Figure 4.2: Sensitivity Analysis

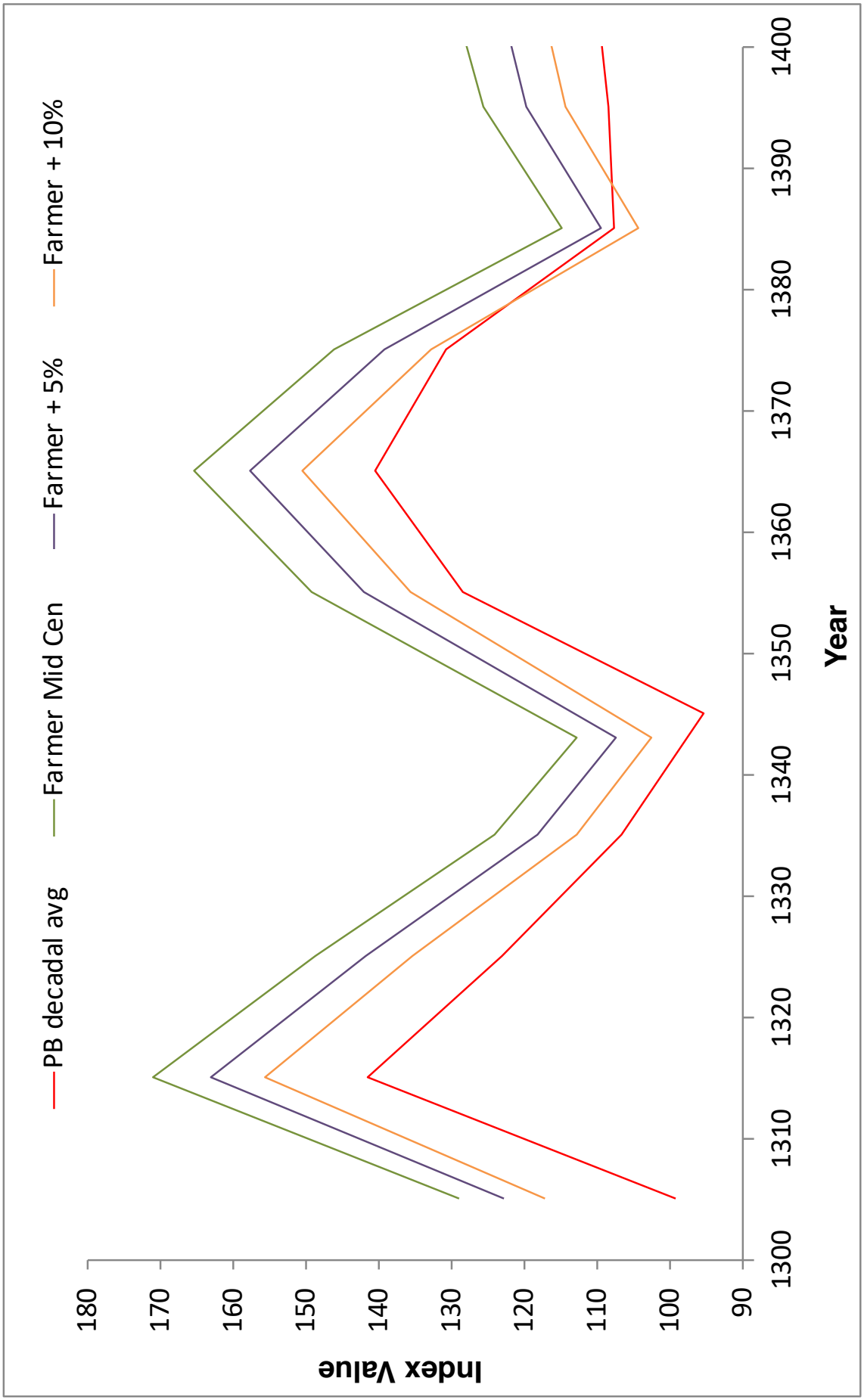
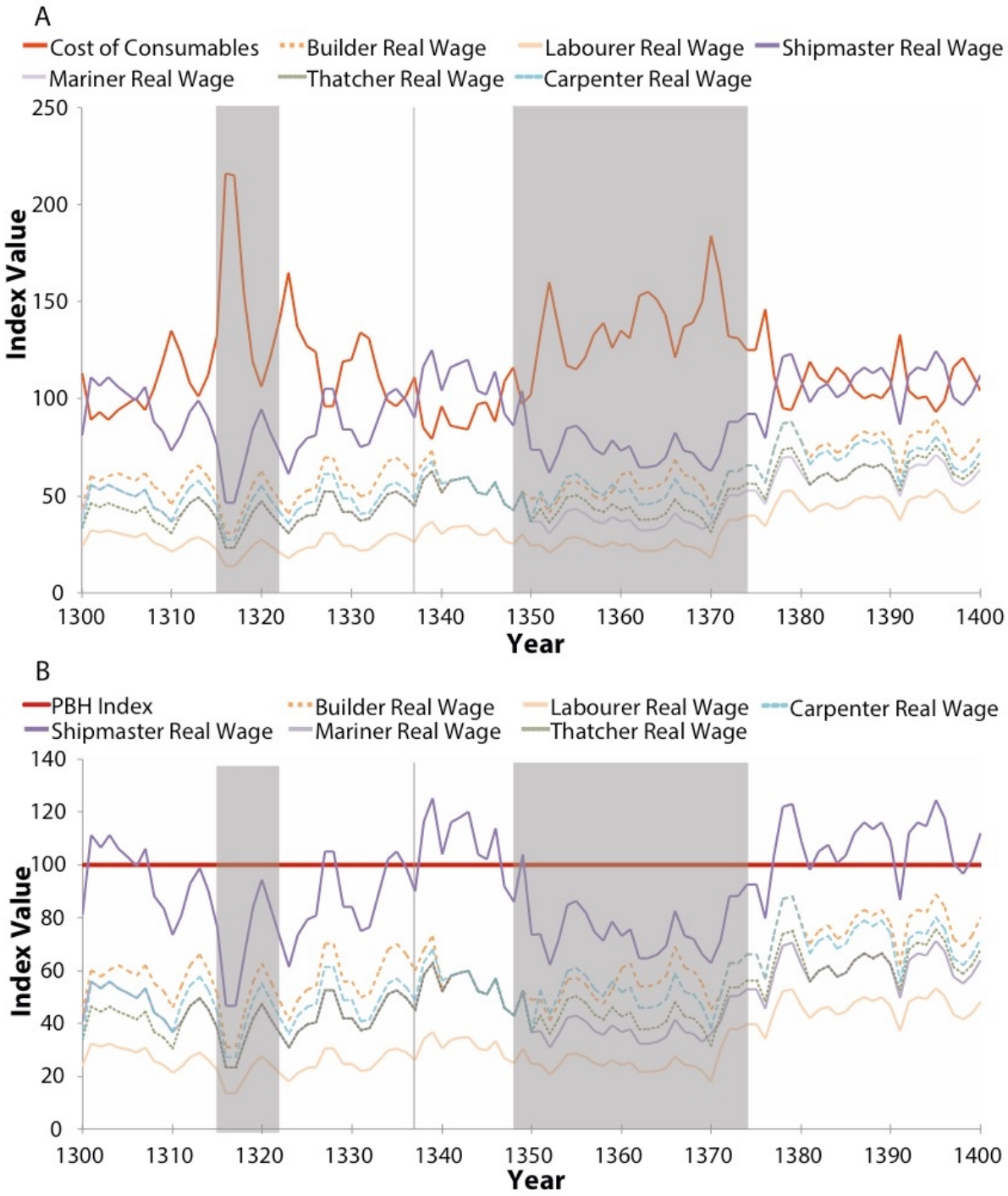


Figure 4.3 A&B: Purchasing Power in the 14th Century



Sources: Index information and cost of consumables, as well as builder and laborour wage data come from Henry Phelps Brown and Sheila V. Hopkins, 'Seven Centuries of the Prices of Consumables, Compared with Builders' Wage- Rates', Economica*, 23.92 (1956), pp. 311-314. Shipmaster and mariner wage data come from. Thatcher wage data comes from Christopher Dyer,* Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages: Social Change in England C. 1200–1520 *(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 215. Carpenter wage data comes from James E. Thorold Rogers*, A History of Agriculture and Prices in England*, 7 vols (Orford: Clarendon Press, 1866), i, pp. 315-319.*

Table 4.2: Comparison of wages, as given in the Inquisition of Queenborough[19]

From	To	Wages outward	Approximate wage as d./mile
London	Lisbon	20*s.*	0.14*/0.20^
London	? Prussia (Danzig)	20*s.*	0.20
London	Ireland (Waterford)	10*s.*	0.21
London	Ireland (Dublin)	10*s.* + 2*s.*	0.22
London	Bayonne	10*s.*	0.13*/0.15^
London	Scone	8*s.* 4*d.*	0.20
London	Berwick	8*s.*	0.22
London	Bordeaux (autumn)	8*s.*	0.11*/0.13^
London	La Rochelle (spring)	8*s.*	0.12*/0.14^
London	Bordeaux (spring)	7*s.*	0.10*/0.12^
London	Bourgneuf	7*s.*	0.10*/0.12^
London	Bourgneuf with cover	5*s.*	0.08*/0.10^
London	Newcastle	4*s.*	0.13
London	Flanders	6*s.*	0.18
London	Calais	5*s.*	0.32

* calculated from the distance on a direct route
^ calculated from the distance on a coasting route

There are two possible ways to measure shipmaster (and mariner) wages. The first is to use the Inquisition of Queenborough (Table 4.2) as a guide, which gives examples of possible wages earned on voyages.[20] The second is to use the daily wage rates paid by the Crown to seafarers for naval service. While the Inquisition of Queenborough provides an idea of what the commercial wage rates were, we can never be sure how long a voyage actually took; a voyage to Calais might take a few days or a few weeks, depending on the weather. Therefore, it would be extremely difficult to use the Inquisition of Queenborough to calculate daily wages.

During most of the fourteenth century, the daily naval wage for shipmasters was 6*d.* per day and for mariners it was 3*d.* per day. After the Black Death and towards the end of the century, a 6*d.* per week 'regard' was implemented on top of this wage, which works out to roughly 7*d.* per day for shipmasters and 4*d.* per day for mariners.[21] The basket of consumables price was found by taking the wage amount and dividing it by the builders' real wage index. For example, in 1304 builders were paid 3*d.* per day and the builders' real wage index value is 62; therefore,

[19] Robin Ward, p. 111.
[20] Robin Ward, pp. 109–11.
[21] Dorothy Burwash, *English Merchant Shipping 1460-1540* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947), p. 52; Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, p. 21; Rose, *England's Medieval Navy 1066-1509*, p. 112; A. R. Bridbury, 'The Black Death', *EHR*, 26.4 (1973), 577–92 (p. 577); Lambert, 'Henry V and the Crossing to France', p. 34; Lambert and Ayton, 'A Maritime Community in War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners 1320-1400', p. 84.

$$\left(\frac{3.5\ d.}{62}\right) \times 100\ =\ 5.65\ d.$$

Once the monetary cost of the basket had been calculated, the real wage index values for shipmasters and mariners could be found by normalising their wage data against the price of the basket. For example, in 1304, mariners were paid 6*d.* per day, and so their real wage for this year could be calculated as follows:

$$\left(\frac{6\ d.}{5.65\ d.}\right) \times 100\ =\ 106.$$

The results of this analysis are interesting. It can be seen in Figure 4.3 A&B that, overall, those living in the Middle Ages did not have much in the way of disposable income; neither mariners, labourers, nor builders were ever paid enough to meet the needs of the basket of consumables. Shipmasters, on the other hand, were sometimes paid enough to not only buy the items in the basket, but to also have some money left over, as shown in Figure 4.3B. Bailey questions whether or not the trends seen after the Black Death actually began in the years leading up to it.[22] While the data presented here only brushes the surface of what can be explored, even a cursory glance shows that shipmasters' purchasing power was beginning to expand in the years leading up to the Black Death, rather than as a response to it.

Overall, it can be seen that the taxation of mariners in both halves of the fourteenth century was varied and complex, no matter which method of taxation is observed. There are many factors that appear to be involved; for example, the existence of large ports, tax exemptions, and sheer number of records that have survived can all influence our vision of the taxation of mariners occurring in a county. In the last half of the century, at least, it can be seen that mariners were relatively prosperous when compared to the overall tax amounts for the population, albeit, they were also more varied. When looking at the geographical location of each county, related to the mean average taxation, it is clear that proximity to the continent is not always the overriding factor on the wealth of the mariners. Furthermore, the impact of the decline of eastern fisheries and the concurrent rise of south-western fisheries is not immediately apparent either from the data gathered so far. It may be that coastal communities of mariners were able to suffer this change through adjusting their trade, or that the variables measured here cannot reflect the impact.

Despite the assumed outcome of the comparison between the Phelps Brown and Hopkins basket and Farmer's basket, the PBH basket consistently plotted lower than that of Farmer. With both indexes matching well over the fourteenth century, they both have their

[22] Bailey, 'Peasant Welfare in England', p. 223.

merits and are equally viable. Going in to this study, it was expected that builders and shipmasters would be on the same socio-economic level; however, using the Phelps Brown and Hopkins index to reconstruct real wages revealed that shipmasters were considerably better off than builders, mariners, and labourers.

4.2 Seafarers, Weather, Climate, and Famine in Fourteenth Century England

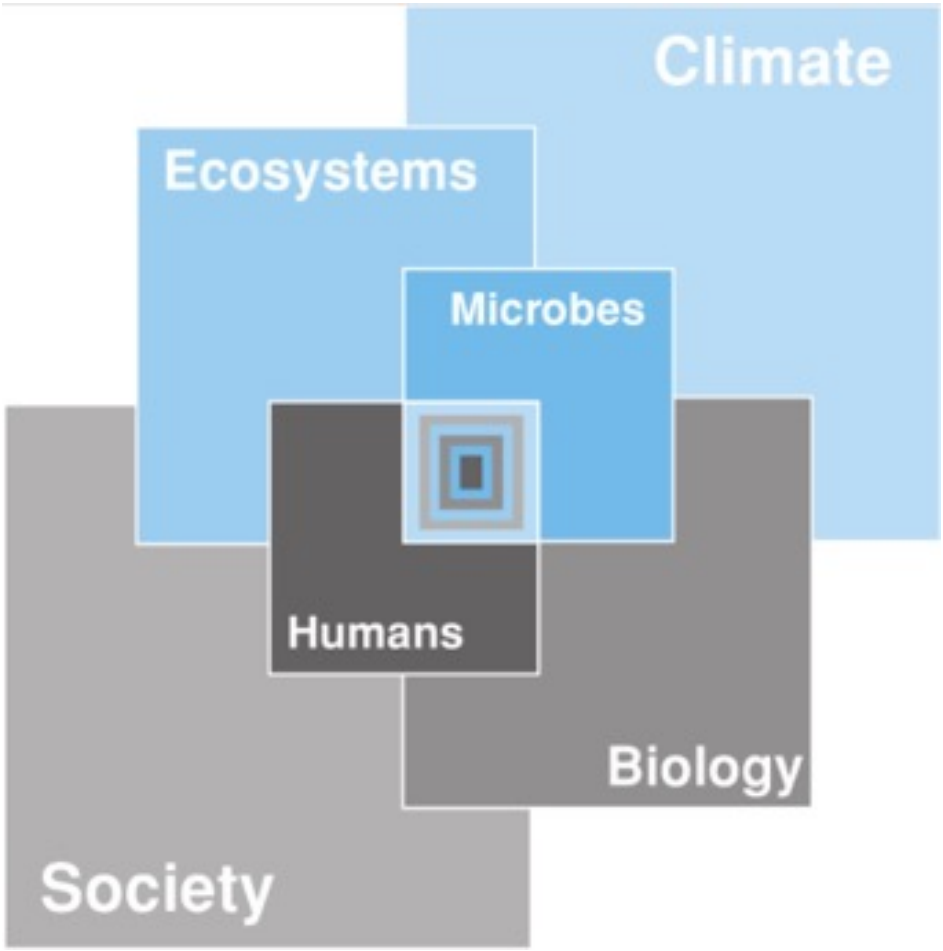
As mentioned previously, there were three major events that strongly affected those living (and dying) in the fourteenth century: The Great Famine of 1315-1322, the Hundred Years War, and the Black Death (which began in 1348 and did not fully abate until the 1370s). New work has been completed by Bruce Campbell on climate and disease in the medieval world in his book *The Great Transition*, and while he does not address seafarers directly he does touch on topics that would have highly influenced them.[23] The Great Transition that he references in the title of his book is a period of time from the late thirteenth century to the late fifteenth century where several different changes occurred, creating a 'perfect storm' of famine, disease, and warfare. In fact, Campbell posits:

> Climate's influence was over-arching: it changed ecologies, growing conditions, carrying capacities, the viability of marginal environments, sailing conditions and risks of experiencing extreme weather events. Microbial pathogens, their hosts and vectors are ecologically sensitive and thus responsive to altered climatic conditions...Humans created the density and distributional preconditions for the pan-continental spread of diseases... To understand and explain the history of the late-medieval world therefore requires an appreciation of these interactions between climate, disease and society: nature as much as society needs to be acknowledged as a protagonist of historical change.[24]

He describes the medieval system as a precarious balance between climate and society, ecology and biology, and microbes and humans, where when one is effected at least one other is as well, disturbing the equilibrium (see Figure 4.4 for visual representation of this concept).

[23] Campbell, *The Great Transition*.
[24] Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 21.

Figure 4.4: The six core components of a dynamic socio-ecological system



Source: Bruce M. S. Campbell, The Great Transition: Climate, Disease and Society in the Late-Medieval World (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2016), p. 21.

As noted port towns, and their inhabitants, were perhaps most at risk from changes to this balance. Coastal communities were sensitive to biological changes, when the fish they were seeking became scarcer, and to extreme fluctuations in the environment in which they lived and worked, leading in some cases to loss of settlements. For instance, London saw major flooding in the first few decades of the fourteenth century with river-wall breaches from extreme tides and surges. This led to 'livestock losses, damage to arable land and pasture, destruction of fishing structures and mills and some permanent loss of reclaimed marshland'. The flooding was so widespread that even some chroniclers wrote about it, for example in the *Annales Paulini*, it is said that 'a great inundation of the sea occurred throughout England, "and most of all in the Thames"; sea-walls were broken, countless animals drowned, and fertile land was ruined by salt'.[25] Furthermore, in 1325 in Dunwich, a petition was brought to the council because a great

[25] James A. Galloway, 'Storm Flooding, Coastal Defence and Land Use around the Thames Estuary and Tidal River c.1250–1450', *JMH*, 35.2 (2009), 171–88 (p. 180).

part of the town was destroyed by the sea, 'to the sum of 10*l.* 2*s.* 11½*d.* and 5 score herrings; the loss on markets and fairs amounts to 13*l.* 8*s.* 6*d.* ; on account of the obstruction of the port men of Walbertiswyke and Suthwalde…'.[26]

In the few years leading up to 1315, England saw a string of poor harvests and heavy rains. In 1315, however, things became worse when summer rains destroyed the harvest,[27] so much so that the author of the Chronicle of Malmesbury 'thought that the prophecies in the fifth chapter of Isaias were being fulfilled'.[28] The famine continued throughout 1315-16.[29] Grain, domestic animals, and food stuff in general (such as salt) became extremely scarce, causing the prices for corn and other goods to climb steeply. The worsening weather over the early part of the fourteenth century was connected to the significant changes in the strength of the North Atlantic Oscillation, leading to extremes of weather including heavy rains and powerful storms. [30],

The fluctuations in the weather had an impact on food prices. According to Thorold Roger's research, the price for a quarter of wheat in the first decade of the fourteenth century was 5*s*. 7¼*d*. and 8*s*. in the autumn of 1315. However, by the summer of 1316, the price per quarter had risen to 26*s*. 8*d*. and, according to some contemporaries, even rose as high as 40*s*..[31] Another chronicler describes the horrors of this time, with 'emaciated forms of starving men and women in the streets of London' who were forced to eat anything they could find to feed themselves, such as dogs, cats, and even the 'dung of doves'.[32] Trokelowe even writes about people turning to cannibalism,[33] but Ian Kershaw cautions that while this account was most likely exaggerated, it does 'testify to the stark horror which this period of extreme famine impressed upon the memories of contemporaries'.[34] Hunger was not reserved for the poor and even the king struggled to get the supplies he needed. For example, on August 10, it was nearly impossible for Edward II's household to find bread when they stopped in St Albans for the Feast of St Laurence.[35]

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[26] *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous; 1319-1327* (London: H. M. Stationery Off., 1916), p. 226.
[27] Ian Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322', *PP*, 1973, 3–50 (p. 7).
[28] Henry S. Lucas, 'The Great European Famine of 1315, 1316, and 1317', *The University of Chicago Press*, 5.4 (1930), 343–77 (p. 346).
[29] Lucas, p. 352; Kershaw, p. 8.
[30] Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 258.
According to the Climatic Research Unit, the North Atlantic Oscillation (NAO) is a 'large-scale mode (i.e., pattern) of natural climate variability that has important impacts on the weather and climate of the North Atlantic region and surrounding continents, especially Europe. Although the NAO occurs in all seasons, it is during winter that it is particularly dominant…'.
[31] Kershaw, p. 8; John de Trokelowe and Henry Blaneford, *Johannis de Trokelowe, et Henrici de Blaneforde, Monachorum S. Albani, Necnon Quorundam Anonymorum, Chronica et Annales Regnantibus Henrico Tertio, Edwardo Primo, Edwardo Secundo, Ricardo Secundo, et Henrico Quarto*, ed. by Henry T. Riley (London: Longman and Co, 1866), pp. 92, 94.
[32] Lucas, pp. 355–56; 'Annales de Bermundeseia', in *Annales Monastici*, ed. by Henry Richards Luard, 5 vols (London: Longman and Co, 1866), III, p. 470.
[33] Trokelowe and Blaneford, p. 95.
[34] Kershaw, p. 10.
[35] Lucas, p. 356; Trokelowe and Blaneford, p. 92.

To compound matters, the famine was soon exacerbated by pestilence because the people of England were so malnourished that they could not fight off the dysentery, high fever, and infections of the throat.[36] Death came quickly for those affected, so much so that not enough people to give them proper burials. To make matters even worse, it was not only humans that the famine and pestilence affected, but animals as well, which in turn harmed the starving populace who consumed the infected animals.[37] Desperate times lead to desperate people, and this can be seen in the high amount of crime throughout this period, a third of which were related to the theft of foodstuffs (like grain, bread, and ale) and around forty percent involving the theft of livestock.[38]

This rising crime did not only affect seafarers while they were home, but also while they were at sea. On April 4, 1316, Edward II ordered officials to prepare ships for 'the repulse of certain malefactors who have committed manslaughter and other enormities on the sea upon the men of this realm and upon men from foreign parts coming to this realm with victuals and other goods'.[39] Later in the year, Edward II complained that merchants and fishermen were not coming into the realm with their goods because 'some of his subjects of Kent, Sussex, and Southampton were committing thefts and homicide on the sea'.[40] Even when foreign merchants managed to make it into port there were still instances of goods being seized in harbour. The matter got so bad in Sandwich that Edward II had to order the port town to protect foreign merchants that were bringing essential goods into the kingdom.[41] It was not until 1318 that England saw a fruitful harvest, bringing an end to the previous years' hardships. If Campbell's outlook on the precarious balance of society and climate is correct, then this time of famine and pestilence sets the stage for future hardships, as each moment of famine weakened society. While usually effects of famines like this were short lived, there was a compounded effect in the fourteenth century with groups of people being 'simultaneously affected by harvest failure, society dislocation and/or war, under which circumstances it occasionally initiated large-scale environmental degradation or settlement retreat'.[42] It could therefore be said that if the fourteenth century had simply faced this one instance of famine, the Black Death might not have caused as much death. However, the citizens of England were then met by the beginnings of a war that last well into the fifteenth century.

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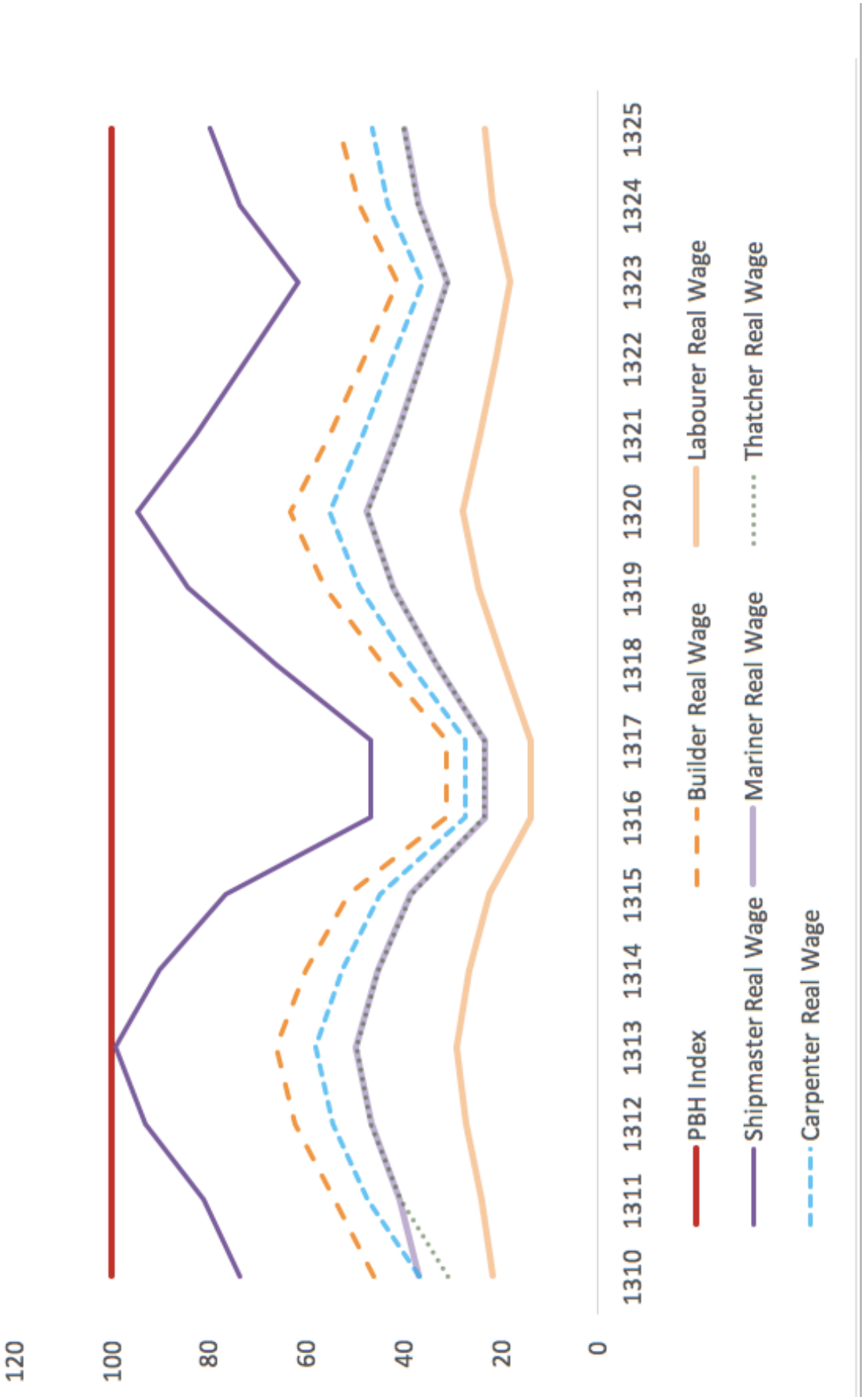
[36] Lucas, p. 357; Josiah C. Russell, 'Effects of Pestilence and Plague, 1315-1385', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8.4 (1966), 464–73 (p. 467); Trokelowe and Blaneford, p. 94.
[37] Lucas, pp. 357–58.
[38] Kershaw, p. 12.
[39] *CCR, Edward II, 1313-1318*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1893), p. 332.
[40] Lucas, p. 360.
[41] Lucas, p. 372; Lyte, *CCR 1313-1318*, p. 291.
[42] Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 258.

Figure 4.5: Purchasing Power during the Great Famine, 1315-1322



The Great Famine's effect on various occupation can be seen in Figure 4.5. In 1313, just before the Great Famine's official start, shipmasters were only just below the PBH index line, and their purchasing power steeply decreases by 1315, with the lowest points being seen between 1316 and 1317. After 1317, there was an increase until 1320, but shipmasters' purchasing power never fully recovers to that of before the Famine. In fact, there is another decrease after 1320 that only recovers after the Great Famine was finished in 1322. The other occupations observed—mariners, builders, labourers, thatchers, and carpenters—follow similar trends, only on a much less dramatic scale. The Great Famine greatly impacted the ability of shipmasters, as well as other members of society, to buy food and other goods. It can be seen that the absolute changes for shipmasters are much more drastic than any other occupation; in fact, the less money earned, the less change is seen. For example, in 1313 shipmasters are at an index value of ninety-nine and in 1316 they at 46.5. This is a change of 52.5 index points. By comparison, labourers in 1313 are at an index of twenty-nine and of fourteen in 1316. This is only a change of fifteen index points. Similar observations can be made when looking forward at Figure 4.6, which shows these differences across the whole century. It is both important and interesting to note, though, that when compared within a single occupation, each occupation changes by fifty-three percent from 1313 to 1316.

When looking at the whole of the century, as shown in Figure 4.6 and Figure 4.7, as well as back at Figure 4.3, it appears that though shipmasters were affected relatively worse than the other occupations during the Great Famine and the Black Death, Conversely, from the start of the Hundred Years War to the start of the Black Death both shipmasters and mariners benefitted from the war, with shipmasters' purchasing power reaching one of its peaks through the whole century. Even mariners saw an upsurge in purchasing power during this period, since they were as well off as builders and carpenters. This is especially significant as a builder and a carpenter were both considered a specialist trade and a mariner was not.

Figure 4.6: Difference in Purchasing Power, 1300-1399, Shipmaster vs Builder, Labourer, & Mariner

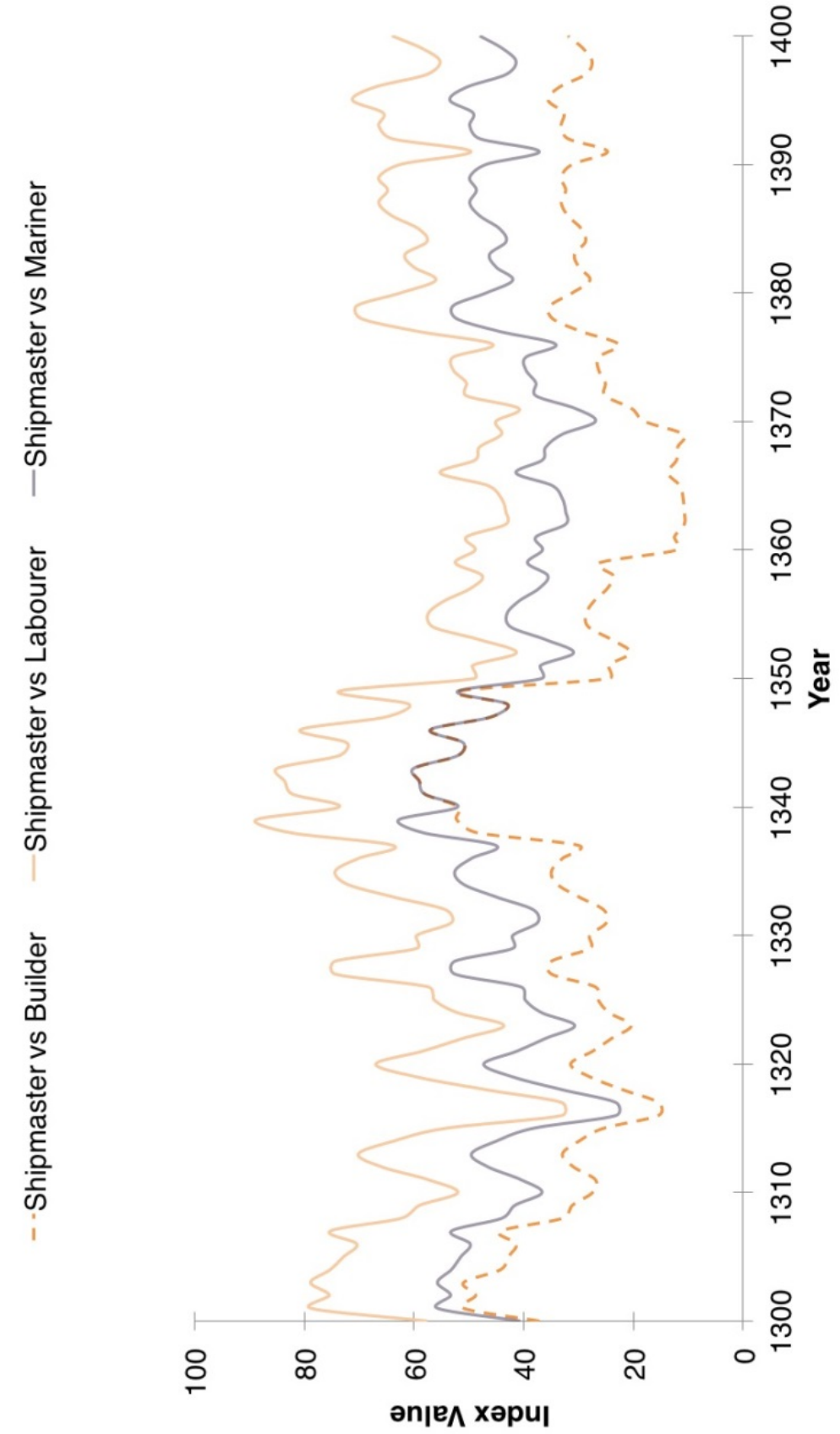
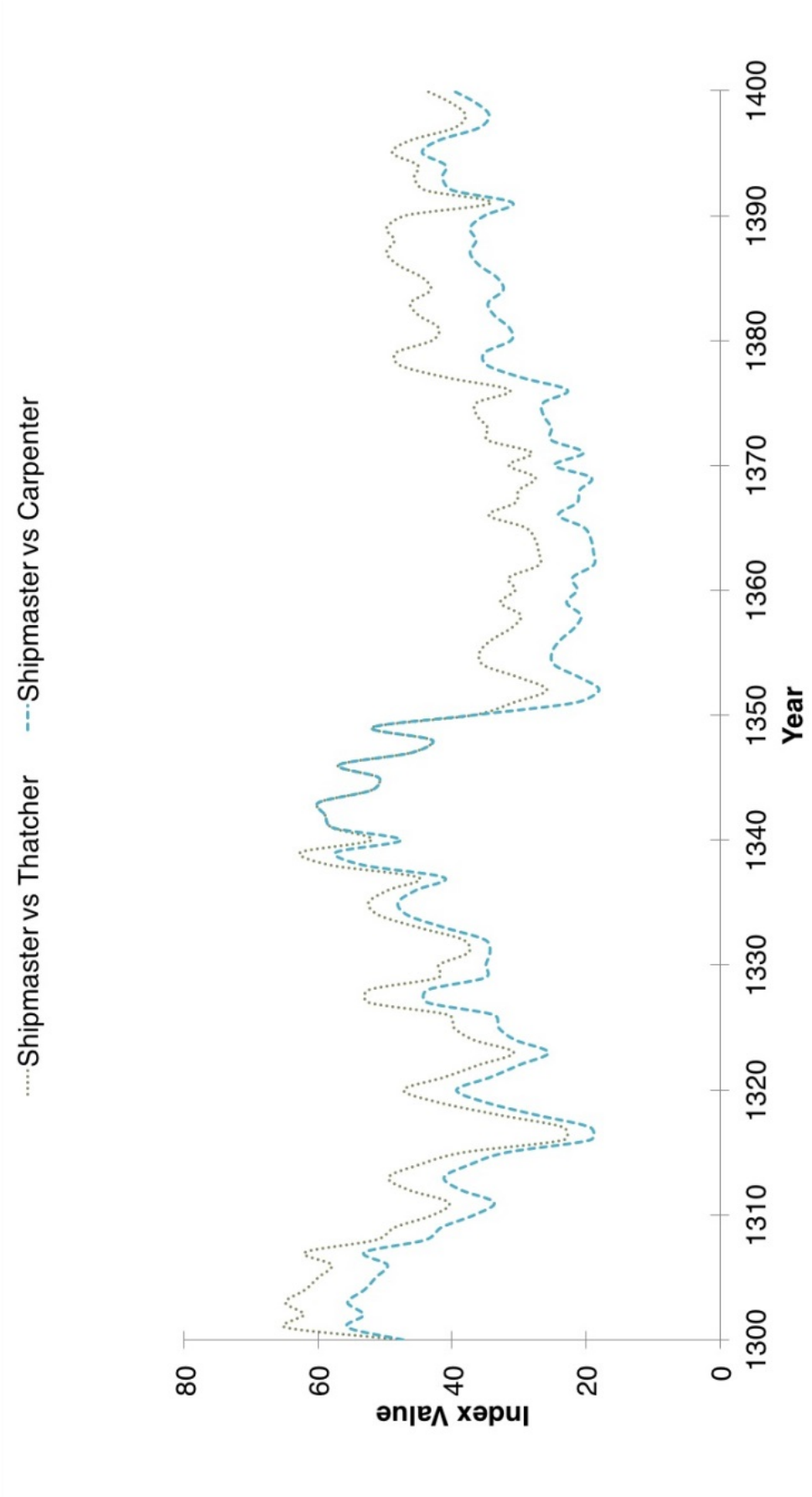


Figure 4.7: Difference in Purchasing Power, 1300-1399: Shipmaster vs Thatcher & Carpenter



4.3 Seafarers and the Impact of the Hundred Years War

While his motivations were numerous, Edward III gave his people a single vision by declaring himself king of France and starting the Hundred Years War. With important victories at the beginning of the Hundred Years War, as well as his creation of the Order of the Garter, Edward III and his reign are remembered in a more positive light than his father. For example, Jean le Bel describes him as the 'valiant' multiple times in the passages from chronicles surrounding the Battle of Crécy.[43] Victories at Crécy and Calais (among other successes) were 'exploited by royal propaganda and consolidated by the encouragement of chivalric *esprit de corps* through such inspired *coups* as the appropriation of the soldier martyr St George as patron of the Order of the Garter', furthering the appeal of the monarchy.[44]

To contemporaries, this war would become one of the most encompassing and more important aspects of the century (as well as well into the following century). In fact, Chaucer's Knight is described as having fought in holy wars ('And therto hadde he riden (no man ferre)/As wel in Cristendom as hethenesse),[45] which the Squire fought in non-religious wars such as in 'Flaundres, in Artoys, and Picardye'.[46] The Knight's description lacks any indication that he has fought in any wars that were not religious in nature, which some scholars believe was an explicit critique of those who took part in the Hundred Years War (or other non-religious wars).[47] While it is clear that the Squire served in the Hundred Years War, this does not necessarily mean that the Knight did. Even as his son, it is possible for the Squire to have served other men throughout his career. However, it should be noted that if Mézières was the inspiration behind the Knight, Chaucer chose to leave out Mézières' time as a soldier and mercenary in France in the early 1350s. This was a small part of his larger career fighting during the crusades of this period in the Mediterranean. The short time fighting in France was perhaps outweighed by Mézières' overall holiness, as he has been described by scholars as having an 'unwavering devotion to Christ' and that crusades to honour Christ was his 'keenest desire'.[48] Further, in 1347, after the recent collapse of Humbert of Viennois' crusade, Mézières went to Jerusalem where 'he

[43] Jehan Le Bel, *Chronique de Jean de Bel*, ed. by Jules Marie Édouard Viard (Paris: Librairie Renouard, 1904), pp. 131–35 <http://archive.org/details/chroniquedejeand02lebeuoft>.
[44] Andrew Ayton, 'English Armies in the Fourteenth Century', in *The Wars of Edward III: Sources and Interpretations*, ed. by Clifford J. Rogers, Warfare in History (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 301–19 (p. 310).
[45] Chaucer, IV, ll. 48–49.
[46] Chaucer, IV, l. 86.
[47] Roger S. Loomis, 'Was Chaucer a Laodicean?', in *Chaucer Criticism*, ed. by Richard J. Schoeck and Jerome Taylor, 2 vols (Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1960), I, pp. 298–99.
[48] Andrea Tarnowski, 'Material Examples: Philippe de Mézières' Order of the Passion', *Yale French Studies*, 2006, 163–75 (p. 163).

received, apparently from God himself, the laws of his new order of knighthood, the Order of the Passion',[49] which he saw as a 'crucial element in a successful crusade'.[50]

The debates surrounding the impact of the Hundred Years War as a whole have been widely discussed. K.B. McFarlane argued that the war was not a positive influence on Europe, where the conflict impoverished those countries involved,[51] as well as 'ruining its Italian financial backers, displacing and depressing trade and commerce, diverting investment and destroying productive capacity'.[52] However, McFarlane was more positive than others in his assessment of the impacts on the English economy. M.M. Postan, for example, argues that because of the diversion of manpower England necessarily came out of the war 'in the red'.[53] Another view is that presented by A.R. Bridbury who argued the impact was neutral,[54] and that in fact England coped well with the war.[55] Yet, we need to be careful how much store we place into such arguments because research has shown that contemporaries were apt at exploiting the war to secure reduced tax burdens. Chris Briggs, for example, showed that the residents of some towns in Cumberland received tax reductions based on evidence they presented to the king on how Scottish raiding had affected them, when many of these communities had not been attacked by the Scots. Deploying such tactical arguments meant that in 1334 the whole county of Cumberland secured an exemption from that year's Lay Subsidy In 1336, Cumberland tried to once again lighten its taxation burden due to frequent Scottish invasions, but to no avail. …'.[56] This gives credence to the idea that counties could and would play up the negative tolls of war in order to benefit its inhabitants.

J.W. Sherborne and A. Saul both argued that the Hundred Years War had a negative impact on the maritime community, since the burden of providing and sometimes even building ships primarily fell to the port towns rather than inland ones.[57] Further, it has been argued that the war destroyed the English merchant fleet that in turn would have made shipmasters

[49] Vander Elst, p. 393.
[50] Tarnowski, p. 165.
[51] K.B. McFarlane, 'War, the Economy and Social Change: England and the Hundred Years War', *PP*, 1962, 3–18 (p. 3); Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 258.
[52] Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 268.
[53] M.M. Postan, 'The Costs of the Hundred Years' War', *PP*, 1964, p. 34.
[54] A. R. Bridbury, 'The Hundred Year's War: Costs and Profits', in *Trade, Government, and Economy in Pre-Industrial England: Essays Presented to F. J. Fisher*, ed. by D.C. Coleman and A.H. John (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1976).
[55] A. R. Bridbury, 'Before the Black Death', *EHR*, 30.3 (1977), 393–410.
[56] Chris Briggs, 'Taxation, Warfare, and the Early Fourteenth Century "crisis" in the North: Cumberland Lay Subsidies, 1332-1348', *EHR*, 58.4 (2005), 639–72 (p. 647).
[57] J. W. Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', *PP*, 1967, 163–75 (p. 168); Anthony Saul, 'Great Yarmouth and the Hundred Years War in the Fourteenth Century', *HR*, 52.126 (1979), 105–15.

poorer,[58] an idea that has begun to be challenged in recent years.[59] Although Kowaleski herself has stated that the 'value of ships probably outstripped all other forms of industrial investment', she argues against this 'unrelievedly grim' view of the medieval maritime economy since the 'entrepreneurial merchants, shipowners, and mariners of English port towns sometimes found way to profit from the War, particularly in the western ports' and that the 'essential contributions of the port towns to the war effort…made the Crown increasingly open to their interests, more likely to address their petitions, and inclined to reward them with charters and other privileges'.[60]

Further to the ways listed by Kowaleski that the seafaring community could have benefitted from the war, Tony Moore outlines the potential profits that could be made by those involved in the war through captured prizes and ransoms for wealthy opponents. For example, in 1387 the Earl of Arundel, managed to capture a large shipment of wine which earned him £160 16*s.* 2*d.* in prize. With this prize, the Crown effectively broke even on this expedition as it put a heavily manned fleet to sea that won an important engagement, whose prize paid back the money used on the expedition.[61] Ordinary mariners could and did share in this bounty. William Tye of Colchester, for example, commanded the James during Arundel's successful 1387 naval expedition.[62]

As M. M. Postan discusses in 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War', it can be difficult to untangle which social changes occur from the war itself and which occur merely from the passage of time. It is in the nature of war to change economies, which is unsurprising given the amount of money needed to undertake any war. For instance, war-budgets rose from 'somewhere between £40,000 and £70,000' in the beginning of the fourteenth century to about £200,000 in the 1320s and 1330s.[63] This money was raised through many different taxation and subsidy schemes, with the main brunt of the burden taken on by the clergy, laity, and landowners.[64] It is widely accepted that port towns did face a larger economic impact from the Hundred Years War. There were three reasons that ships would be

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[58] Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, p. 92; Cushway, pp. 185–90; Timothy J. Runyan, 'The Organization of Royal Fleets in Medieval England', in *Ships, Seafaring, and Society: Essays in Maritime History*, ed. by Timothy J. Runyan (Detroit: Wayne State UP, 1987), pp. 37–52 (p. 46); Herbert James Hewitt, *Organization of War under Edward III, 1338-62* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1966), p. 77.

[59] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe'; Lambert, 'Henry V and the Crossing to France'.

[60] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 235.

[61] Moore, p. 121.

[62] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 32; BL, 'Add MS 37494'; TNA E101/32/1; TNA E101/34/25 m4; TNA E101/36/14 m4; TNA E101/37/25 m13; TNA E101/37/7; TNA E101/38/18 m1, m2; TNA E101/37/13; TNA E101/37/14 m4; TNA E101/37/15 m1; TNA E101/37/17; TNA 'E122/158/25; TNA E101/40/8 m1; TNA E101/40/8 m1; TNA E101/40/19 m5; TNA E101/40/36 m2; TNA E101/179/10f51v.

[63] M.M. Postan, 'Some Social Consequences of the Hundred Years' War', *EHR*, 12.1/2 (1942), 1–12 (p. 4).

[64] McFarlane, pp. 6–8.

needed during the Kings' wars: first, the transportation of soldiers and horses to 'various theatres of land-based operations'; second, the conveyance of supplies, such as food and munitions; and third, the organisation of defensive and offensive operations, such as the 'interception of coastal raiders'.[65] These fleets were assembled in several different ways: by calling on the Cinque Ports' service; by pardoning shipowners, shipmasters, and crew in exchange for service; by making agreements with shipowners' for their employ in lieu of tax exemptions or favours; or by using the 'ancient right of requisition'.[66]

Since there was no royal navy at this time, and only a small number of ships could be acquired through the first three methods, the Crown relied on the requisitioning of merchant ships.[67] Royal officials would go from port to port to supervise the arresting of ships, with the Admiral of the North responsible for ports 'located on the east coast from the north bank of the Thames to Berwick' and with the Admiral of the West in charge of those ports from the 'south bank of the Thames around the Channel and Welsh coast right up to Skinburness in Westmorland'.[68] Requisitioned ships could be sent to a different port to pick up supplies or men, sometimes for up to months at a time, forcing the crew to unload their cargo early to complete the Crown's task. The owners of these vessels lost control of their ships, as well as losing any profits they could have made if the ship was able to complete its original voyage.[69] To make matters worse, sometimes ships were arrested far before they were needed; in 1372, the crews of twenty four ships were arrested before they were needed, and so the crew was forced to wait one hundred and five days before the Crown began to pay them wages.[70] A huge number of seafarers were needed during the larger campaigns, so much so that naval forces were 'numerically "even more important than field forces and garrisons"' during the Hundred Years War.[71] Based on estimates done by Sherborne, there were almost as many mariners needed to sail the ships as there were men-at-arms sent to fight. For instance, in 1372, Edward III sailed from Sandwich, with around 6000 fighting men on a fleet of 175-200 ships, and at least 5000 seafarers.[72] Using this information, along with the fact that at least thirty seafarers were needed to man a ship,[73] the follow table was compiled estimating the number of fighting men (men-at-arms and archers) compared to number of seafarers needed (Table 4.3). It should be noted,

[65] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 7.
[66] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 10.
[67] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 9; Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 236.
[68] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 10; Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 236.
[69] Runyan, 'The Organization of Royal Fleets in Medieval England', p. 45.
[70] Runyan, 'The Organization of Royal Fleets in Medieval England', p. 45; Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', p. 165.
[71] Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', p. 173.
[72] Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', p. 171.
[73] Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', p. 173.

Table 4.3: Fighting Men vs. Seafarers on English Expeditions during the Fourteenth Century

Year	To	Fighting Men	Seafarers
1369	France	6000	5250-6000
1370	France	4000	3510-3990
1372a	Naval expedition	6000	5250-6000
1372b	To support the duke of Brittany	960	840-960
1373	The Great Chevauchee across France	5925	5190-5940
1375	Brittany	3975	3480-3990
1378	Naval expedition	5000	4380-5010
1379	Brittany	1300	1140-1290
1380	Brittany	5191	4560-5190
1387	Naval expedition	2497	2190-2490
1388	Naval expedition	3592	3150-3600

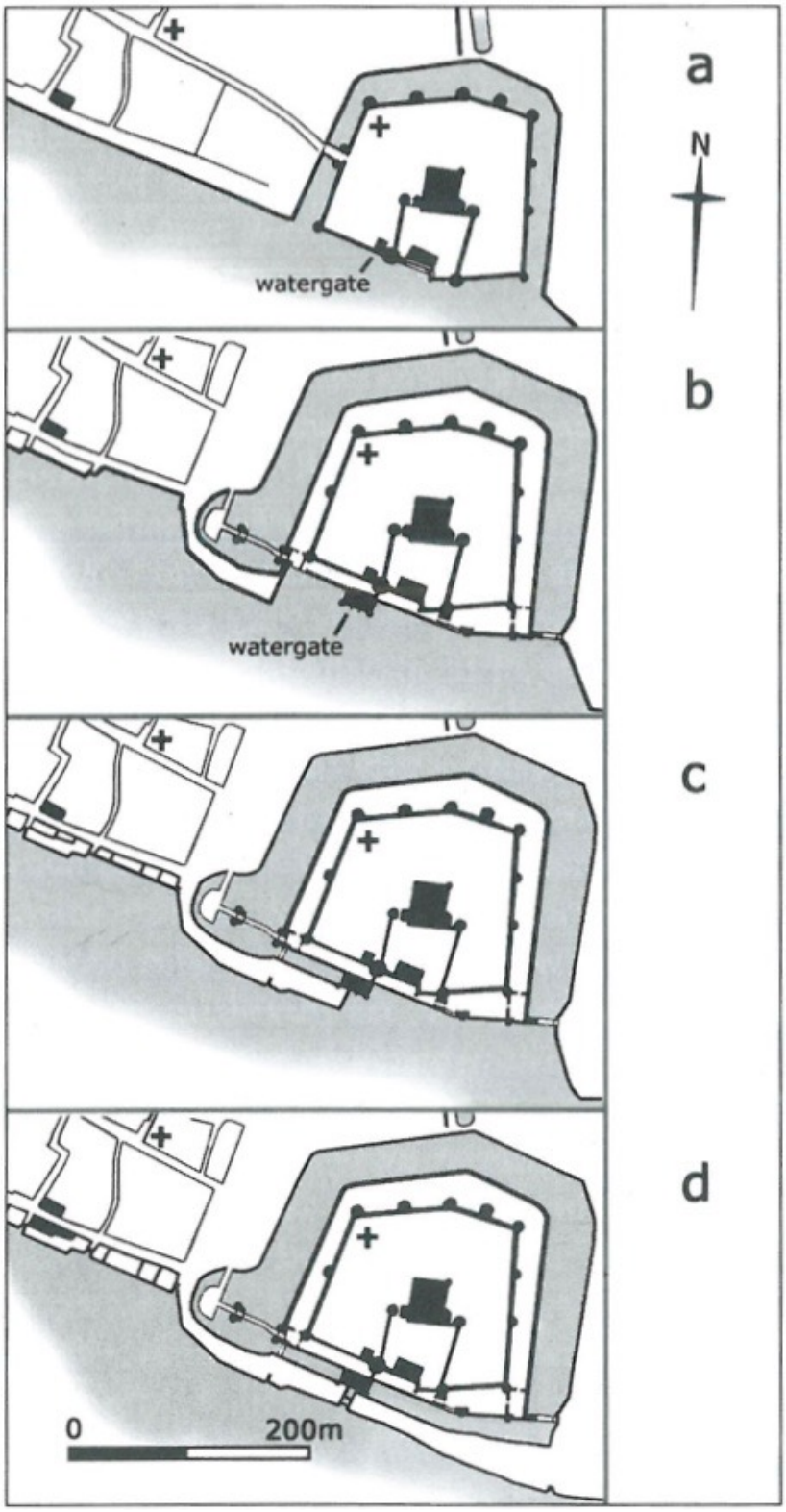
Source: Information on years, destinations, and fighting men taken from: Adrian R. Bell, War and the Soldier in the Fourteenth Century *(Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), p. 10.*

however that it has been argued that ships requisitioned for naval service needed to be manned by more mariners than commercial voyages, as extra men were probably brought along to help defend the ship.[74] Therefore, the table's estimates could be on the lower side.

On some occasions, the Crown would also try to transfer the costs of the war onto the port towns themselves.[75] Over 1291-1401 the Crown called on port towns to build ships. Costs could be onerous. For example, when Exeter was ordered to build a ship in 1374, it took a year and £200 to complete. With the town revenue only being in the range of £100-£120, it fell on the richer burgesses to make up the difference. Additionally, the war and piracy caused disruptions to overseas trade, where, for instance, the wine trade with Bordeaux went from '20,000 tuns of wine a year…in the first decade of the fourteenth century…to about 10,000 tuns a year by the end of the fourteenth century...'.[76]

[74] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 11.
[75] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 237; Runyan, 'Ships and Mariners in Later Medieval England'; Rodger, *Safeguard of the Sea*, pp. 118–25.
[76] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', pp. 99–108; Margery K. James, *Studies in the Medieval Wine Trade*, pp. 99–108.

Figure 4.8: Waterfront Development at the Tower of London[77]



a) late thirteenth century; b) early fourteenth century;

c) mid-fourteenth century; d) late fourteenth century

[77] Milne, p. 120.

Furthermore, the war had direct impacts on port cities and their harbours, as there were raids on port towns from Scarborough in Yorkshire all the way to Haverfordwest in Wales that forced ports to build defences such as putting chains along the harbour entrance, constructing artillery fortifications, and reinforcing walls and towers.[78] For example, after the attack by the French on Southampton in 1338, London began to fortify itself in earnest, as they had no idea that the French would never actually attack the city throughout the course of the war. These fortifications included a better watch of the Thames and the heightening and the crenellation of the 'entire length of inner curtain from the Bell to the Salt Tower', in addition to the southern wall from the Byward to St Thomas Tower. The money for these fortifications came from the religious houses and those who owned property in the City, including £25 16*s.* from the Tower Ward, £24 from the Bridge district, £21 from Billingsgate, £12 from Queenhithe, £23 14*s.* from Vintry, and £7 from Castle Baynard.[79] In the early fourteenth century, a new curtain wall was built, in addition to the enlargement of the Watergate or St Thomas Tower, which projected into the river (Figure 4.8b). By the mid-fourteenth century, the wharf had been refaced and extended up to the Watergate (Figure 4.8c). The wharf was brought all the way to the southern face of the Tower by the late fourteenth century (Figure 4.8c). Many of these changes are still visible today.[80]

As previously mentioned, this traditionally negative view of how the Hundred Years War affected maritime economies has been challenged by Kowaleski, who proposes that while she accepts this viewpoint, it is not the whole story.[81] Since the wars with Scotland, port towns profited from conflict. During the Scottish wars, Newcastle, Hull, and Scarborough especially gained: 'Calamitous to one section, the Scotch wars were beneficial to another. Whereas many inland fairs and markets suffered losses in trade and profits…the ports developed as commercial centres'.[82] Throughout the Hundred Years War, the towns that served as embarkation ports prospered..[83] Sandwich became a busier port as a result of the capture of Calais, while increased journeys to Brittany and Gascony allowed Plymouth to flourish, and by 1389, Plymouth became one of only two ports that was authorised to take pilgrims to Santiago de Compostella.[84] In 1390, Dartmouth was given a monopoly on the exports of tin for three years because it 'above all other places in the realm has long been and still is strong in shipping, and therewith has wrought great

[78] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 238; Maryanne Kowaleski, 'Port Towns: England and Wales 1300-1540', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. by D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), pp. 467–94 (p. 469).
[79] Milne, pp. 115–16.
[80] Milne, pp. 119–20.
[81] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 239.
[82] Bryan Waites, 'The Medieval Ports and Trade of North-East Yorkshire', *MM*, 63.2 (1977), 137–49 (p. 138).
[83] Herbert James Hewitt, *The Black Prince's Expedition* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword, 2004), p. 26.
[84] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', pp. 240, 244.

havoc on the king's enemies'.[85] Furthermore, merchants and shopkeepers in port towns flourished as they supplied the naval provisions and victuals. While shipbuilding ordered by the King meant that a port had to take on the brunt of costs, it did also mean that shipwrights were regularly trained and employed, in addition to carpenters (who often chose the wood to be used), boys, servants, and general workers who were all hired to aid the shipwrights.[86] This was especially so in Southampton and Portsmouth as they were homes to extensive shipbuilding for the Crown.[87]

The King increasingly relied on port towns and shipping to meet his 'territorial ambitions'. This led to a greater appreciation for the skills and knowledge of shipowners, shipmasters, and mariners. So much so that by the mid and late fourteenth century, 'Councils of Shipping' and 'Naval Parliaments' were called to help the King in his strategic planning. These councils occurred in 1326, 1336, 1339, 1341, 1342, 1344, 1347, 1369, 1374, and 1376 and involved port towns sending two to four experienced and well-informed seafarers to London to advise the King and his Council on nautical matters. This allowed seafarers to influence parliamentary decisions on shipping, such as the 1378 stipend for repairs on masts of requisitioned ships, the 1380 regularised compensation of requisitioned ships, and more substantial settlements for shipowners on requisitioned ships that were lost during the war.[88]

The argument that shipmasters and shipowners may have both been winners and losers in the Hundred Years War has much to commend it. At certain points during the Hundred Years War shipmasters and mariners truly started to prosper,[89] earning money by constructing ships, and commandeering ships and men. With hundreds of ships and tens of thousands of men drawn into the war and service at sea in one way or another,[90] those in the seafaring community were able to earn wages from the various services they provided.

Yet, while it can be argued that some port communities benefitted from the war such discussions tend to focus on the community as whole, burgesses, merchants, shipowners, and so on. We can examine the effects of the war more directly on shipmasters through the adoption of a basket of goods. This allows us to see how a shipmaster's standard of living was impacted over the period 1338 to 1400. Figure 4.9 shows the purchasing power of shipmasters, mariners, builders, thatchers, carpenters, and labourers from the start of the Hundred Years War to the

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[85] *CPR, Richard II 1389-1392*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1902), p. 338; Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', p. 244; Hugh Robert Watkin, *Dartmouth* (Exeter: Devonshire Association for the Advancement of Science, Literature and Art, 1935), p. 370.

[86] Friel, *The Good Ship*, pp. 44, 63.

[87] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', pp. 239–40.

[88] Kowaleski, 'Warfare, Shipping, and Crown Patronage: The Impact of the Hundred Years War on the Port Towns of Medieval Europe', pp. 240–41.

[89] See Chapter 1's discussion of basket of consumables for more information on this point.

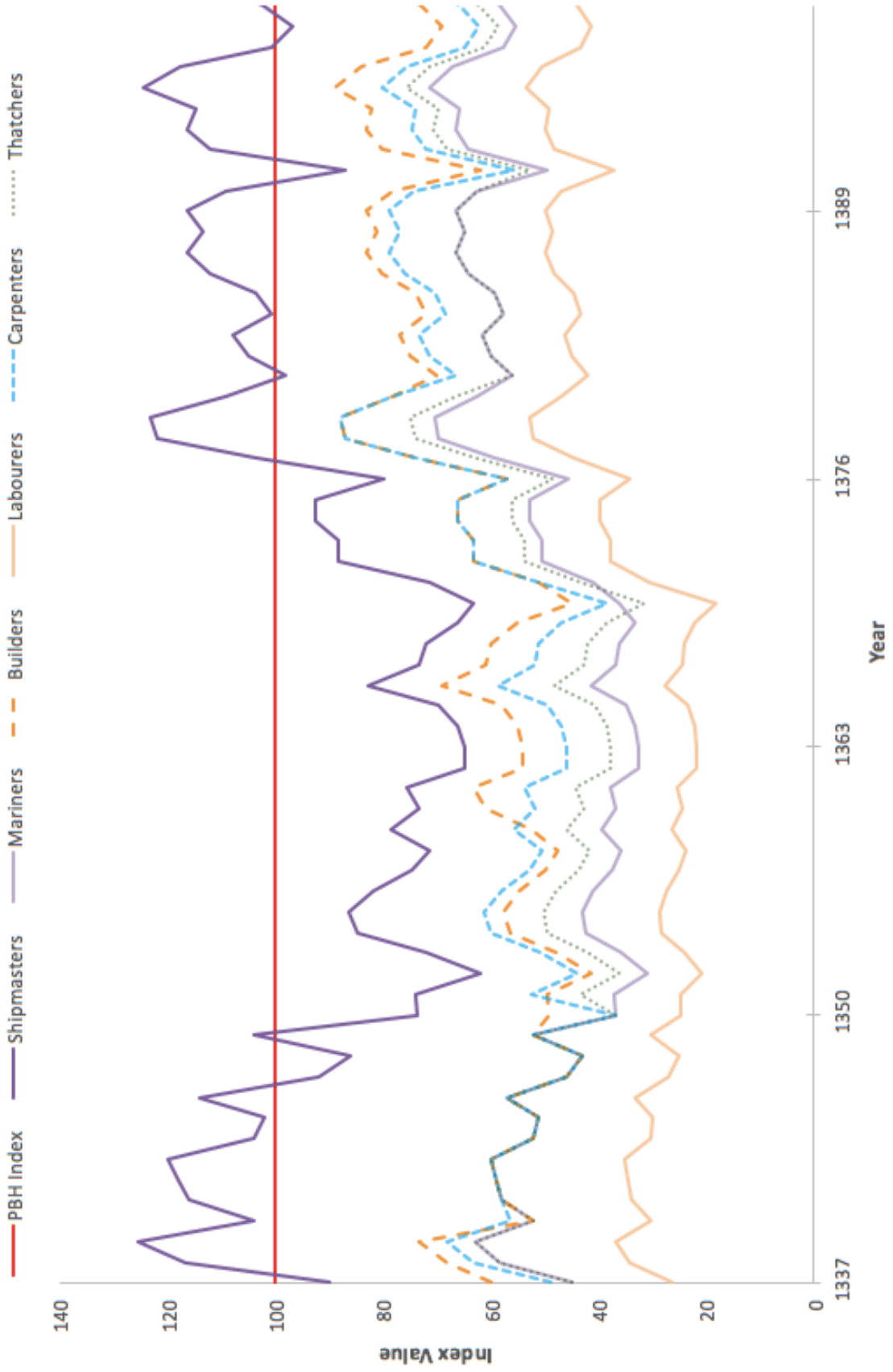
[90] Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', p. 175; Lambert, *Shipping the Medieval Military*, pp. 208–9.

end of the century, highlighting the key periods of war in the fourteenth century: 1338-1360 and 1369-1390. Shipmasters from 1338 until the Black Death were living above the PBH index line, so to speak, since they had surplus money after being able to afford the full basket of consumables. However, once the Black Death hits, shipmasters' purchasing power drops considerably and they remain below the PBH index line almost consistently until 1377, there is a clear upward trend beginning in 1370, just a year after the second key period of the War. Key to the ability of shipmasters to remain above the breadline after 1370 might have been the fact that from 1369 the Hundred Years War was increasingly fought at sea, as seen in the fact that nearly sixty-seven percent of military expeditions to France between 1369 and 1390 were naval and twenty-three percent to Ireland and Scotland during the same period.[91] This provided plenty of opportunity for wages as well as booty. Indeed, there is some evidence to suggest that, towards the end of the century, seafarers' wages on commercial voyages had risen considerably. This coupled with the introduction of *regard* payments for naval, which added a further penny a day to their wages, the last quarter of the fourteenth century might not have been as dire for shipmasters as previously thought.[92]

[91] Lambert, 'Henry V and the Crossing to France', p. 30; J. W. Sherborne, 'The Cost of English Warfare with France in the Later Fourteenth Century', *HR*, 50.122 (1977), 135–50 (p. 140); Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389', pp. 271–72.

[92] Lambert, 'Henry V and the Crossing to France', p. 34; *The Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275-1504*, ed. by Chris Given-Wilson and others, 16 vols (Woodbridge: BHO, 2005), vol. VII <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval> p. 187.

Figure 4.9: Purchasing Power through the Hundred Years War



4.4 Seafarers and the Black Death: Some Socio-Economic Consequences

The literature surrounding the Black Death is extensive, covering many different aspects of the pandemic, from how the disease originated and spread to how it affected the lives of those living through its various outbreaks over the century. There are many different arguments as to how the Black Death impacted on English society. Christopher Dyer, for instance, states that 'higher wages…would bring greater happiness to the greater number'.[93] However, as wages increased so too did the price of foodstuffs.[94] None the less, it is now widely accepted that the standards of living of the peasantry, as a whole class, 'rose significantly' in the period after the Black Death as a result of labour shortages and the high availability of land,[95] allowing them to demand higher wages.[96] New social groups were created during this time of transition, due to the fact that farmers were able to profit by adapting quickly to their new circumstances.[97] Some improvements were made in housing, aiding the improvement in living standards, although Dyer cautions against 'sudden, dramatic improvement in housing'.[98] Furthermore, marriage practices changed, becoming more neolocal (where a newly married couple resided away from both the husband's and the wife's natal household), as well as linked to living standards; Poos gives the example in Essex that 'nuptiality varied between occupational subgroups…for agriculturalists, marriage was an experience likely to occur earlier in life, or more likely to occur at all, than was the case for craftsmen and retailers'.[99] There were laws passed in the aftermath of the Black Death that attempted to keep wages at their pre-plague levels, something that the peasantry revolted against.[100] This 'crisis of authority' manifested itself in the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, where 'the rural populace of Kent and Essex marched on London, burned property, executed some of the king's leading ministers, and presented their demands to him'.[101] Recent research has shown that members of the shipboard community were directly involved in the Peasants' Revolt. Their reasons were complex, but it is clear that they felt aggrieved by the situation they found themselves in, with extra demands for naval manpower.[102] Of course,

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[93] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 275.
[94] John Hatcher, 'England in the Aftermath of the Black Death', *PP*, 1994, 3–35.
[95] Philippa C. Maddern, 'Social Mobility', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and W. Mark Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), p. 113.
[96] *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. by W. Mark Ormrod and Rosemary Horrox (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), p. 3.
[97] Dyer, *An Age of Transition?*; L.R. Poos, *A Rural Society After the Black Death: Essex 1350-1525* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1991).
[98] Poos, p. 79; Christopher Dyer, 'English Peasant Buildings in the Later Middle Ages (1200–1500)', *Medieval Archaeology*, 30.1 (1986), 19–45 (p. 40).
[99] Poos, p. 131.
[100] Ormrod and Horrox, p. 8.
[101] Peter Coss, 'An Age of Deference', in *A Social History of England, 1200-1500*, ed. by Rosemary Horrox and W. M Ormrod (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006), p. 60.
[102] Lambert and Ayton, 'A Maritime Community in War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners 1320-1400'.

peasants were not the only occupational group affected by the Black Death. For instance, it appears that brewers in Colchester recovered in the 1350s to a point that exceeded previous levels earlier in the century.[103]

It is important, therefore, to look at the effect the Black Death had on other occupational groups; here the focus will be on seafarers. Ports were places where foreign borne disease might strike first as ports and coastal communities were in 'constant, almost daily contact with the continent or with the Channel Islands'.[104] While records tend to contradict one another, it has been believed that the original strain of the Black Death came into England through ports such as Melcombe, Bristol, or Southampton, and having been carried there on the backs of fleas on ships returning from the Siege of Calais,[105] as well as the risk that fleas could be carried on cloth. This possibility was seen as especially hazardous by Scottish authorities in the sixteenth century, and presumably similar merchant activities in fourteenth-century England would have been equally perilous. Eventually, the fleas transferred from the rodents they arrived on to humans. Subsequent wet weather helped these fleas thrive and harvests to once again fail, increasing poverty and malnutrition, as well as allowing 'the congregation of vagrants' which would 'have created the ideal conditions for vector transmission by rodent and/or human ectoparasites [fleas]'.[106] However, recent research shows that this theory of transmission by fleas to be misguided, as the rates of transmission by rat-to-human contact do not account for the rapid spread of the plague. Instead, models have shown that it is more likely that the plague was spread by lice through human-to-human contact.[107] Nevertheless, whether by fleas or lice, seafarers would have brought the plague to England through ports.

For all their centrality to the socio-economic wellbeing of the kingdom, however, fourteenth-century seafarers have received only limited attention from historians when examining the Black Death. Indeed, it is remarkable that mariners do not feature in Christopher Dyer's study of everyday life in England, or in the comprehensive socio-economic studies undertaken by Colin Platt and John Hatcher.[108] Indeed, the focus of much of the literature on the socio-economic impact of the Black Death is on how it affected the aristocracy, the peasantry, and the church. Philip Ziegler's work, for example, shows that port towns were important in how the disease entered England, but largely ignores the impact the pestilence had on port communities. The references made to port towns in existing studies of the Black Death tend to

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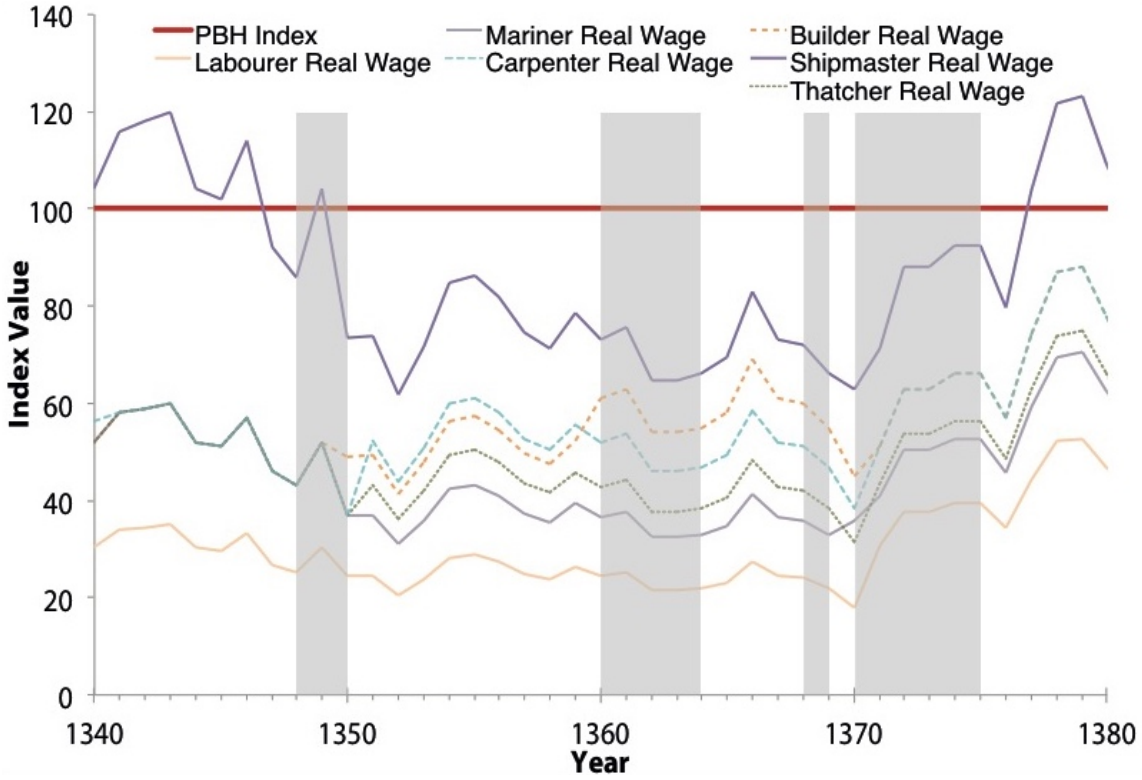
[103] Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, p. 90.
[104] Ziegler, p. 120.
[105] Ziegler, pp. 119–21; Campbell, *The Great Transition*, p. 287.
[106] Campbell, *The Great Transition*, pp. 287–89.
[107] Katharine R. Dean and others, 'Human Ectoparasites and the Spread of Plague in Europe during the Second Pandemic', *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 2018, 201715640 <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1715640115>.
[108] Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages*; Christopher Dyer, *Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishopric of Worcester, 680-1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1980).

centre on the urban environment of the port rather than the direct challenges faced by mariners from the plague.[109] For instance, Kowaleski states that while the volume of trade in all English ports suffered, since the Black Death lowered the number of consumers and producers. However, the maritime trade in Exeter stayed 'remarkably stable'.[110] Britnell tells us that Colchester merchants following the Black Death 'immediately entered a new phase of industrial and commercial growth' through increased trade with Gascony and expanded relations with the Baltic.[111]

There were four major outbreaks of plagues during the period of the Black Death: the first (and most severe) from 1348-1350, then again from 1360-1364 (known as 'The Plague of Children'[112]), from 1368-1369, and finally from 1370-1375 (Figure 4.10). There were other smaller outbreaks at the tail end of the century and into the fifteenth century, but these four were the most severe. Throughout the period of the Black Death, shipmasters appear to be more adversely affected than builders, labourers, carpenters, thatchers, or even ordinary mariners, as can be seen in Figure 4.10. In the initial outbreak of the plague, the buying power of shipmasters, builders, mariners, labourers, carpenters, and thatchers all continue to rise until 1349, where each sharply drops, with the exception of builders who saw only a small decline in their buying power. By 1352, fortunes seem to be consistently reversing, more so for shipmasters than the other five occupations.

[109] Colin Platt, *King Death: The Black Death and Its Aftermath in Late Medieval England* (London: UCL Press, 1996); John Hatcher, *The Black Death: A Personal History* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2009).
[110] Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter*, p. 228.
[111] Britnell, *Growth and Decline in Colchester, 1300-1525*, p. 159.
[112] Deborah Youngs, *The Life-Cycle in Western Europe, C.1300-1500* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2006), p. 25; *The Anonimalle Chronicle, 1333 to 1381*, ed. by Vivian Hunter Galbraith (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1970), p. 50.

Figure 4.10: Purchasing Power throughout the Black Death



Curiously, before the second outbreak, builders' purchasing power continues to grow, putting them above carpenters, a trend that continues through the next few decades. This growth is not, however, experienced by shipmasters, who decline along with the rest of the occupations. Once again, the period between the outbreaks shows the occupations' buying power growing, but by 1366 and into the third outbreak all six declined slightly until 1370 when there was a relatively sharp rise (with the exception of mariners and labourers, who see only a slight rise) in buying power that continues despite a fourth outbreak of plague. Living standards might not have dropped off for shipmasters at this point because there were ample opportunities for shipmasters to supplement their income through naval service, which intensified after 1369.[113]

It is the upsurge in 1370 that gives mariners and labourers their only significant growth of buying power since their decline in 1349, as both occupations stay steady throughout the rest of the period. It is possible that shipmasters might have done even better than the graph shows, as after 1369 the Anglo-French war intensified and sea-based fighting grew more frequent.[114] There is another slight dip at the end of the fourth period of plague, in 1375, but all occupations

[113] Sherborne, 'The Hundred Years' War. The English Navy: Shipping and Manpower 1369-1389'; Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea'.
[114] Lambert, 'Henry V and the Crossing to France'.

recover. Shipmasters' purchasing power at this point surged, putting them back to their pre-plague levels, allowing them once again to have surplus after purchasing a 'basket'.

Shipmasters eventually return to their previous pre-plague levels by the 1380s and continue to have a strong buying power for the rest of the century. The question remains to be answered as to why they saw a more significant drop in buying power at the start of the period, when compared to builders and other occupations. It could be because ports were where the plague arrived and so more seafarers were affected. Further, quarantines were used both in England and other countries during this period, as an attempt to stop the spread of the disease. This means that any cargo could be held for up to forty days.[115] This would negatively impact the finances of seafarers, as they were paid by the voyage and therefore any delays would result in a reduced number of shipments undertaken in a given year.

These ideas make sense when compared to the period of the Great Famine, where shipmasters, builders, mariners, and labourers all fell by relatively the same amount; pestilence and famine were not factors that could be made worse by living specifically in a port city, as fishing was a seasonal occupation and therefore it could only help compensate a small amount for lost food during the Great Famine. When comparing the effects of the Great Famine and Black Death, it is interesting that while the impact of the Black Death (and its subsequent relapses) lasts for longer, the decline in real wages during the Great Famine actually had a higher magnitude.

When examining the wage data for the occupations, interesting trends can be seen. It should be noted that the wages for the shipmasters and mariners were fixed by the Crown, while labourers' wages stayed fixed for long periods (probably due to long-reigning serfdom mentality). This is different to that of the builders', carpenters', and thatchers' wages throughout the century, which were market-based and therefore changed as the basket of consumables fluctuated. The theory behind market-based wages is that 'like all other prices, wages are determined by the market forces of supply and demand'.[116] On the other hand, a fixed income remains static, which during times of inflation is detrimental to the group and during periods of deflation is beneficial as their wages do not go down when the cost for goods lowers. However, modern-day economic studies show that the gains seen during times of deflation are 'not real', as many people will become unemployed.[117]

Figure 4.11 shows the changes in wage data for shipmasters, mariners, builders, labourers, thatchers, and carpenters throughout the fourteenth century. The basket of goods cost is also shown, but here it is represented as a seven year moving average. A moving average

[115] Robert S. Gottfried, *Black Death* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2010), p. 42.
[116] Dr Kalpana Satija, *Textbook on Economics for Law Students* (Universal Law Publishing, 2009), p. 267.
[117] Satija, p. 633.

is found by averaging a succession of data points. For example, the first point on the trendline is the average of the first seven basket of goods values:

$$7.39 + 5.39 + 5.63 + 5.39 + 5.65 + 5.83 + 6.03/7 = 5.9$$

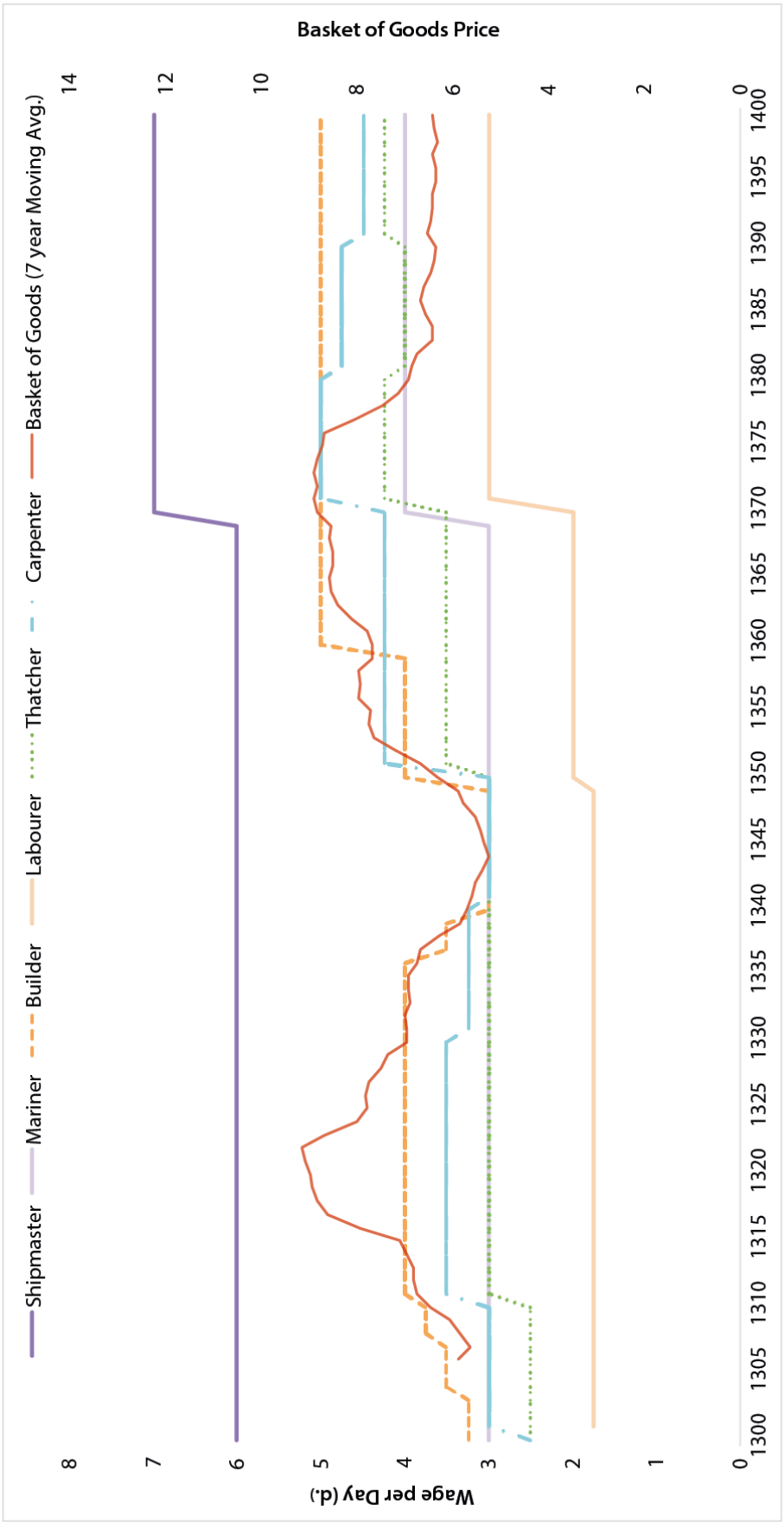
and the second point is found by moving on to the next number:

$$5.39 + 5.63 + 5.39 + 5.65 + 5.83 + 6.03 + 5.65/7 = 5.65$$

and so on. By using the moving average trendline it is easier to track the movements from peaks and troughs more easily throughout the century. It can be seen that from the beginning of the century to roughly 1320, the wages of builders, carpenters, and thatchers goes up, tracking the steady increase of the basket of goods. It is in these moments of inflation that a market-based wages are at their best, and the fixed wage of shipmasters, mariners, and labourers is at its weakest. However, the reverse is seen from roughly 1321 to 1344: as the basket of goods cost goes down so does the wages for builders and carpenters, but shipmasters and mariners stay the same. There is a period of inflation from roughly 1345 to 1371 that triggers a rise in wages across the board. After this somewhat universal boost in wages comes another period of deflation, however unlike last time, the different occupational groups remain relatively static.

As previously mentioned, periods of deflation often lead to a drop in employment for fixed-wage earners, as the wage-payers cannot afford to pay all of the workers. It could be posited, however, that the Hundred Years War (as well as other campaigns throughout the century) aided the seafaring community during these periods of deflation, as the demand for shipmasters and mariners remained high due to their essential role in transporting soldiers, archers, victuals, and other goods to France, Scotland, and the Mediterranean. In fact, during the final period of deflation during this century, shipmasters and mariners had just received an increase in their wages after petitioning the Crown for better wages coming out of the periods of plague. Seafarers in general, but shipmasters specifically, had specialised knowledge necessary to safely transport men and goods in and out of the country. Therefore their skills were in high demand from the Crown. Furthermore, with the high rate of mortality during the Black Death, any potential unemployment that having a fixed wage during deflation would have caused may have been cancelled out. Therefore, those who survived could have benefitted more from the period of deflation than perhaps those living during other centuries.

Figure 4.11: Wage Rates of Different Occupations across the Century



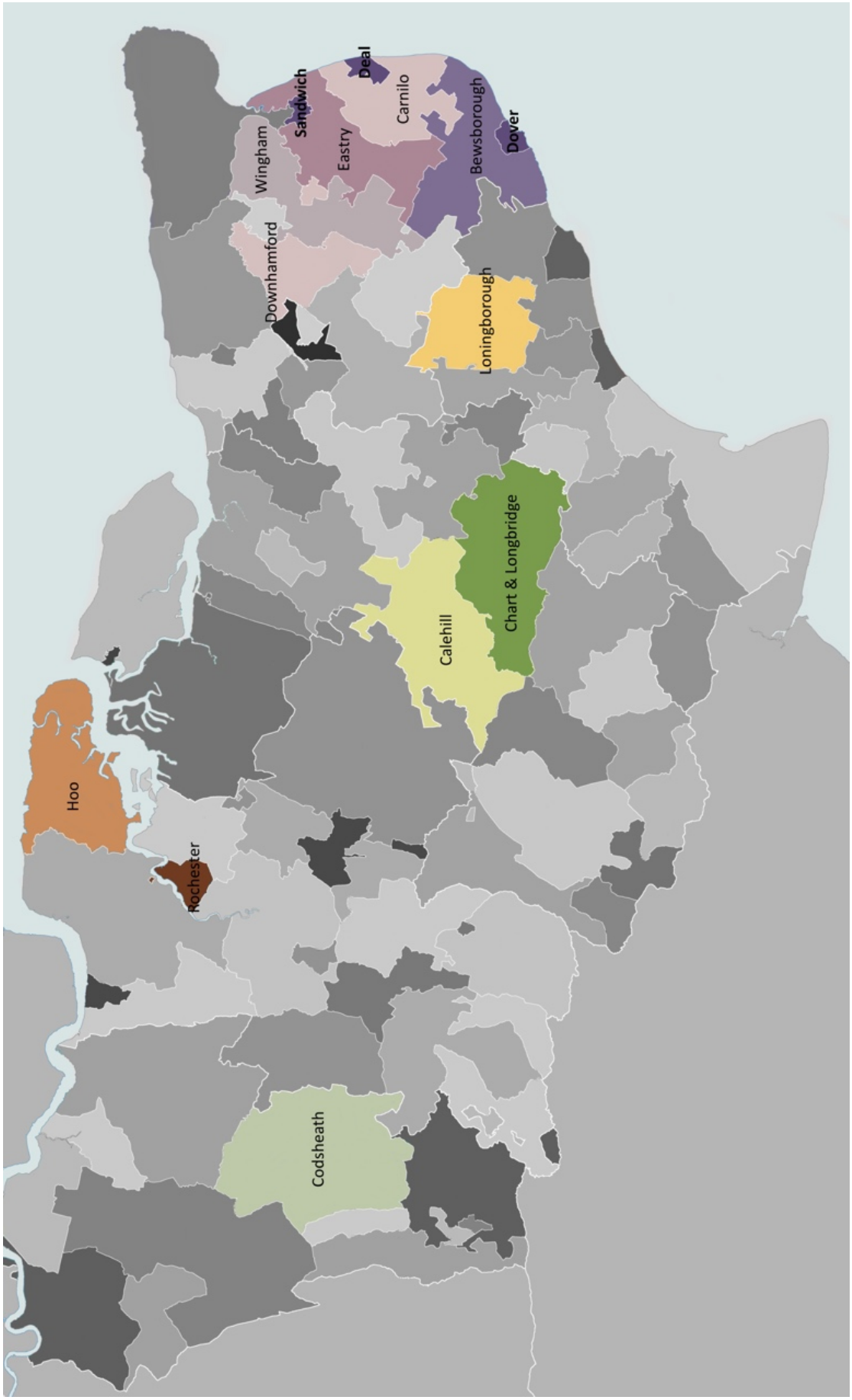
4.5 Living in the Fourteenth Century

As noted above living and working as a seafarer in the fourteenth century was clearly challenging. We can explore the wide effects of the social and economic upheavals of the fourteenth century through a prosopographical analysis of several key individuals and their families. One such family was the Condys of Sandwich, who were 'prominent in Sandwich's administrative and mercantile life…with various members active as vintners, shipmasters and shipowners'.[118] Over the course of 1320s and 1330s members of this family (Elias and John) undertook wine-trading activities, as commanders of the *Nicholas* and the *Michael*.[119] Elias's career however shows how life at sea could go from honest trading activities to acts of piracy, as and when opportunities presented themselves. In 1336, for example, Elias was charged with piracy against a Spanish vessel when in command of the *Godbyete*.[120] John, on the other hand, was an active trader who served in key local administrative posts. In 1326 and 1338 he served as mayor of Sandwich,[121] and town bailiff in 1341. It is uncertain whether John's trading activities coincided with those of Elias, as the latter was working nearly a decade later. William Condy, John's father, served as mayor from 1310-1311, while John's son (also named William) was bailiff several times up to 1355 and controller of customs in 1363.[122] The Condy Family's influence was not confined to the civic arena; they founded a chantry in 1345, which was a part of a chapel dedicated to St Mary.[123] This family maintained power throughout the century, not allowing the Great Famine or Black Death to deter them from succeeding.

The Champneys were another significant maritime family in Sandwich.[124] While there are no foundational records with a Champneys family member listed as shipmaster, it can be presumed that at least some of the family was involved with the shipboard life, as previously mentioned in section 3.2.

[118] Clarke and others, p. 62.
[119] TNA E101/78/4a m2; TNA E101/78/9 m6.
[120] Lyte, *CCR 1337-1339*, p. 284.
[121] Clarke and others, p. 62.
[122] Clarke and others, p. 62.
[123] Clarke and others, p. 81.
[124] Clarke and others, p. 62; Justin Croft, 'An Assault on the Royal Justices at Ash and the Making of the Sandwich Custumal', *AC*, 117 (1997), p. 14.

Figure 4.12: Champneys' Property Locations



Hugh Champneys resided in the Cinque Port confederacy exempting him from tax. He had property that he owned in the hundreds of Cornilo, Eastry, Wingham, and Bewsborough, as well as Loningborough (Figure 4.12), many of which were outside of the confederacy borders and therefore he did have to pay tax on those properties. He also served as mayor in 1338.[125] Hugh can be found in the 1334 Kent Lay Subsidies, where he was taxed £2 1*s*. in Bewsborough, 13*s*. 8*d*. in Wingham, £1 6*s*. 8*d*. in Eastry, £1 in Cornilo, and £1 10*s*. in Loningborough.[126] John Champneys appeared three times in the 1334 Lay Subsidy: in Longbridge where he was taxed 2*s*., in Calehill where he was taxed 1*s*. 4*d*., and in Rochester where he was taxed 2*s*. 4*d*.[127] Nicholas Champneys appeared in the Eastry hundred and the Downhamford hundred, where he was taxed 13*s*. 4*d*. and 3*s*. 4*d*. respectively. Thomas Champneys also appeared in Downhamford, where he was taxed 4*s*.[128] A Robert Champneys was taxed 3*s*. in Codsheath.[129] The only woman with the surname Champneys was Matilda of Hoo, who was taxed 1*s*.[130] Neither Hugh nor his other family members appeared as shipmasters in the naval records, and therefore were not matched in the economic study. He belonged to the same family as Adam Champneys, an important clerk in Sandwich who was integral to the creation of the Sandwich import and export customs, which would have directly affected Hugh. In 1300, Adam Champneys, John of Hoo, the town mayor, and other men of Sandwich met the royal justices in the village of Ash, where they proceeded to 'assault the aforesaid justices of the king with force and arms…and ill-treat them, not permitting them to enter the king's town of Sandwich or to do the duty that was enjoined upon them by the king, and cut open the pouch with the king's rolls and break the bows and arrows of the men of the aforesaid justices and inflict other outrages upon them, in contempt of the king and the obvious hurt of the royal crown and dignity'.[131] It is clear that this group of men were not a mindless rabble, but instead deliberate with their actions: they wanted to disarm and prevent the justices from doing their job in Sandwich. It is thought that this assault in Ash was partially an impetus of the creation of the custumal of Sandwich, a document that was written by Adam in 1301. This custumal set out claims for Sandwich's 'liberties, franchises, customs and usages', as well as described many different aspects of town life, such as 'all of the officers of the town…and the mode of their election' and the 'possessions, rights and duties which these officers held within the town', the process of 'holding and transferring property', and how the town courts operated. Specific to the seafaring community, this custumal identified 'the naval service which the Cinque Ports were to render to the Crown yearly; the service which the barons

[125] Dorothy Kempe Gardiner, *Historic Haven: The Story of Sandwich* (Derby: Pilgrim Press, 1954), p. 76.
[126] Hanley and Chalklin, pp. 77, 82, 89, 92, 152.
[127] Hanley and Chalklin, pp. 95, 103, 130.
[128] Hanley and Chalklin, pp. 82–84.
[129] Hanley and Chalklin, p. 141.
[130] Hanley and Chalklin, p. 112.
[131] Croft, p. 13.

of the ports rendered at a coronation; and the 'exact boundaries of the liberty of Sandwich'. This last point could affect whether a seafarer's home was within the city limits or not, therefore affecting his taxation requirements.[132]

Another family, the Celys, lived primarily in Winchelsea. Benedict Cely, first appears in 1335 as a constable aboard the *Cog John*,[133] and in 1348 undertook a trading voyage as commander of the *Laurence*.[134] Benedict served as bailiff in Winchelsea from 1347-1348,[135] and in 1362 he was listed as the owner of the *Edward* of Winchelsea.[136] The range of dates here shows that Benedict Cely lived through the Black Death, and not only survived but thrived afterwards, as he was able to own a ship by 1362. On land, Benedict served as mayor of Rye from 1361-1362 and as bailiff of Winchelsea from 1368-1372. There were many different members of the Cely family active in maritime activities, but one other of note was Henry Cely, brother of Benedict, who owned the ship *Marie* in 1362, which sailed from Winchelsea on a naval expedition to Gascony.[137] The *Marie* was mastered by William Skele, who had an interesting career in his own right. Henry served as bailiff in Yarmouth from September to November 1369, as well as for Winchelsea, like his brother, and for Rye from 1369-1370. The two Cely brothers held two acres of land in Rye together, as granted by royal license, to build an oratory and a house in 1364. Later that year, Henry obtained a license that allowed him to ship cloth and coin 'to the value of 100 marks' to Gascony in order to buy wine. In addition to his home in Winchelsea, Henry also owned land in Udimore, Ore, Guestling, and Icklesham.[138] Additional shipmasters appear to have served as bailiffs for Winchelsea: Robert Batail from 1310-1311, John de Folk from 1327-1328, James Horn from 1346-1347, John Allard from 1354-1355, and Thomas Sybbe from 1371 to 1372.[139] Batail served as shipmaster aboard the *Godyer* in 1326, Folk on the *Godbyete* in 1338, Horn on the *Nicholas* in 1336 and 1337, Allard on the *John* in 1335, and Sybbe on the *Barge of Winchelsea* in 1373.[140]

Over 1362-1377 William Skele sailed as shipmaster on a total of nine documented voyages, both naval and commercial, all leaving from Winchelsea. He primarily sailed on the *Marie*, which Henry Cely owned at least in 1362, but was still operational in 1363.[141] He also sailed on the *Jonette* and the *Leonard*. Once Skele retired from his life on sea, he had risen in

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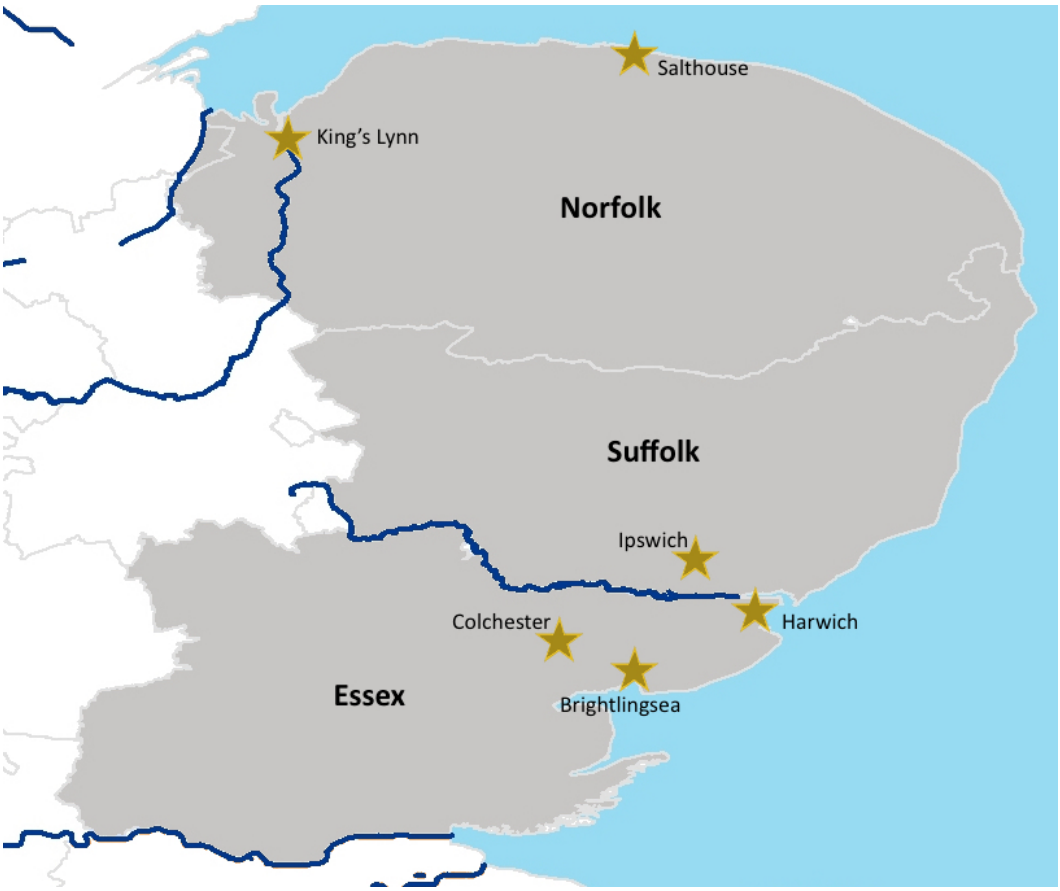
[132] Croft, pp. 15–16.
[133] Cooper, p. 68.
[134] Lyte, *CCR 1346-1349*, p. 608.
[135] Cooper, p. 119.
[136] TNA E101/28/24 m1.
[137] TNA E101/28/24 m1.
[138] 'SELY (CELY), Henry, of Winchelsea, Suss.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/sely-%28cely%29-henry>.
[139] Cooper, pp. 119–20.
[140] *CPR, Edward II 1324-1327*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1904), p. 279; TNA E36/203, p. 366; TNA E101/19/38 m7; TNA E101/19/39 m3; TNA E101/19/22 m1; BL, 'Add MS 37494'.
[141] TNA E101/28/24 m1; TNA E101/29/1 m3.

society sufficiently to be made mayor of Winchelsea from 1382-1383, 1389-1391, and 1395-1396.[142] Throughout the 1390s, he was imported wine, salt, and other commodities .[143] It can be assumed that Skele lived through some of the plagues, and once again appears to have prospered in the decades after the plague's first appearance, as he owned land in both Udimore and Icklesham between 1373 and 1410 in addition to his commercial and civic life.

Figure 4.13: Pache Family Map



Further up the eastern coast, the Pache family can be found spread out across Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk throughout the 1320s, 1330s, 1340s, and 1350s (Figure 4.13). The Pache family was clearly an important shipping family, as seen in the aggregate amount of tax they paid in the first half of the century (see Figure 3.21 and Figure 3.23) and the fact that the family appears spread out across the east (Figure 4.13). In Essex, a Sarlet and a Charles Pache sailed

[142] Cooper, p. 94; 'SKELE, William I (d.c.1410), of Winchelsea, Suss.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/skele-william-i-1410>.
[143] Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, 'SKELE, William I (d.c.1410), of Winchelsea, Suss.'

from Harwich,[144] with Sarlet a part of the Siege of Calais in 1347.[145] Henry and John Sr, as well as John Jr, sailed form Brightlingsea and Colchester numerous times throughout the first half of the century, primarily on naval voyages to St Sardos, Flanders, and Brittany, although there are some wine trade voyages.[146] Henry spent almost his entire career as the master of the *Bene*, while John Sr mastered both the *James* and the *Jonette*. St John's Abbey, Colchester, was where John Pache Sr lived, amongst other seafarers.[147] John Pache owned a house and ten acres of land, that he paid a 'token rent sum' of eleven eggs and 4*s.* 10*d.* per year.[148] As a landholder, Pache was required to pay rent, and should have had to perform labour services such as work the lord's fields or 'rake manure from the carts', but was able to commute these services.[149] This expected labour could be seen by shipmasters as demeaning, as they were men who were 'of the world' and accustomed to a wide-range of 'legal, financial and disciplinary responsibilities associated with managing a ship', which had a 'valuable cargo' in addition to a crew of at least two dozen men.[150] The negative social stigma of this kind of labour was strong enough that John Sr used the influence that he had to get his labour services commuted on his ten acre landholding, of which he was successful.[151]

John Jr also spent time as a master of a ship named *James*, potentially the same ship his father commanded a decade earlier. It appears that John Jr eventually spent time in King's Lynn, as there is a record of him sailing from there to Flanders on the *Milane*, a ship he commanded from Brightlingsea the same year. It is possible that he also spent time as the master of a ship, *Nicholas*, out of Salthouse, which sailed to France to besiege Reims in 1359. There is a single Pache in Suffolk, William, who sailed out of Ipswich to Flanders in 1338. Interestingly, William Pache's name appears as one of the attackers who 'forced their way into St John's Abbey… and stole the manorial court roll'[152] in the days of the Peasants' Revolt.[153]

John Brunham, of King's Lynn, was one of the more successful men to transition from a life on the sea to a life on land, and is perhaps most famous for being the father of Margery Kempe,[154] the author of *The Book of Margery Kempe* (c. 1436), who interestingly spends a considerable amount of time on the sea. While the setting alone is a connection to her father, his possible influence on her writing becomes clearer when analysing her use of 'language of the

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[144] TNA E101/27/22 m4; TNA E101/27/25 m2; TNA E101/26/18 m1; TNA E101/167/16f31r; TNA E101/25/24.
[145] 'E101/25/24'.
[146] TNA C47/2/35 m2; TNA E36/204, pp. 229, 232; TNA E36/203, pp. 378, 383; BL, 'Add MS 7967, Fol. 99r'; BL, 'Add MS 7967, Fol. 99v'; TNA E101/16/40 m1; TNA E101/21/10 m2; TNA E101/27/25 m2; TNA E101/24/9b n27; TNA E101/78/5 m5.
[147] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 133.
[148] Claude Dove, *The Liberty of Brightlingsea* (Brightlingsea: Cinque Port Liberty of Brightlingsea, 1974), p. 20.
[149] Dove, p. 21.
[150] Lambert and Ayton, 'The Mariner in Fourteenth-Century England', p. 167.
[151] Dove, p. 20.
[152] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 26.
[153] Lambert and Ayton, 'Shipping the Troops and Fighting at Sea', p. 26; TNA E101/21/7 m2.
[154] A. E. Goodman, *Margery Kempe and Her World* (London: Routledge, 2014), pp. 49–50.

marketplace' and 'contractual' language throughout, as well as her use of words that are of French origin (which is the language used in maritime law and other maritime contexts).[155] She prays to Christ and the Virgin Mary repeatedly, but especially before, during, or after a sea voyage. One such instance of a pre-travel prayer to Christ, she says:

Crist Jhesu, in whom is al my trost, as thow hast behyte me many
tymes befor that ther schulde no man be disesyd in my cumpanye, and I was nevyr
deceyved ne defrawdyd in thi promysse as long as I fully and trewly trostyd onto the,
so here the preyerys of thin unworthy servawnt al holy trustyng in thi mercy. And
grawnt that I and myn felawschep wythowtyn hyndryng of body er of catel, for of owr
sowlys, Lord, have thei no powr, may gon hom ageyn into owr lond lych as we come
hedyr, for thi lofe, and late nevyr owr enmiis have no powr ovyr us, Lord, yyf it plese the.
As thu wilt, so mot it be.[156]

Christ Jesus, in whom I have placed all my trust, as you have promised me many times before that no person in my company should be harmed, and I was never deceived or defrauded in your promises as long as I fully and truly trusted in you, so hear the prayers of your unworthy servant who is entirely trusting in your mercy. And grant that me and my companions may go back home, for your love, without hindrance to our bodies or our property (as for our souls, Lord, they have no power over those!), and never let our enemies have power over us, Lord, if it pleases you. As you wish it, so must it be.[157]

Several words in her prayer are contractual in nature, as well as being of French origin: *cumpanye, promysse, grawnt, hyndryng,* and *catel*.[158] This use of language easily could have been picked up from her father, as he had a long and prolific career as a shipmaster and civic leader.

Brunham was listed as shipmaster on twelve naval voyages and a single trade voyage in 1377 and 1378, all on the *James*.[159] Interestingly, his daughter travelled extensively overseas on pilgrimages, including one to the grave site of St James in Santiago de Compostella;[160] it could be argued that this saint held some special significance to the family. Brunham's civic life on land began before he was recorded as a shipmaster in 1377. He served as chamberlain for Lynn in 1355-1356, 1361-1362, and 1367-1368. He was elected mayor five times: from 1370-1371, 1377-1379, 1385-1386, and 1391-1392. He also worked as a burgess of the town in January

[155] Jonathan Hsy, 'Lingua Franca: Overseas Travel and Language Contact in The Book of Margery Kempe', in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture*, ed. by Sebastian I. Sobecki (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), p. 172.
[156] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by Lynn Staley (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1996), chap. I <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/publication/staley-the-book-of-margery-kempe>.
[157] Margery Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, trans. by Anthony Bale, 1 edition (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), p. 91.
[158] Hsy, pp. 173–74.
[159] TNA E101/34/25 m3; TNA E101/37/7; TNA E101/38/18 m1; TNA E101/37/13; TNA E101/37/14 m1; TNA E101/37/15 m1; TNA E101/37/17; TNA E101/37/18 m1; TNA E122/7/13 m7.
[160] Kempe, *The Book of Margery Kempe*, p. 101.

1365, May 1368, April 1376, January 1380, February 1383, and November 1384.[161] Margery also describes her father as an 'alderman of the high Guild of Trinity',[162] which was a prominent merchant guild in Lynn.[163] In April 1377, during his second term as mayor, Brunham helped mitigate a tense situation when men of the town attacked Hugh Despenser, bishop of Norwich. Somehow, though, through Brunham's negotiations, the town was simply fined for the situation.[164] With his first foray into civic duty being in 1355, John Brunham would have lived through the Black Death and all of its subsequent reincarnations.

Like Elias Condy, there are two seafarers from the fourteenth century who are continually associated with piracy: John Piers and John Hawley, both of Dartmouth. Each of these men has been posited by Chaucer-scholars to be the shipman of 'nyce conscience took he no keep'.[165] Margaret Galway argues for John Piers as the 'exact counterpart' of the Shipman. As a Basque shipmaster who had settled in Devon, Piers reflects the Spanish aspects mentioned in the Shipman's introduction. Further, he was a 'frequent topic of London gossip' for his 'scandalous misdeeds which had spectacular consequences'. Foremost amongst these misdeeds was the capture of the ship *Magdaleyn* and the execution of her crew, and 'no piracy was more notorious in London than this of the *Magdaleyn* by a pirate of Spain…a conscienceless shipmaster, then living in England, who was associated with sending defeated opponents "hoom by water", with "Spayne" and with a ship called the "Maudelayne"'.[166] The name 'Magdaleyn' or 'Maudelayne' is, of course, the name given to the Shipman's ship and the similarities are too many to dismiss.

Piers' career is highly documented in the foundational records. He first appears in 1359 when he commanded the *Navis John Piers* (probably the *Mary*) on a commercial voyage.[167] Later, during 1362 and 1363, he sailed three times in command of the *Michael* of Teignmouth.[168] He was busy during the 1370s, with ten documented voyages; six of these were for naval purposes and four were trade voyages.[169] He primarily sailed on the *Seintemariecog* out of Teignmouth, but did occasionally master other ships out of Dartmouth or Kingswear, such as the *Sefray*, *George*, and *Christopher*. There were several naval voyages recorded leaving from Teignmouth on either the *Marie* in 1381 or the *Michael* in 1386, and one from Dartmouth on the *Juliane* also

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[161] Stephen Alsford, 'Appendix I: The Officers of Borough Government', in *The Men Behind the Masque: Office-Holding in East Anglian Boroughs, 1272-1460*, 2004 <http://users.trytel.com/tristan/towns/mcontent.html>.
[162] Anthony Bale, 'Introduction', in *The Book of Margery Kempe* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2015), p. 13.
[163] *A Companion to The Book of Margery Kempe*, ed. by John Arnold and Katherine J. Lewis (Cambridge: DS Brewer, 2004), p. 56.
[164] Arnold and Lewis, p. 61.
[165] Chaucer, IV, l. 398.
[166] Margaret Galway, 'Chaucer's Shipman in Real Life', *MLR*, 34.4 (1939), 497 (pp. 499–500).
[167] 'ECR MICH 1358-MICH 1359'; Galway, pp. 502–3.
[168] 'ECR MICH 1361-MICH 1362'; TNA E101/29/1 m3, m5.
[169] TNA E101/30/29 m2; TNA E122/158/26 m1; BL, 'Add MS 37494'; 'ECR MICH 1372-MICH 1373'; TNA E101/36/14 m6; TNA E101/182/6 f37r; TNA E101/38/19 m1.

in 1386.[170] The two 1386 voyages were both campaigns to Spain. He had just one documented journey in the 1390s, when he sailed from Teignmouth on a trade voyage aboard the *Michael*.[171] As can be seen, Piers was mastering the *Marie* or *Seintemariecog* in 1381 and 1384. Based on other documents, it can be concluded that Piers sailed on the *Marie* throughout the entire early part of the 1380s, as it was in 1383 that he captured the *Magdaleyne*, took its cargo ('cloth and wool to the value of 1000*l.*'),[172] and slaughtered its crew.[173] This put Piers in a long legal battle, and his exploits with the *Magdaleyne* were documented in a legal document from 1385 and printed in the *Close Rolls*. It is described that 'the defendant being then on board the said ship of Vermewe, by him fully freighted as aforesaid, might and ought to have stayed the master and his company, but did not do so, abetting and aiding them with all his might to take and carry off the ship and good…and to slay the men thereof…'.[174] The conscience of Piers was made further questionable during a voyage to Bordeaux, where it appears that he took a bribe of silence to transport fraudulent goods, but then informed the English government upon his return to England.[175] John Piers lived a full, if turbulent, life. He was probably living in Spain at the time of the Black Death, which arrived in Seville in 1349,[176] as Sanncio Petri of Castro Urdiales.[177] It is unclear why Piers made his way to England, and while he might not have been on the right side of the law most of the time or have had a career on land, he did have a prolific and slightly infamous life there.

The *Magdaleyne* that Piers was linked to is thought to have belonged to John Hawley and commanded at times by Peter Risshenden.[178] Both of whom have been considered as the Shipman, though Hawley more seriously than Rissenden. Peter Risshenden appears only once in the records, where he sailed on the *Allhallowcog* in 1378 out of Southampton.[179] At over 100 miles, the distance between Southampton and Dartmouth is too far to consider these two Peter Risshenden's a 'match', though it is possible that they are one and the same. The lack of information and records for Risshenden confirms Margaret Galway's assessment that he was an 'obscure sailor'.[180] John Hawley, on the other hand, was notorious in England, and one of the other main contenders for the model of Chaucer's Shipman. Hawley was born in 1340, and shortly thereafter his father (also named John) gave up his farming tenement and opened a

[170] TNA E101/39/17 m4; 'ECR MICH 1383-MICH 1384'; TNA E101/40/19 m8.
[171] 'ECR MICH 1391-MICH 1392'.
[172] *CCR, Richard II: 1385-1389*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1921), p. 92.
[173] Galway, p. 500.
[174] Lyte, *CCR 11385-1389*, p. 93.
[175] Galway, pp. 510–11.
[176] Ole Jørgen Benedictow, *The Black Death, 1346-1353: The Complete History* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), p. 82.
[177] Galway, p. 502.
[178] Galway, p. 501.
[179] TNA E101/38/18 m2.
[180] Galway, p. 501.

wharf with warehouses, 'Hawley's Hoe', on the River Dart. This proved to be a beneficial move, as the family prospered to the point the Hawley was able to own a ship, *Le James*, and be part owner in another, the *Codzer*, by 1372. Hawley got an early taste for piracy when he, Thomas Asshenden, and Benedict Bottesano were licensed to attack 'the king's enemies'.[181] Asshenden appears in both the foundational records and the tax records of Devon; he sailed on the *Katerine* in 1378 on a naval expedition to Gascony.[182] Asshenden had a moderately busy civic life, where he served as the Deputy butler in Devon, Somerset, Cornwall, and Dorset from 1371-1393—though not in all places all at once. He was charged to help fortify Dartmouth in 1374 and 1377, held the office of inquiry for Devon and Somerset in September 1385, had the ability bestowed to confiscate stolen merchandise in Dartmouth in February 1386, and was allowed to compel restitution for seizures at sea for Devon in December 1386. Further, he was the Havener of Cornwall from Michaelmas 1376 to May 1377, was a tax collector in Dartmouth in 1377, a constable of Brest from 1386-1388, and a collector of customs and subsidies from Bridgwater to Exeter from 1386-1391.[183]

Hawley had an even more prolific civic life on land, while still maintaining a prominent role in shipping and piracy. He was so renowned that 'Spanish sailors dreaded the mere mention of John Hawley'.[184] On land, Hawley served as mayor no less than fourteen times and operated in many different roles throughout his life—from 1374 when he first enters civic duty to his death in 1408 he had only two years where he did not hold some sort of office (Table 4.4). He owned around forty-five houses in the town, and his personal residence—Hawley House—was a mansion between Higher Street and Lower Street that was used as the town's guildhall from 1480. Furthermore, he financed the chancel of St Saviour Church.

[181] 'HAWLEY, John I (d.1408), of Dartmouth, Devon.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/hawley-john-i-1408>; Jill Eddison, *Medieval Pirates: Pirates, Raiders and Privateers 1204 - 1453* (Stroud: The History Press, 2013), p. 124.
[182] TNA E101/38/19 m1.
[183] 'ASSHENDEN, Thomas I (d.c.1393), of Dartmouth, Devon.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/asshenden-thomas-i-1393>.
[184] Galway, p. 501.

Table 4.4: Offices held by John Hawley

Year	Position
1374	Mayor; Commanded to fortify Dartmouth (December)
1375	Mayor
1376	Mayor
1377	Mayor; Commanded to fortify Dartmouth (February); Tax collector, Dartmouth (March)
1378	Mayor; Office of Inquiry, Devon (June)
1379	Mayor
1380	
1381	Commanded to fortify Dartmouth (November)
1382	Mayor; J.p., Devon
1383	Mayor; J.p., Devon; Controller of customs and subsidies from Ilfracombe to Melcombe Regis
1384	Controller of customs and subsidies from Ilfracombe to Melcombe Regis
1385	Mayor; Office of Inquiry, Devon (September)
1386	Mayor; to confiscate merchandise illegally seized at sea, Dartmouth (February); compel restitution for acts of piracy, Devon (December)
1387	Mayor; of arrest (July)
1388	Mayor; collector, Exeter
1389	Mayor; collector, Exeter
1390	Mayor; collector, Exeter; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1391	Mayor; to survey mines, Devon, Cornwall (August); collector, Exeter; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1392	Mayor; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1393	Mayor; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1394	Mayor; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1395	Mayor; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1396	Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1397	Mayor; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall
1398	Mayor; Escheator, Devon and Cornwall; Royal receiver, Devon and Cornwall

1399	Mayor; Lieutenant to Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, admiral of England
1400	Mayor; collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth; Lieutenant to Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, admiral of England
1401	Mayor; close the ports of Kingsbridge, Tor Bay and Dartmouth (May); collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth; Lieutenant to Thomas Percy, earl of Worcester, admiral of England
1402	of array, Devon (July); to organize the defence of merchant shipping (October); collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth
1403	to organize the defence of merchant shipping (March); bring certain vessels to London (November); collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth
1404	Office of Inquiry, Somerset (December); to organize the defence of merchant shipping (August); collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth
1405	collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth
1406	Commanded to fortify Dartmouth (March); of arrest (July); collector, from Bridgwater to Sidmouth
1407	
1408	Died 30 December

Note: Information taken from The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1386-1421.

On the sea, John Hawley's reputation ranged from 'public spirited, local military leader' to that of a 'ruthless pirate'. He appears in the records only as a shipowner, rather than shipmaster. He had two ships in 1381 sailing to Portugal on naval matters: the *Marie* mastered by William Colle and the *Jonette* mastered by Philip Cok.[185] In 1396, he also had two ships, this time sailing to Calais: the *Margrete* that was once again commanded by Philip Cok and the *Peter* under the command of Walter Broun.[186] Hawley's crowning moment of life, came in 1395 when he was granted by King Richard II with an annual income of forty marks for life. His connection to Richard II continued when two of his ships—*Le Margaret* and the *Petre*—helped transport the king to Calais for his marriage to Isabella of France. Furthermore, with Thomas Knapp, he gifted the king with 'two great masts and their tackle as a wedding gift'.[187] Hawley's fall from grace was swift: in 1404, he was still in charge of Dartmouth defence, amongst other duties through 1406; by December of that year he had been imprisoned in the Tower, where he stayed until February 1407. He was only released 'under a penalty of £1,000 not to leave Chancery without the Council's license and to return the goods of certain merchants of Barcelona which

[185] TNA E101/39/17 m2.
[186] TNA E101/41/37 m1; TNA E101/41/38.
[187] Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, 'HAWLEY, John I (d.1408), of Dartmouth, Devon.'

he had taken at sea'. John Hawley had died before he could appear before the Council, on 30 December 1408.[188] Hawley's fall from grace isn't clear, but it could be surmised that it has to do with the deposition of Richard II by Henry IV. While Thomas Percy supported Henry IV when he took power from Richard II in 1399, he and his brother rose another rebellion against Henry IV in 1403. As one of Thomas Percy's Lieutenants from 1399-1401, Hawley could have been punished for his allegiances. It is clear, however, that his son (also named John) did not feel the effects of this fall as he held various offices from 1400-1425 and it seems that he continued his father's life of dubious legality on the sea.[189]

Thomas Knapp, who was from Bristol, appears in the records twice. First, in 1373, he commanded the *John* on a naval voyage to France.[190] He rose in society to the point that he was bailiff of Bristol from 1376-1377; sheriff from 1379-1380; and mayor from 1386-1387, 1391-1392, 1396-1397, 1399-1400, and 1403 until his death in 1404[191]. Further, he was the collector of customs and subsidies from 1391-1392 and served as alnager for Bristol in 1394, amongst several other duties.[192] It is clear that Knapp had risen in the world, both from his wedding gift to King Richard and from the fact that by 1400 he owned his own ship—the *Marie*—which was mastered by James Dodyng.[193] Indeed, Knapp's family appears to have shined in the maritime world of Bristol; his brother William traded with Brittany and Ireland and owned his own ship *La Trinite*,[194] and his brother John mastered the *Nicholas* (which sailed in 1386) and engaged in similar trade as William.[195] When Thomas died, he 'requested burial in the chapel of St John the Evangelist on the Back'.[196] Coupled with the name of the ship he mastered suggests he might have had a close affinity with the saint. Knapp had a close connection with several other seafarers in Bristol, including Walter Derby, William Canynges, Elias Spelly,[197] and Richard le Spicer, all of whom lent ships and money to the Crown, and had a shipping partnership with William de Somerwell.[198]

Walter Derby had an interesting career, beginning in recorded history as a shipmaster listed in the records as the shipmaster of three different ships leaving from Bristol: the *Godyer*

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188 Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, 'HAWLEY, John I (d.1408), of Dartmouth, Devon.'
189 'HAWLEY, John II (d.1436), of Dartmouth, Devon and Trematon, Cornw.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/hawley-john-ii-1436>.
190 BL, 'Add MS 37494'.
191 'KNAP, Thomas (d.1404), of Bristol.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1386-1421*, ed. by J.S. Roskell, L. Clark, and C. Rawcliffe (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1993) <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1386-1421/member/knap-thomas-1404>; Liddy, 'Urban Communities and the Crown', p. 95.
192 Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, 'KNAP, Thomas (d.1404), of Bristol.'
193 TNA E101/42/5 n83.
194 Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, 'KNAP, Thomas (d.1404), of Bristol.'
195 TNA E101/40/19 m3.
196 Roskell, Clark, and Rawcliffe, 'KNAP, Thomas (d.1404), of Bristol.'
197 Also referenced as Ellis.
198 Liddy, 'Urban Communities and the Crown', p. 96.

in 1363, the *Grace Dieu* in 1372-3 to Gascony, and the *Bodion* in 1374 to Brittany.[199] His voyage to Gascony was as a part of John of Gaunt's transport fleet, where Elias Spelly also sailed.[200] With Knapp and Canynges, Derby was part of a group of seafarers who 'monopolised civic offices' in the second half of the fourteenth century; he served as MP in 1372 and 1373. In addition to working on naval voyages, Derby was a major wine merchant from 1380-1383 for John of Gaunt. His connections with John of Gaunt did not end there, as Derby, along with Spelly, Canynges and the trio's wives, were members of the Holy Trinity guild in Coventry, a membership pool which by the end of the fourteenth century also consisted of John of Gaunt, Thomas Woodstock (Duke of Gloucester), and Richard Fitzalan (Earl of Arundel).[201] By the end of his life, Derby owned shares in two ships: a quarter of the *Mary* and a half of the *Trinity*. He left these shares to John Stevenes, presumably Derby's apprentice when he died.[202] Similarly, when William Canynges died, he left his son Simon shares in a ship he owned with Elias Spelly. Table 4.5 shows a full accounting of offices held by seafarers discussed throughout.

[199] TNA E101/32/7; TNA E101/33/31 m2; TNA E122/212/11 m2.
[200] TNA E101/40/21 m8; Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns*, p. 50; Liddy, 'Urban Communities and the Crown', p. 96.
[201] Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns*, pp. 150–51.
[202] Liddy, *War, Politics and Finance in Late Medieval English Towns*, p. 49.

Table 4.5: Bristol's Maritime Office Holders

Name	Loan	Ship	Cust.	Staple	MP	Mayor	Sheriff	Bailiff	Council
Canynges, William		Pre-1375	1390-1w	1381m, 1385m, 1389m	1383[1], 1384[1], 1386	1373, 1375, 1381, 1385, 1389		1362, 1370	1381
Derby, Walter de	1370	1372, 1373, pre-1375	1371-2t, 1373-5t, 1376-87w, 1382t, 1386-7t	1355c, 1359-60c, 1364m, 1368m, 1369-75c, 1380m, 1384m	1372, 1373, 1382[2]	1364, 1368, 1376, 1380, 1384		1352, 1356, 1359-60, 1362	1349, 1350, 1381
Dodyng, John		1373, 1374-5, pre-1375							
Knapp, Thomas	1396, 1400	1373, 1374-5, pre-1375, 1394, 1400	1391-2 w/t	1386m, 1391m, 1396m, 1399m, 1403m	1385, 1388[1]	1386, 1391, 1396, 1399, 1403*	1379	1376	1381
Spelly, Ellis		1386	1388-9t	1357c, 1382m, 1390m	1377[1], 1381, 1384[1], 1385, 1386	1370, 1378, 1382, 1390**		1361, 1363	1350, 1381
Spicer, Richard le	1351, 1356, 1370	1374-5			1355	1354, 1360, 1372			1350
Stevenes, John	1400	1394	1395-8 w/t	1402m	1391, 1393	1402	1394	1388	1381, 1409-10

Observing how events affected these specific shipmasters of this century can be difficult. Work with the basket of consumables can give generalities, and clearly show that shipmasters benefited from the Hundred Years War and the aftermath of the Black Death. Both the Condy Family and the Cely Family had members that not only lived through the Great Famine, but found success in the years after. William Condy lived until at least 1362, which means he lived through the first wave of the Black Death at the very least. Benedict Cely was alive until at least 1362 and also would have lived through the first wave of the Black Death. While he is the only member of the family for which there is a foundational record, the Cely Family in general went

on to remain a powerful force in Winchelsea, as is evidenced in their surviving letters, detailing their work as Merchants of the Staple, from the fifteenth century.[203] Though potentially quite young during the beginnings of the Black Death, men like William Skele, John Brunham, John Piers, and John Hawley would have survived and prospered, thanks to a combination of the Hundred Years War and the rising power of shipmasters in the later half of the century. Without the Hundred Years War, Piers and Hawley (among others) would not have had the prolific lives that they led. Attacking and harassing the ships of England's enemies was an essential task given to these men. Hawley was relied on by the monarchy throughout his career both on land and on the sea, with these two careers occasionally merging into one. In fact, Hawley was so successful at his job that his son followed in his footsteps, creating for himself a life as a mariner and a civic servant.[204]

The most interesting trend found throughout these biographies is how prolific these men were on land. Almost all of the men mentioned held at least one civic position, but often served in multiple capacities throughout their lives. Furthermore, it appears likely that the shipboard community not only saw families who had long careers on the sea, but also saw numerous members have powerful lives on land. It appears that often a civic life was established when the man became too old to safely serve at sea. Another explanation for this trend might be that seafaring allowed each man to develop either their wealth, social standing, or both, to the point that they could retire from what would have been a dangerous, physically demanding occupation and take up more favourable roles on land.

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[203] *The Cely Papers: Selections from the Correspondence and Memoranda of the Cely Family, Merchants of the Staple AD 1475-1488*, ed. by Henry Elliot Malden (London: Longman and Co, 1900).
[204] Susan Rose, 'Hawley, John, the Elder (c.1350-1408)', *ODNB* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50130>.

Chapter Five – Cultural Changes in the Fourteenth Century

5.1 Cultural and Religious Ramifications of the Black Death

The Black Death and the subsequent reiterations throughout the fourteenth century had lasting cultural and religious ramifications for the citizens of Europe and Asia. There were many different responses to the Plague, such as the economic and social ones already discussed, as well as medical, environmental, religious, and artistic. While knowledge of disease was underdeveloped in medieval Europe, medical professionals did attempt to understand what was happening. For example, in October 1348, the Medical Faculty of the University of Paris published a collected opinion with the best scientific information available to them. The authors argued that the Plague might have been caused by the alignment of 'three higher planets in Aquarius', but more plausibly they reasoned that air had more to do with the illness than water or food—even if they didn't completely understand why.[1] Humans' understanding of their relationship with nature was changing during this period, moving from a view of nature that plays an 'adversarial role against humans when natural disasters struck' on behalf of God to one where 'they now held some accountability for their own actions with respect to the natural world'.[2] Their changing relationship with God and the clergy can further be seen in the changes to religious and artistic mentalities.

Leading up to the Black Death and throughout the various plagues, people turned to the Church for spiritual and indeed medical support. However, the Black Death showed the laypeople that the Church and its leaders were just as susceptible to death as they were, giving the Church a 'human' quality that had not been seen before.[3] From August 1348 to August 1349, only one of the three archbishops of Canterbury died of old age; the other two succumbed to the Plague. Although the Church attempted to curtail the impact of the Black Death, the impact of the disease also played an important role in shaping and defining the duties of priests. God spared some clergy so they could offer spiritual succour to the population; that some did not do so earned them a stern rebuke from the Archbishop of Canterbury:

> Well, the Commons have brought to us their complaint, and experience, that effective teacher, shows us that surviving priests, who are unmindful of the fact that divine intervention spared them from the recent pestilence – not by reason of their own merits – but so that they can carry out the ministry that was committed to them on behalf of God's people and the public welfare, and who do not blush for shame when their insatiable greed provides a wicked and pernicious example for other workers, even

[1] Medical Faculty of the University of Paris, 'Consultation October 6, 1348', in *The Black Death: The Great Mortality of 1348-1350*, by John Aberth, The Bedford Series in History and Culture, Kindle (Springer, 2016).
[2] Medical Faculty of the University of Paris.
[3] McLaurine H. Zentner, 'The Black Death and Its Impact on the Church and Popular Religion' (University of Mississippi, 2015), p. 1.

> among the laity, now have no regard for the care of souls, which is most worthy of attention from the Church's ministers and which can merit glory to the unwilling man who takes it up, even if he should miserably fail in the rest of his duties. But priests are unwilling to take on the care of souls and to bear the burdens of their cures in mutual charity, but rather they wholly abandon these to devote themselves to celebrating anniversary masses and other private services. So that they can more easily revive old extravagances, they are not content with being paid ordinary salaries but demand for their services excessive wages, and thus they win more profit for themselves than curates do, in exchange only for their status and little work.[4]

Such a statement could be read as evidence that in the aftermath of the Black Death some clergy were tempted by the large rise in wages to move away from public into more private pastoral duties. Religion at this time was intrinsically linked with the dead, each shaping the understanding of those still living. In fact, according to A. N. Galpern, 'Catholicism at the end of the Middle Ages was in large part a cult of the living in service of the dead'.[5] Therefore, the Black Death would have changed how people related to death, which can most keenly be seen in the cadaver tombs, or transi tombs, which became more prevalent at the end of the fourteenth century and continued on into later ones. The term 'transi tomb' comes from *transire*, the Latin word meaning 'to pass away'.

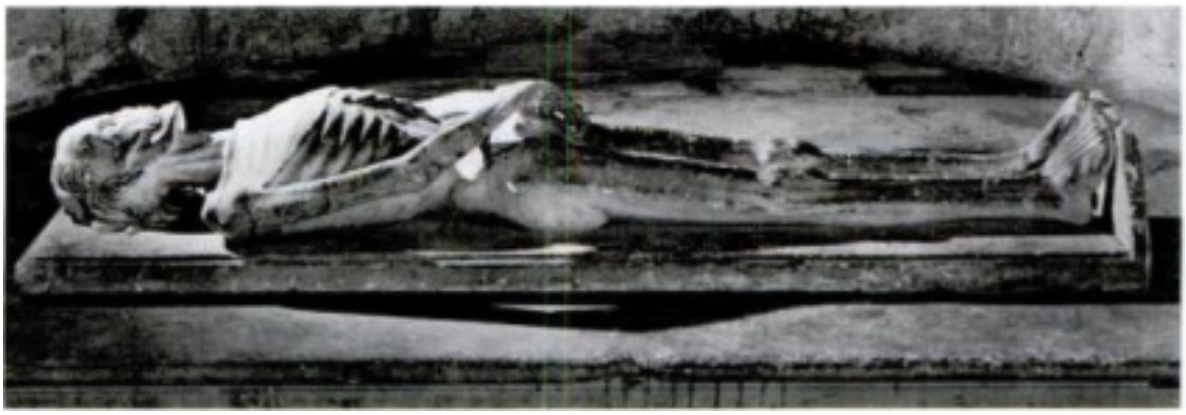
Traditionally, effigies on tombs were linked to the ideal beauty of humans (as seen with the perfectly carved, calm faces) and God's salvation, which was expressed in the Mass of the Dead: *'Deus cui proprium misereri semper et parcere*'.[6] However, by the end of the fourteenth century, these effigies began to change significantly, moving from this idealized vision of what the dead should look like to a macabre one that showed the horrors of what people had been living through. Some examples of these effigies are: 'a figure completely swathed in a shroud' (Figure 5.1), 'an emaciated corpse with protruding intestines' (Figure 5.2), 'a shrivelled body with skin drawn taut across its bony frame' (Figure 5.2), and 'a decaying corpse covered by snakes and frogs' (Figure 5.3), with the most popular in England being the emaciated form.[7]

[4] Simon Islip, 'Effrenata, May 1350', in *The Black Death: The Great Mortality of 1348-1350*, by John Aberth, Kindle (Boston: Springer, 2016), loc. 2006.
[5] A. N. Galpern, 'The Legacy of Late Medieval Religion in Sixteenth-Century Champagne', in *The Pursuit of Holiness in Late Medieval and Renaissance Religion: Papers from the University of Michigan Conference*, ed. by Charles Edward Trinkaus and Heiko Augustinus Oberman, Studies in Medieval and Reformatin Thought (Leiden: Brill, 1974), x, p. 149.
[6] Kathleen Cohen, *Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 1.
[7] Cohen, p. 2.

Figure 5.1: A) Shroud brass of Wouter Copman (d. 1387); B) Transi of Thomas de Saux (d. 1391)

Source: Cohen, Kathleen, Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance *(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973)*

Figure 5.2: Transi of Guillaume de Harcigny (d. 1393)



Source: Cohen, Kathleen, Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance *(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973)*

Figure 5.3: Detail of transi of François de la Sarra

Source: Cohen, Kathleen, Metamorphosis of a Death Symbol: The Transi Tomb in the Late Middle Ages and the Renaissance *(Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973)*

It is generally thought that this obsession with the more revolting side of death was due to an encompassing feeling of anxiety felt by those who survived.[8] Through the Black Death and following outbreaks, death became familiar and corpses common place, which marks the transition from traditional effigies to the more macabre ones.

The opposite is seen when examining the changes in art seen after the Black Death, for although the focus on death as seen in the transi tombs permeates the artistic world as well, artistic style returns to the one that was more reminiscent of centuries past.[9] The Plague left a

[8] John Aberth, *The Black Death: The Great Mortality of 1348-1350*, Kindle (Boston: Springer, 2016), loc. 3338; Cohen, p. 4.
[9] Aberth, l. 3194; Millard Meiss, *Painting in Florence and Siena After the Black Death: The Arts, Religion, and Society in the Mid-Fourteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1978), p. 70.

power vacuum in the art world that had to be filled. With the surge of new members, art took a retrograde step during the last quarter of the fourteenth century, with the style being 'more religious in a traditional sense, more ecclesiastical, and more akin to the art of an earlier time', reflecting this changing social dynamic.[10] This new group of artists 'adhered to more traditional patterns of thought and feeling' making art like that of the thirteenth century their ideal. Furthermore, a renewed focus on religious art helped remedy the growing sense of anxiety and guilt felt by those who remained. A focus on St Sebastian and St Roch, known as the 'plague saints', were highly represented in art following the plague.

Tomb effigies and art are not the only lenses through which the effects of the Black Death on fourteenth-century culture can be examined, and other facets of the lives of different occupational groups—specific to seafarers for example, should not be ignored. The next chapter will introduce the idea that ships are a part of seafaring culture, and through an examination of ship-naming practices, social changes in the lives of these men can be revealed.

The Black Death clearly had an effect on the way medieval men interacted with the world around them. How, therefore, did the shipboard community respond to plague? While it is impossible to say for one hundred percent certainty, one way in which this interaction can be explored through a maritime lens is by examining ship naming practices and how they changed throughout the century.

As a century punctuated by famine, war, and pestilence there has been a great interest in the impact these events had on the cultural life of fourteenth century English society. Such scholarly activity, however, has tended to ignore the cultural aspects of shipboard communities.[11] Yet, there is plenty of evidence that can be used to examine how the shipboard community reacted to the events that occurred during the fourteenth century. The most important method is to analyse the naming practices of ships to see if there was any marked change in ship names during, or after, some key events of the fourteenth century.

The ship was arguably the most important aspect of a fourteenth-century shipmaster's life, and therefore a key aspect of seafarers' cultural life. It does not take a great deal of imagination to theorise that the name of a ship had great symbolic importance to the person naming the ship. He might believe that giving his ship the right name would bestow religious blessings, protect it from storms, or make it more prosperous. As mentioned previously, navy payroll records that have survived have been the key source for this work, and without them we would have only a cursory understanding of what names were being chosen for ships during this period. Drawing on thousands of ship-voyages which provide the names for each vessel,

[10] Meiss, p. 70.
[11] Malcolm Jones, 'The Names given to Ships in Fourteenth- and Fifteenth-Century England', *Nomina*, 23 (2000), 23–36.

this chapter will undertake the first large-scale investigation of ship naming practices in England during the fourteenth century.

Similar to the methodology applied in Chapter Three of this thesis, three key pieces of information were used in order to identify an individual ship: shipmaster name, ship name, and homeport. If a shipmaster was listed under the same ship and port more than once within a twenty-year period, only one instance was counted. For the sake of more easily tracking changes in names, ship names were standardised. For example, *Cog John, Seinte John,* and *John* all simply become *John.* The analysis focuses on what the potential motivations were for naming ships, and tries from this interpretation to draw out some aspect of the life of the person naming it, such as local influences or religious links. Furthermore, naming trends and changes in response to external social changes from one half of the century to the next will be examined.

As has been previously discussed, shipmasters played a central role in the socio-economic life of England, both on land and at sea, where they were responsible for the people around them in their capacity as civic officers or as commanders of their ships. Ties to God, and the Church in general, are well documented throughout the Middle Ages, as will be discussed below. Even when sentiment towards the Church began to strain throughout the aftermath of the Black Death, peoples' faith in God did not. Shipmasters like John Condy were still founding chantries.[12]

Who named the ship, though? More than likely, ships were named by the shipowner, as opposed to specifically the shipmaster. However, there is evidence of shipmasters being partial owners of the ships they commanded. These men were extremely entrepreneurial, as they had to 'split their time between the navigational and managerial role of mastering and ship and the commercial activities of an owner responsible for upkeep, arranging freight, dealing with merchants and often selling cargoes himself'.[13] In the foundational records, there were 626 ships listed with owners.[14] Of these, 207 (thirty-three percent) had a matching shipowner and

[12] Lambert and Ayton, 'A Maritime Community in War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners 1320-1400', p. 85.
[13] Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England', p. 165.
[14] BL, 'Add MS 37494'; TNA C47/2/35; TNA E36/204, p. 237; TNA C47/2/30 m1-m2; TNA C61/88 m3; *CCR, Edward III: 1333-1337*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), pp. 92, 235, 657; *CCR, Edward III: 1339-1341*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1901), pp. 291, 331; Lyte, *CCR 1341-1343*, pp. 545, 629–30, 651–52, 688, 701; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, pp. 129–31, 133, 219, 298, 375; Lyte, *CCR 1346-1349*, p. 10; *CCR, Edward III: 1349-1354*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1905), pp. 65, 76, 213; Lyte, *CCR 1354-1360*, p. 286; *CCR, Edward III: 1360-1364*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1909), pp. 364, 416; Lyte, *CCR 1364-1369*, p. 333; *CCR, Edward III: 1374-1377*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1913), pp. 11, 59; *CFR: Edward III, A.D. 1327-1337*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: The Hereford Times Ltd, 1913), IV, p. 447; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1307-49*, II, pp. 256–57, 366–69, 395, 450, 481, 522; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1348-77*, III, pp. 21, 255; TNA E101/173/4 f98v; TNA E101/20/1 m2; TNA E101/22/30 m1-3; TNA E101/24/9b n2-3, n5-7, n11-18, n21-24, n26-27, n29-39, n34, n41-43; TNA E101/26/37 m1; TNA E101/27/23 m1; TNA E101/27/36; TNA E101/28/24 m1-2; TNA E101/29/39 m4; TNA E101/30/29 m3; TNA E101/30/30; TNA E101/30/36; TNA E101/31/23 m2; TNA E101/31/29 m6; TNA E101/31/32 m1; TNA E101/32/32 m1; TNA E101/33/31 m2-7; TNA E101/33/40; TNA E101/34/30 m1; TNA E101/37/14 m1; TNA E101/38/19 m3; TNA E101/38/28; TNA E101/39/17 m2; TNA E101/40/19 m7; TNA E101/40/20; TNA E101/40/21 m6; TNA 'E101/40/8 m4; TNA E101/41/37 m1; TNA E101/41/38; TNA E101/42/21 m6; TNA E101/42/22 m1-9; TNA E101/42/5 n3-15; TNA E101/54/14 m2; TNA E122/158/25; 'ECR MICH 1322-

shipmaster.[15] The majority of shipmaster-owned ships were fifty tons or less, as the cost of a ship rose as the size grew larger, making it more difficult for a shipmaster to afford owning a ship outright.[16] This can clearly be seen in the navy payrolls: there were 183 ships over fifty tons,[17] with only forty-six (or four percent) of these vessels owned by a shipmaster.[18] The majority of ships in the navy payrolls did not have shipowners listed, however, meaning that there could have been many more ships owned by its shipmaster. It could be said that a shipmaster owned at least a partial share in a ship for instances where shipmasters commanded a ship over several years. For example, William Piers was the listed shipmaster for the *Robinet* out of London for nine voyages from 1338-1343,[19] and Richard Rouw sailed from Exmouth on the *Bartholomew* on nineteen voyages from 1331-1341.[20] None of the ships had a listed shipowner, but the fact that these shipmasters spent such a large period of time commanding one ship suggests they had a stake in its ventures. Hugh de Reppes sailed on the *Rodecog* from London for eight voyages from 1335-1339,[21] however this ship is listed as a King's ship, and so in this instance it is unlikely that Reppes had any influence over the naming. Little information today exists that can help us to understand the mind of the fourteenth century shipmaster or shipowner, but perhaps the records of their ships' names, preserved through the Exchequer and chancery documents, might give us insight into their thoughts and desires through an examination of any connections to a given name.

MICH 1323'; 'ECR MICH 1341-MICH 1342'; 'ECR MICH 1345-MICH 1346'; 'ECR MICH 1356-MICH 1357'; 'ECR MICH 1358-MICH 1359'; 'ECR MICH 1368-MICH 1369'; 'ECR MICH 1384-MICH 1385'; 'ECR MICH 1391-MICH 1392'; Lyte, *CPR 1327-1330*, pp. 104, 108; Lyte, *CPR 1350-1354*, pp. 68, 251; Lyte, *CPR 1330-1334*, pp. 37, 403, 407; *CPR, Edward III 1334-1338*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), pp. 83, 231, 247–48, 255, 296, 338–39, 567–68; Lyte, *CPR 1338-1340*, pp. 1, 491–92; *CPR, Edward III 1345-1348*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1898), pp. 204, 207, 109, 283, 291; Lyte, *CPR 1348-1350*, pp. 116, 593; *CPR, Edward III 1364-1367*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: The Hereford Times Ltd, 1912), p. 121; Lyte, *CPR 1370-1374*, p. 91.

[15] BL, 'Add MS 37494'; 'C47/2/30'; Lyte, *CCR 1341-1343*, pp. 629, 651–52, 664, 688, 701; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, pp. 129–31, 133, 219; Lyte, *CCR 1346-1349*, p. 10; Lyte, *CCR 1364-1369*, p. 333; Lyte, IV, p. 447; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1307-49*, II, pp. 450, 522; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1348-77*, III, p. 255; Lyte, *CPR 1327-1330*, p. 104; Lyte, *CPR 1334-1338*, pp. 83, 296, 338, 567; Lyte, *CPR 1338-1340*, pp. 491–92; Lyte, *CPR 1348-1350*, p. 116; Lyte, *CPR 1364-1367*, p. 121; 'E101/173/4 f98v'; TNA E101/20/1; TNA E101/24/9b n7, n21, n23-24; TNA E101/26/37 m1; TNA E101/27/23 m1; TNA E101/27/36; TNA E101/28/24 m1-2; TNA E101/30/29 m3; TNA E101/30/30; TNA E101/30/36; TNA E101/31/32 m1; TNA E101/33/31 m2-3; TNA E101/39/17 m2, m4; TNA E101/40/19 m7; TNA E101/40/8 m4; TNA E101/41/37 m1; TNA E101/42/22 m1-4, m7-9; TNA E101/42/5 n10; TNA E122/158/25; 'ECR MICH 1356-MICH 1357'; 'ECR MICH 1358-MICH 1359'; 'ECR MICH 1368-MICH 1369'; 'ECR MICH 1384-MICH 1385'; 'ECR MICH 1391-MICH 1392'.

[16] Kowaleski, 'The Shipmaster as Entrepreneur in Medieval England', p. 170.

[17] TNA E101/26/37 m1-2; TNA E101/27/36; TNA E101/28/24 m1-2; TNA E101/30/30; TNA E101/33/31 m2-3, m5-7; TNA E101/39/17 m2, m4; TNA E101/40/19 m7; TNA E101/41/37 m1; TNA E101/42/22 m2-3, m5, m8-9; *Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous, 1307-49*, II, pp. 256–57, 367; TNA E101/32/32; TNA E101/40/20; TNA E101/40/21 m6.

[18] TNA E101/26/37 m1; TNA E101/27/36; TNA E101/28/24 m1-2; TNA E101/30/30; TNA E101/32/32; TNA E101/33/31 m2-3, m5-7; TNA E101/39/17 m2; TNA E101/40/19 m7; TNA E101/41/37 m1; TNA E101/42/22 m1; TNA E101/ 42/ 22 m3, m8.

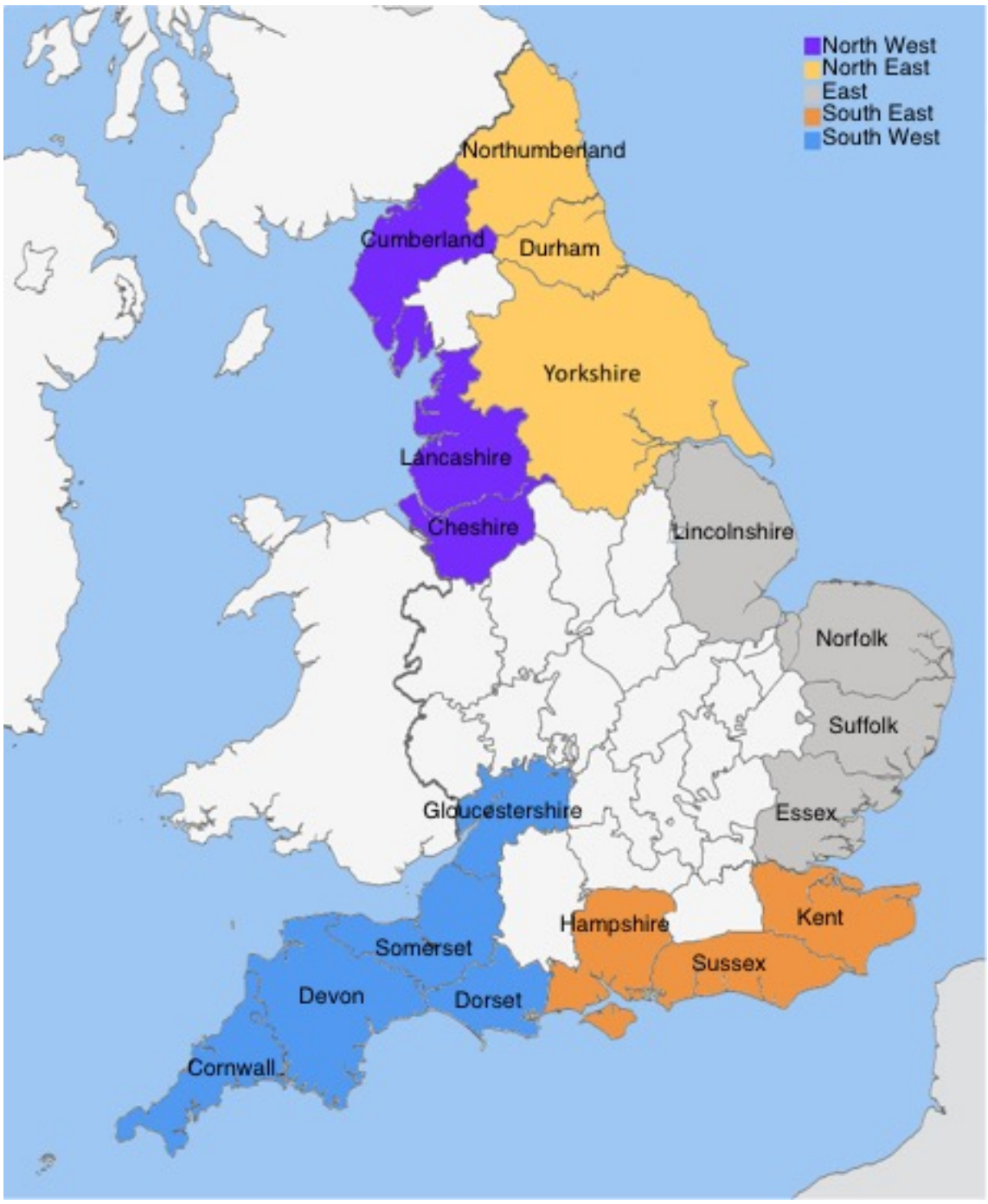
[19] TNA E36/203, p. 364; TNA E36/203, p. 221; TNA E101/389/8 m16; TNA E101/20/39 n50-56.

[20] TNA E36/203, p. 371; TNA E101/19/38 m3; TNA E101/19/39 m2; 'ECR MICH 1331-MICH 1332'; 'ECR MICH 1332-MICH 1333'; 'ECR MICH 1333-MICH 1334'; 'ECR MICH 1339-MICH 1340'; 'ECR MICH 1340-MICH 1341'.

[21] TNA E36/203, p. 364; Lyte, *CCR 1333-1337*, p. 692; Lyte, *CCR 1337-1339*, p. 197; 'E101/19/3'; 'E101/20/39'; BL, 'Cotton MSS, Nero CV.III, Fol. 264r'; BL, 'Cotton MSS, Nero CV.III, Fol. 265v'.

5.2 Ship Naming Trends of the Fourteenth Century

Figure 5.4: County Map



Ship naming trends are one of the main avenues into an examination of seafarer culture, especially one that is quantifiable. By using a quantifiable method, comparisons can be made, for instance, between geographic regions or time periods. Ship naming offers interpretable evidence of the seafaring community exercising free will and self-determination. There are many different ways to look at ship naming practices in the fourteenth century: for example, by

overall popularity, by changes in popularity, and by unique instances of ship names in all of the coastal counties. Each geographic area has local influences unique to itself, which in some cases would have competed for attention with national-scale interests; Figure 5.4 displays the extent of each of these areas. The most popular names in the fourteenth century are unsurprisingly dominated by saints' names. Figure 5.5 below depicts each of the twenty most popular ship names across the century as a percentage of all the names recorded; Figure 5.6 shows the same information with 'Mary' taken out (to better display the other names). The bars on the graph are split to show how the names are distributed geographically through England's coastal areas.

Figure 5.5: Twenty Most Popular Ship Names, 1300-1399

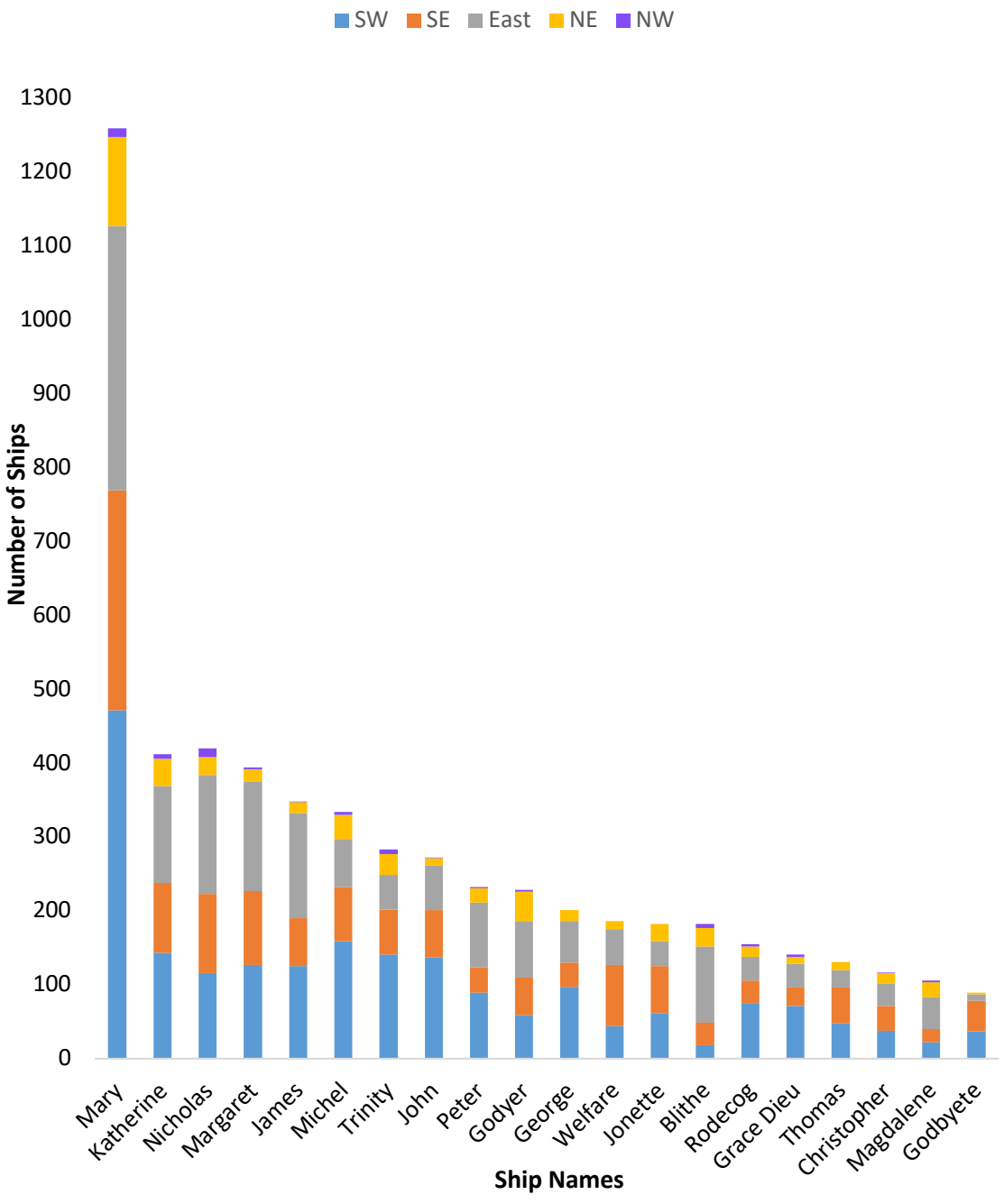
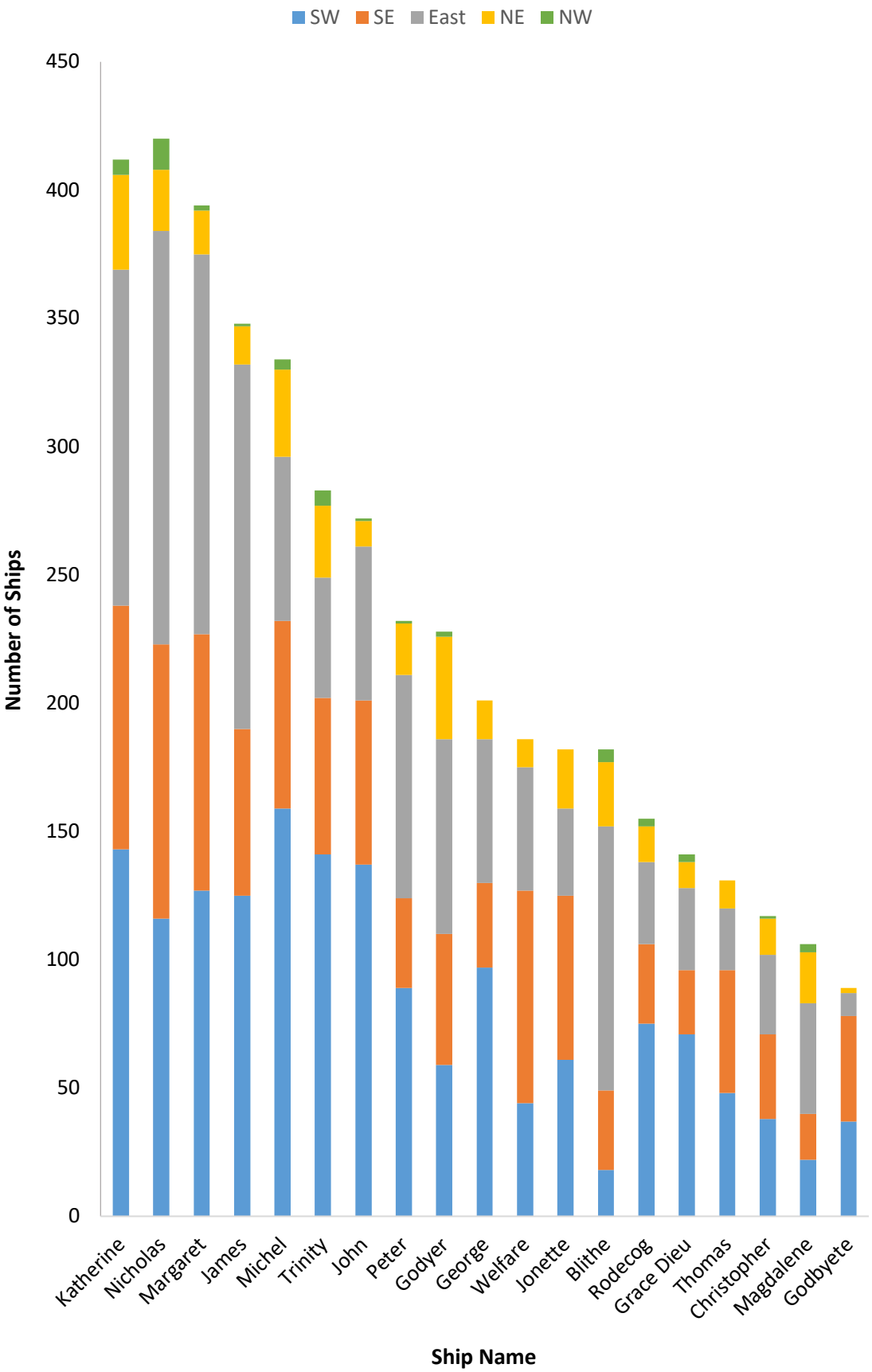


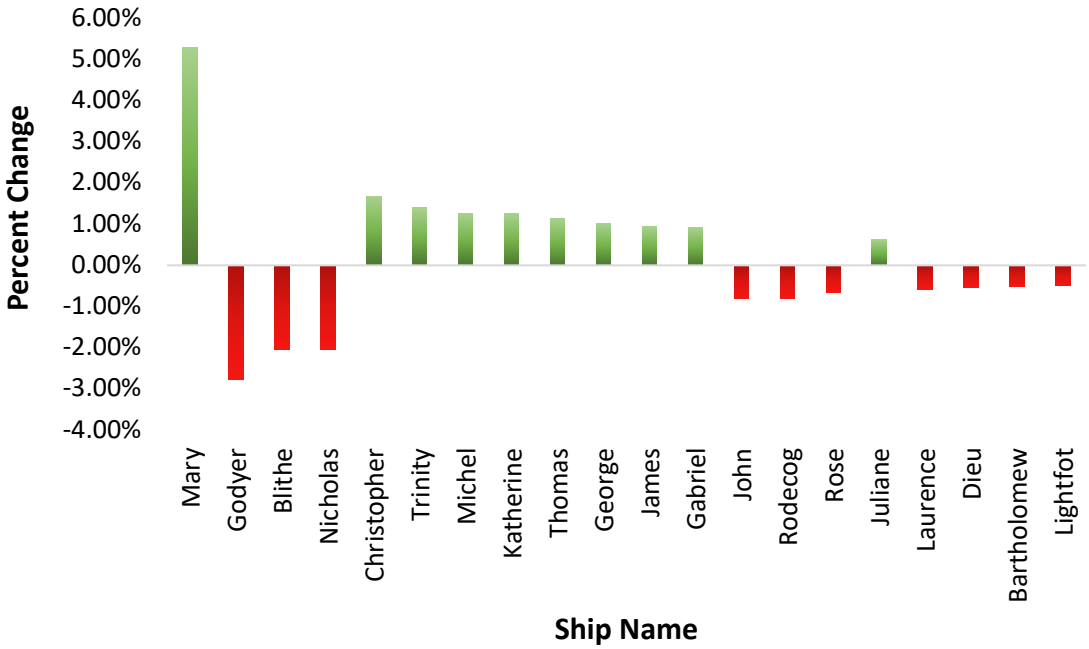
Figure 5.6: Twenty Most Popular Ship Names - 1300-1399, excluding Mary



It can be seen from Figure 5.5 that variations of the name Mary (e.g., *Marie*, *Mariebot*, *Marie crayer, Mariot and Maline*) were the most popular, with a total of 1,259 ships.[22] *Katerine* (or *Katherine*) and *Nicholas* are the next two most popular names, with 412 and 420 ships respectively. It is interesting to note that the top two names are both female, together making up nearly thirty percent of the twenty most popular ships. *Margaret* is the fourth most popular, and in total just over forty percent of these ships have female names. The next group of names includes *James* and *Michael*, with 348 and 334 ships respectively. *Trinity* (283 ships) is the first name with connections directly to God in the top twenty ship names. *John* and *Peter* each had 272 and 232 ships respectively. The next grouping of names comprises of *Godyer* (228 ships), *George* (201 ships), *Welfare* (186 ships), *Jonette* (182 ships), *Grace Dieu* (106 ships), and *Christopher* (106 ships). Within this, *Godyer* is interesting as it is the most common example of a ship being named after neither a religious figure, or a person's name in general. The other ship names like this in the top twenty are *Welfare*, *Blithe*, *Rodecog* and *Godbyete*. *Grace Dieu* is another oddity; it means 'God's grace' and so represents a religious name, but not a religious figure as such. It is the only example of its kind in the top twenty.

Tracking how much a name has changed over the century is another tool to further analyse name usage in the fourteenth century. Below is a graph showing the twenty names that changed the most, through an increase or decrease in popularity (Figure 5.7).

Figure 5.7: Changes in Ship Names, 1300-1399



[22] P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, 'Malin, Malins, Mallin', *ODES* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, 'Mallot', *ODES* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, 'Marion, Marians, Maryan, Maryon, Marrian, Marrion', *ODES* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, 'Marriott, Marritt, Marryatt', *ODES* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005); 'Renaissance and Regency Rummage Repository: Medieval Nicknames, Pet Names and Use Names' <https://sarahs-history-place.blogspot.co.uk/2014/01/medieval-nicknames-pet-names-and-use.html >.

There are more records from 1350-1399 than from 1300-1349; therefore, when looking at this data it is important to discuss how it has been used. Rather than looking at the exact number of ships a particular name had, a percentage of the total was found to show the relative popularity of a name in comparison to other names. The change in popularity for each name was found by comparing its relative popularity (percent) from the first half of the century to the second half. Using '*Mary*' as an example, since it once again dominates the table, there were 468 ships (at 12.92%) from 1300-1349 and 836 ships (at 18.21%) from 1350-1399, giving 'Mary' its 5.29% increase. The next names showing the biggest change over the century are *Godyer* and *Blithe*, which both showed a decrease in popularity, of 2.76 and 2.05% respectively. *Nicholas* also showed a relatively large decrease of 2.04%. The only other names that saw an increase were *Christopher*, *Trinity*, *George*, *Thomas*, *Gabriel*, *James*, *Katherine*, *Juliane*, and *Michael*. Interestingly, the name *Gabriel* only occurs once in all of the documents from the first half of the century; in the second half of the century it makes up just under one percent of all ship names however (forty-four ships). The increases in the name *Christopher* are even clearer when comparing a map of ship instances from 1300-1349 (Figure 5.8) to a map from 1350-1399 (Figure 5.9). As can be seen in Figure 5.8, *Christopher* was mainly concentrated in the southwest of England; however, as is clear in Figure 5.9, by the end of the century *Christopher* had grown in popularity all across the country and especially in the northeast. This is supported by the data, as *Christopher* grew in popularity by nearly five percent when looking at all the ships in the northeast and by only one percent in the southwest. *Blithe*, *Laurence*, *Peter*, *Bartholomew*, and *Godbyete* all decrease in popularity by almost one percent.

Figure 5.8: Instances of Christopher, 1300-1349

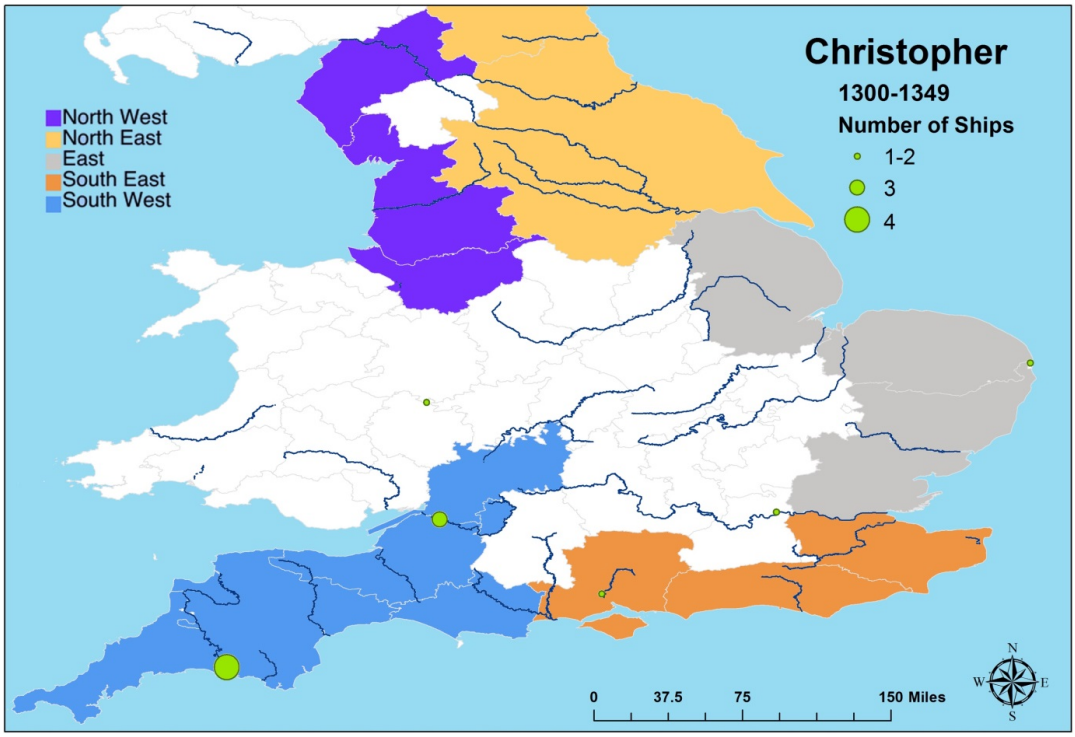


Figure 5.9: Instances of Christopher, 1350-1399

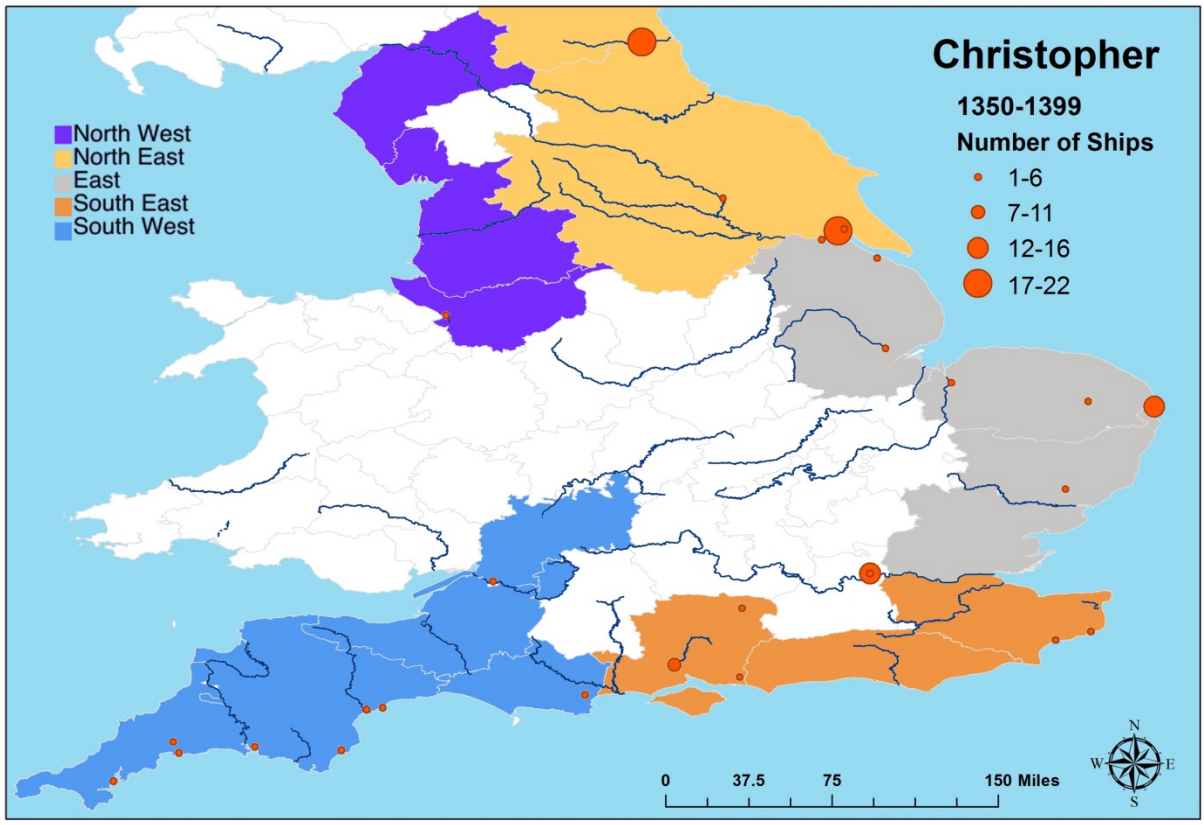


Figure 5.10 below compares the proportion of church and chapel dedications an individual saint had, as found in the online database of *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV* from 1291-1292, to the popularity of that saint's name in fourteenth-century ship names. The *Taxatio* was commissioned by Pope Nicholas IV and contains valuations of ecclesiastic taxation on parish churches in England and Wales. Since there are only ship names from the coastal counties, the only dedications counted were those from the same counties. This comparison could only be made where data for the popularity of the saint's name in question was available for both ship names and church dedications. In these cases, Figure 5.10 displays the difference between the popularity of a name in church dedications versus ship names. The red lines on Figure 5.10 show the standard deviation range. The arithmetic mean is 0.42% and the standard deviation is 2.33%, reflecting the fact that there is a great deal of variability shown. The red lines therefore sit 2.33% on either side of the mean value. Any bar that is a negative value means that there was a higher proportion of ship names than church and chapel dedications for that given name, while any bar that is positive represents a higher number of dedications.

Figure 5.10: Church & Chapel Dedications vs. Ship Names, lowest values

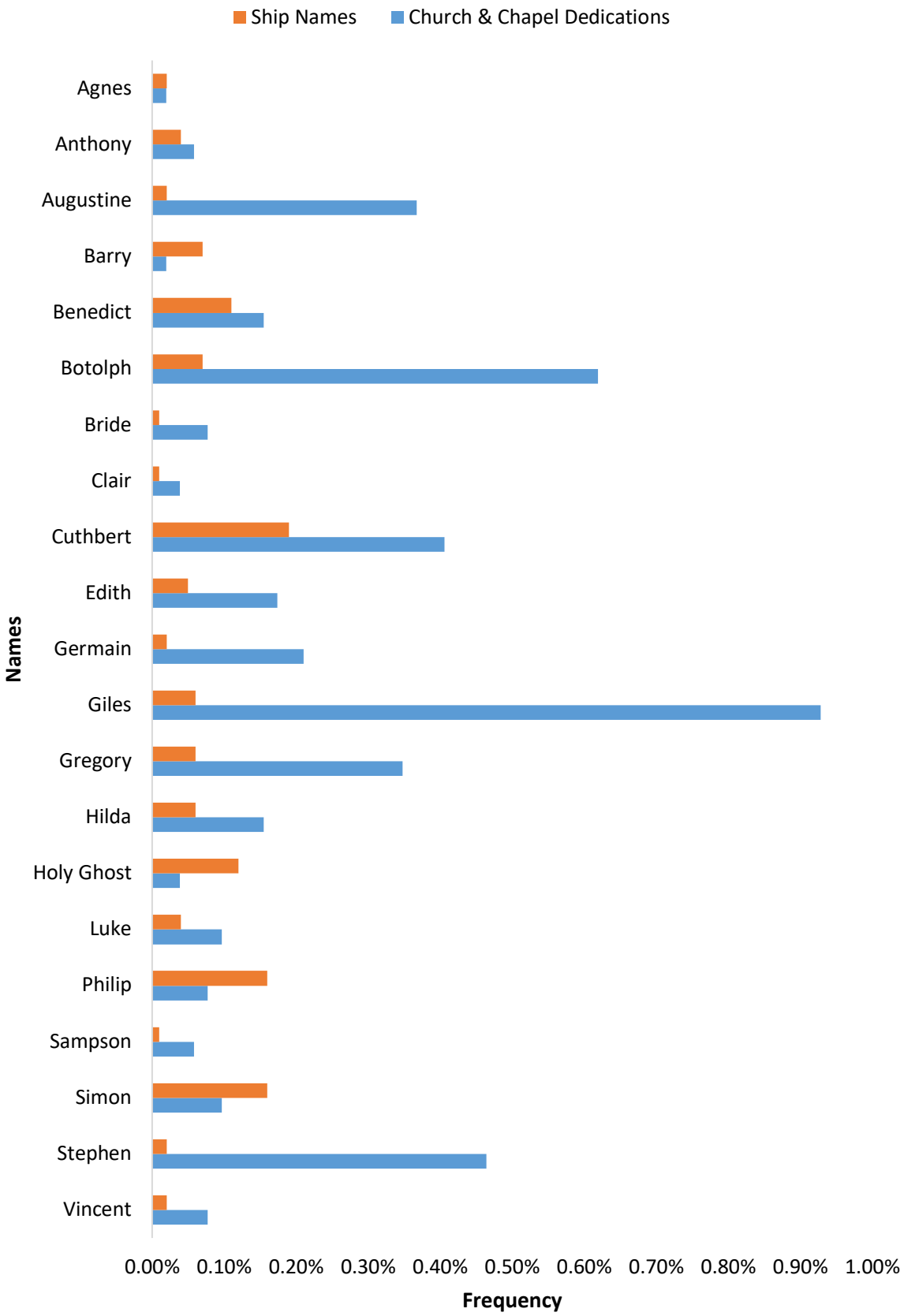
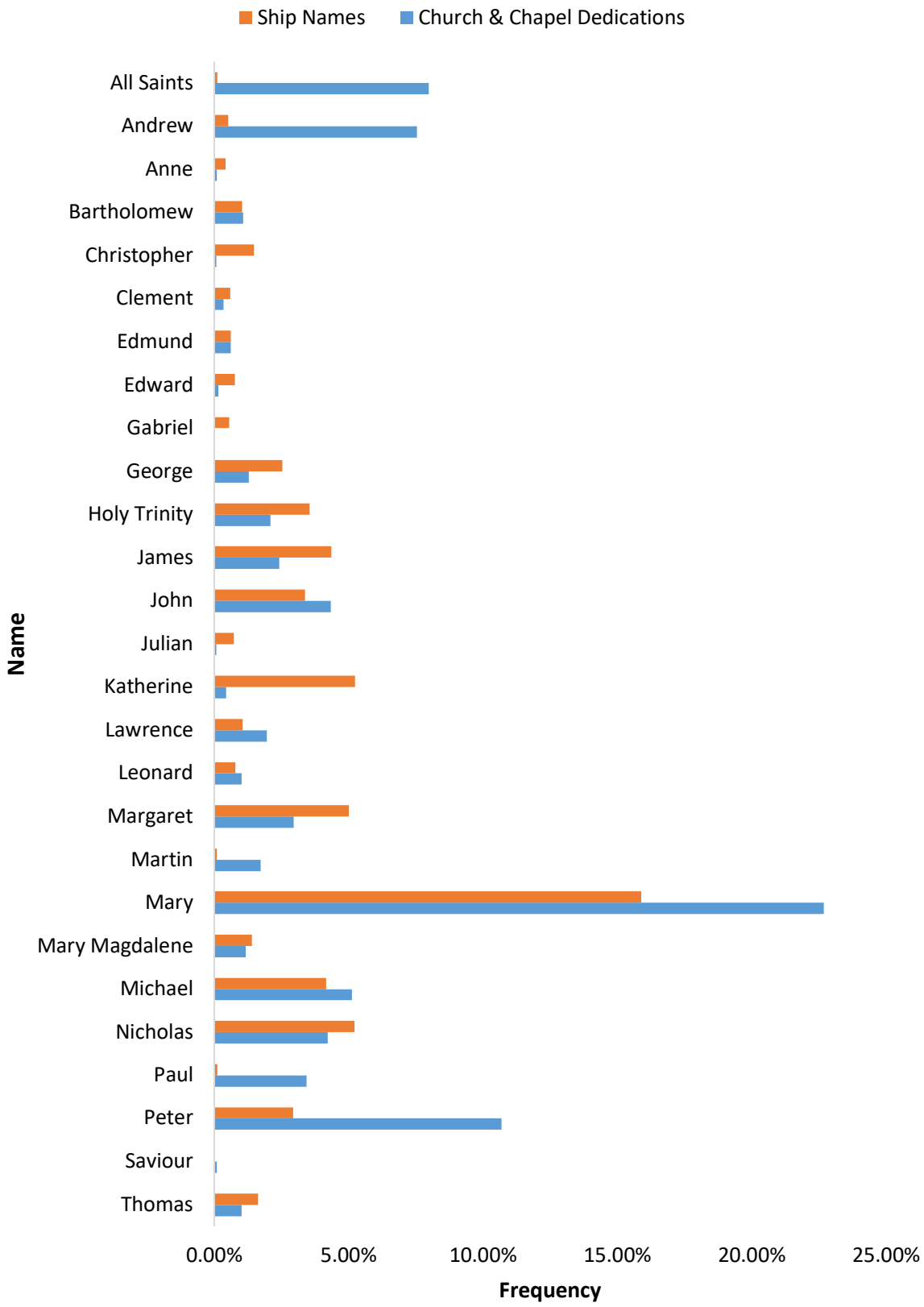


Figure 5.11: Church & Chapel Dedications vs. Ship Names, highest values



It can be seen in Figure 5.10 and Figure 5.11 that on the whole, the proportion of ship names and the proportion of dedications fall within the standard deviation. This shows that those names are roughly equally popular as a dedication or a ship name, although there are some names that lean more towards one side than the other. For example, *George* at a total proportion of 2.68%, falls only a little short of the line with a clear preference for its use as a ship name.

However, there are a few outliers for both: 'All Saints', 'Andrew', 'Mary', 'Paul', and 'Peter' for the dedications and *Christopher, James, Katherine,* and *Margaret* for ship names. It is unsurprising that 'All Saints', 'Paul', and 'Andrew' exceed the standard deviation as there were only five, six, and thirty-one ships of each individual name across the entire century, making up just 0.11%, 0.09%, and 0.56% of the total number of ships. In comparison, there were 413 churches or chapels dedicated to 'All Saints', 178 dedicated to 'Paul', and 390 to 'Andrew', making up 3.44%, 7.98%, and 7.54% respectively. This shows that 'All Saints', 'Paul', and 'Andrew' were more popular in the church in general than they were in the seafaring community, perhaps because they have no real links to maritime themes. Peter's links to the maritime world will be discussed later in this chapter, showing that the name had important connotations to medieval seafarers. However, his role as the first Pope and the 'rock' upon which the church was built makes him much more popular as a dedication than ship name, at 10.69% versus 2.86%. The final name, 'Mary', shows once again just how popular she was in the Middle Ages. Both dedications and ship names have a respectfully high proportion of instances of 'Mary', at 22.68% and 17.12% respectively, proving that she was an essential saint no matter the reason. On the other side, 'Christopher', 'James', 'Katherine', and 'Margaret' were all more popular as ship names. All four of these names, through saints, have proven connections to the sea, as discussed below, making it unsurprising that there would be a higher proportion of ships.

So far individual ship names have been discussed, but not groups of ships. The most prominent of these groups are those listed as 'King's Ships' in the navy payrolls. While there was no official royal navy, there was a small contingent of ships owned by the King. It is interesting, therefore, to examine what names were chosen for the 'King's Ships'.

Figure 5.12: Five Most Popular 'King's Ships' Names, 1300-1399

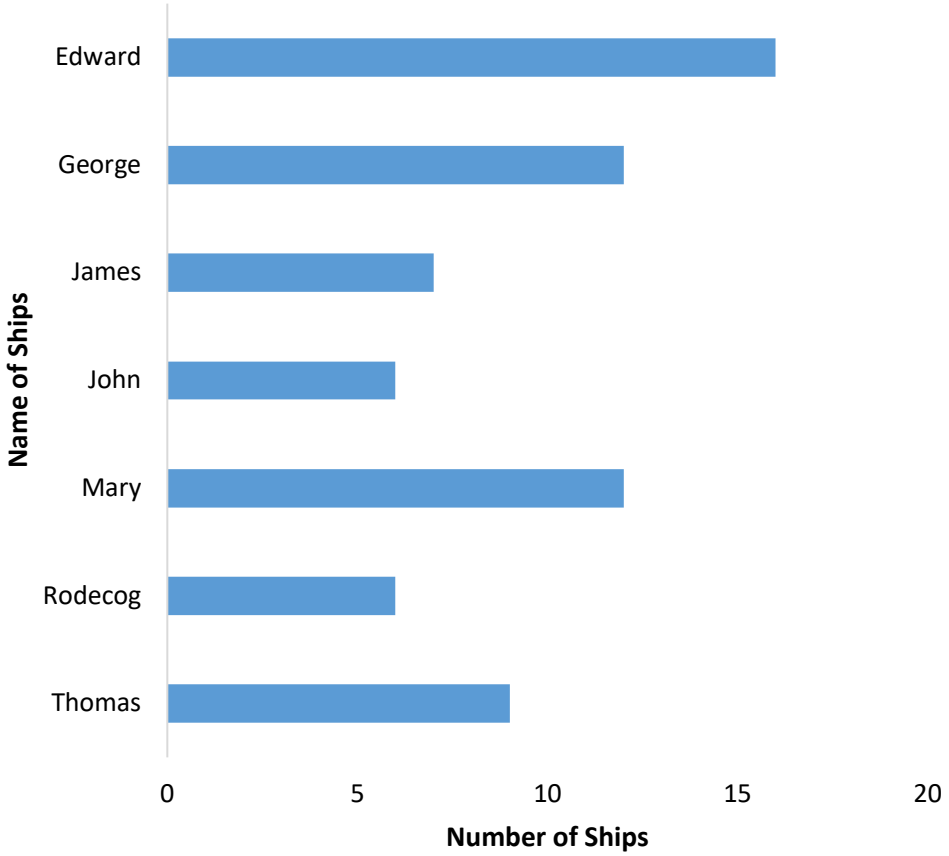
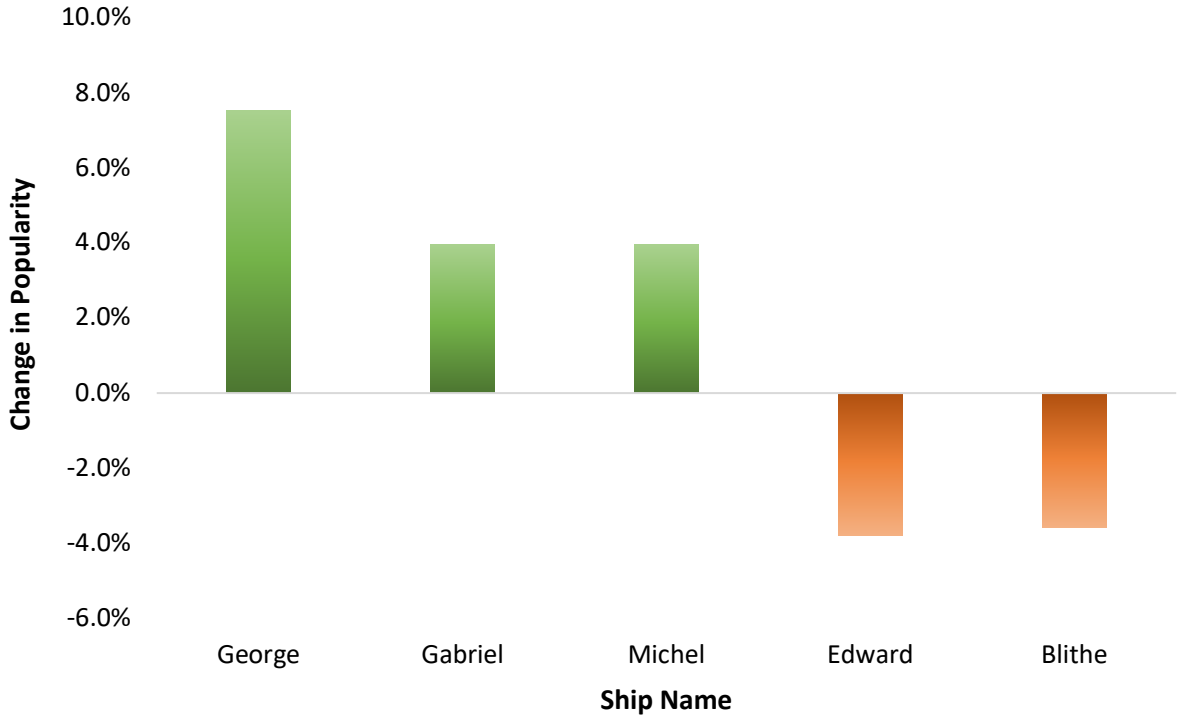


Figure 5.12 shows the five most popular names given to the 'King's Ships' from 1300 to 1399. The most popular, perhaps unsurprisingly, was *Edward*, followed by *George* and *Mary*. In all other aspects that have been examined, the variations of *Mary* have always been higher than any other name. However, here, the instances of *Edward* are two percent higher than the instances of *Mary*. Some names grew or dropped in popularity for use as a 'King's Ship' name throughout the century. While *Edward* was the most popular name in general, it did decrease in popularity from the beginning to the end of the century.

Figure 5.13: Changes in Ship Name Popularity for 'King's Ships', 1300-1399

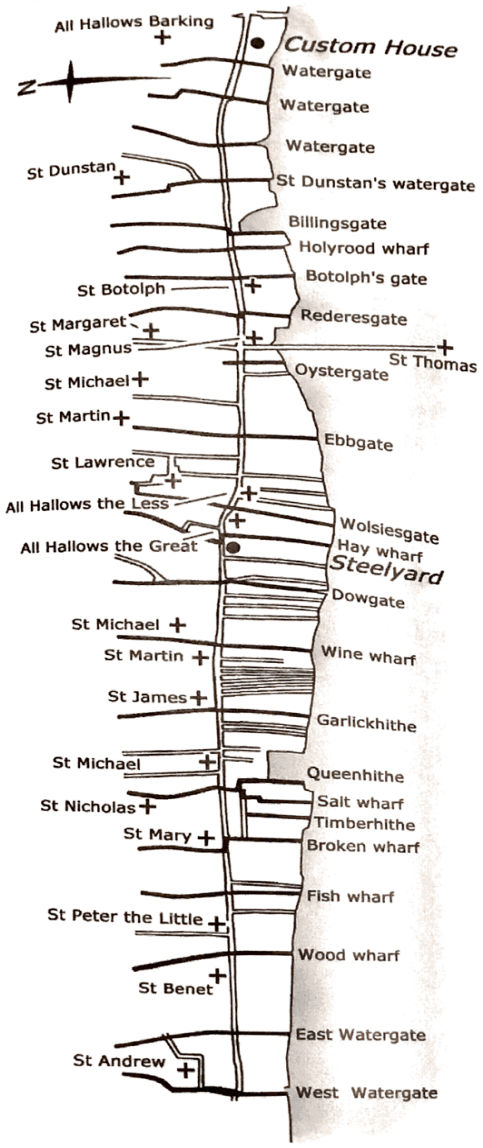


George had the greatest increase, where its popularity rose by 7.5% from the first half of the century to the second half of the century. This rise may well be linked to the adoption of St George as England's patron saint. By naming his ships after St George, Edward was not only paying homage, but may have also been calling on his spiritual assistance. It is interesting to note that St George's chapel at Windsor was also built in 1348.[23]

Examining the names of ships from London shows that the majority are taken from the dedicated saints of parishes situated along the waterfront. Despite having three churches named for all the saints—All Hallows Barking, All Hallows the Less, and All Hallows the Great—there was only one ship named *Allhallowcog* from London. There were only three ships named *Blithe* for the whole century, but since those three were all in the first half of the century, when there were less ships documented as 'King's Ships', its overall percentage was relatively high. It therefore had an almost four percent decrease in popularity when there were no ships named *Blithe* in the second half of the century.

[23] Richard Barber, Julian Munby, and Richard Brown, *Edward III's Round Table at Windsor: The House of the Round Table and the Windsor Festival of 1344* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), p. 26.

Figure 5.14: Waterfront Parish Churches & Corresponding Ship Names



Parish Name	Number of Ships[24]
All Hallows Barking, All Hallows the Less, All Hallows the Great	1
St Margaret	25
St Michael	16
St Martin	1
St Lawrence	5
St James	16
St Nicholas	15
St Mary	67
St Peter the Little	8
St Andrew	2
St Thomas	19

Map Source: Gustav Milne, The Port of Medieval London (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd, 2003, p. 149).

[24] BL, 'Add MS 37494'; BL, 'Stowe MS 553'; TNA C47/2/35 m2; TNA E36/204, p. 221; TNA C61/88 m7; Lyte, *CCR 1337-1339*, p. 197; TNA E101/20/39 n37-38; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 130; Lyte, *CCR 1346-1349*, p. 219; Lyte, *CCR 1349-1354*, p. 508; Lyte, *CCR 1374-1377*, p. 387; *CMR 1326-1327*, ed. by R. Latham (HMSO, 1968), p. 131; Lyte, *CPR 1324-1327*, pp. 7, 14, 278–79; Lyte, *CPR 1327-1330*, pp. 103, 108; Lyte, *CPR 1330-1334*, p. 576; Lyte, *CPR 1343-1345*, p. 327; Lyte, *CPR 1350-1354*, p. 251; Lyte, *CPR 1354-1358*, p. 347; Lyte, *CPR 1364-1367*, p. 34; Lyte, *CPR 1370-1374*, p. 91; 'E101/25/9'; TNA E101/167/16 f37r; TNA E101/167/16 f12r; TNA E101/173/4 f8v; TNA E101/173/4 f7v; TNA E101/173/4 f70r; TNA E101/173/4 f66v; TNA E101/173/4 f125r; TNA E101/173/4 f121v; TNA E101/180/2 f7r; TNA E101/180/2 f10v; TNA E101/182/6 f6v; TNA E101/182/6 f37r; TNA E101/182/6 f17r; TNA E101/182/6 f13r; TNA E101/19/3 m8; TNA E101/20/39 n37-38; TNA E101/21/36 m5; TNA E101/27/15 m2; TNA E101/27/36; TNA E101/27/37 m4; TNA E101/28/24 m1, m6; TNA E101/28/26 m1; TNA E101/29/1 m3; TNA E101/29/39 m2-3, m5; TNA E101/30/17 m2; TNA E101/31/23 m2; TNA E101/33/20; TNA E101/33/31 m6; TNA E101/34/7; TNA E101/36/14 m2, m5; TNA E101/36/20, p. 4; TNA E101/37/13; TNA E101/37/14 m1-2; TNA E101/37/15 m1-2; TNA E101/37/16; TNA E101/37/19; TNA E101/37/25 m1, m4-5, m12-13; TNA E101/37/7; TNA E101/38/18 m1-2; TNA E101/38/19 m2-3; TNA E101/38/30 m3; TNA E101/389/8 m16; TNA E101/39/2 m1-2, m7; TNA E101/39/3 m1-2; TNA E101/40/19 m4-5; TNA E101/40/21 m4-6, m10; TNA E101/40/36 m1-2; TNA E101/40/40 m2-3; TNA E101/40/8 m3; TNA E101/40/9 m2, m4; TNA E101/42/21 m1, m4; TNA E101/42/22 m4; TNA E101/78/4a m1-2; TNA E101/78/8m2; TNA E101/78/9 m1; TNA E122/193/8 m2-3, m7; TNA E36/203, pp. 363–65; TNA E36/204, pp. 221, 239; 'ECR MICH 1384-MICH 1385'; *Rotuli Scotiae*, ed. by D. Macpherson (London: Record Commission, 1814), p. 211; Kowaleski, *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, p. 190.

5.3 Ship-Naming in the Context of Seafarers' Social Environments

It is important to not only analyse the data, but to also understand the name itself. It is through this individual focus that some insight might be gained into the cultural world of the medieval mariner. While it might not have been the average mariner or even the shipmaster who named the ship, shipowners were still an integral part of the wider maritime community and shared in both the dangers (loss of a ship that might result in financial ruin) and probably the superstitions of that community. It should be mentioned, that there are often more than one saint with a single name. When these instances happen, the saints that are most popular or connected to the sea are the ones which have been mentioned.

The variations of the name 'Mary' dominate both the data on popularity and the data on change (Figure 5.5 and Figure 5.7), and so this is a good place to start. With roots in the Hebrew name Miriam, the name Mary has many different translations, some of which are associated with the sea.[25] *Stella maris* is used 'allusively of a protectress or a guiding spirit' and was first used by St Jerome in reference to the Virgin Mary in *Liber de nominibus Hebraicis*,[26] a fourth-century work that interpreted Hebrew names.[27] While never linked directly to the sea, the Virgin Mary as a guider and protector was a widely disseminated image, as Mary was seen to sailors as 'the Brilliant Ocean Star, whom they invoked as their Guide, their Anchor, their Port of refuge, their Haven in shipwreck'.[28] So it is therefore no surprise that it is the century's most popular ship name. The other important names of were *Katherine* and *Margret*, both of whom are one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, a grouping of saints that were turned to by medieval Christians during times of mortal trouble, such as the Black Death.[29] The legends of these saints have some of the most 'glorious examples of heroic firmness and invincible courage in the profession of the Faith'.[30] Each saint has a specific attribute, as can be seen in the Litany of the Fourteen Holy Helpers:

> Fourteen Holy Helpers,
> St George, valiant martyr of Christ,
> St Blase, zealous bishop and benefactor of the poor,
> St Erasmus, mighty protector of the oppressed,
> St Pantaleon, miraculous exemplar of charity,
> St Vitus, special protector of chastity,
> St Christopher, might intercessor in dangers,

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[25] 'Mary, n.1 (and Int.)', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford UP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/114528>.
[26] 'Stella Maris, N.', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford UP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/189693?>.
[27] 'Jerome – The Interpretation of Hebrew Names', *Fourth Century Christianity Home* <http://www.fourthcentury.com/jerome-hebrew-names/>.
[28] Edmund Waterton, *Pietas Mariana Britannica: A History of English Devotion to the Most Blessed Virgin Marye Mother of God* (London: St. Joseph's Catholic Library, 1879), p. 48; Bonaventure Hammer, *The Fourteen Holy Helpers* (Charlotte: TAN Books, 1995).
[29] David Hugh Farmer, 'Fourteen Holy Helpers', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).
[30] Hammer.

St Dionysius, shining mirror of faith and confidence,
St Cyriacus, terror of hell,
St Achatius, helpful advocate in death,
St Eustachius, exemplar of patience in adversity,
St Giles, despiser of the world,
St Margaret, valiant champion of the Faith,
St Catherine, victorious defender of the Faith and of purity,
St Barbara, mighty patroness of the dying…[31]

Several of the saints mentioned in the above litany have ships with the same name. At the core of this were the three holy virgins:

Saint Margaret with the dragon
Saint Barbara with the tower
Saint Catherine with the wheel
those are the three holy maids.[32]

It can be seen from this verse that both St Margaret and St Katherine were important saints in the Middle Ages. While St Katherine is associated with the wheel, her burial by angels at the top of Mount Sinai[33] sparked a close association with the sea. Many churches that were dedicated to St Katherine were also built on top of hills, usually near the sea. Furthermore, beacons were often lit to help guide travellers, much like our modern-day lighthouses. An example of one such chapel is the one built on St Catherine's Point on the Isle of Wight, where a light burned in the tower of the chapel.[34] The importance of St. Katherine to seafarers, then, is clear: her churches and chapels were often beacons keeping them physically safe.

St Margaret, on the other hand, has no clear connection to the sea. She was, however, one of the more popular virgin martyr saints during the Middle Ages.[35] It was said that the Devil appeared to her in the form of a dragon, swallowing her whole. However, she was saved by the Cross, which caused the dragon's stomach to burst, allowing her to survive unharmed.[36] This story was widely disseminated during the Middle Ages,[37] and it is perhaps because of this that she is a patron against death.[38] This could be why medieval ship owners turned to this popular saint to protect those on board. *Margrete* was extremely popular in the southwest and east, specifically in Devon and East Anglia. There are clear indicators that Margaret was an important saint in Norfolk, with eight dedications to St Margaret in the diocese of Norwich, two of which were in King's Lynn and Ipswich.[39] While Devon had twenty-five percent of the ships named

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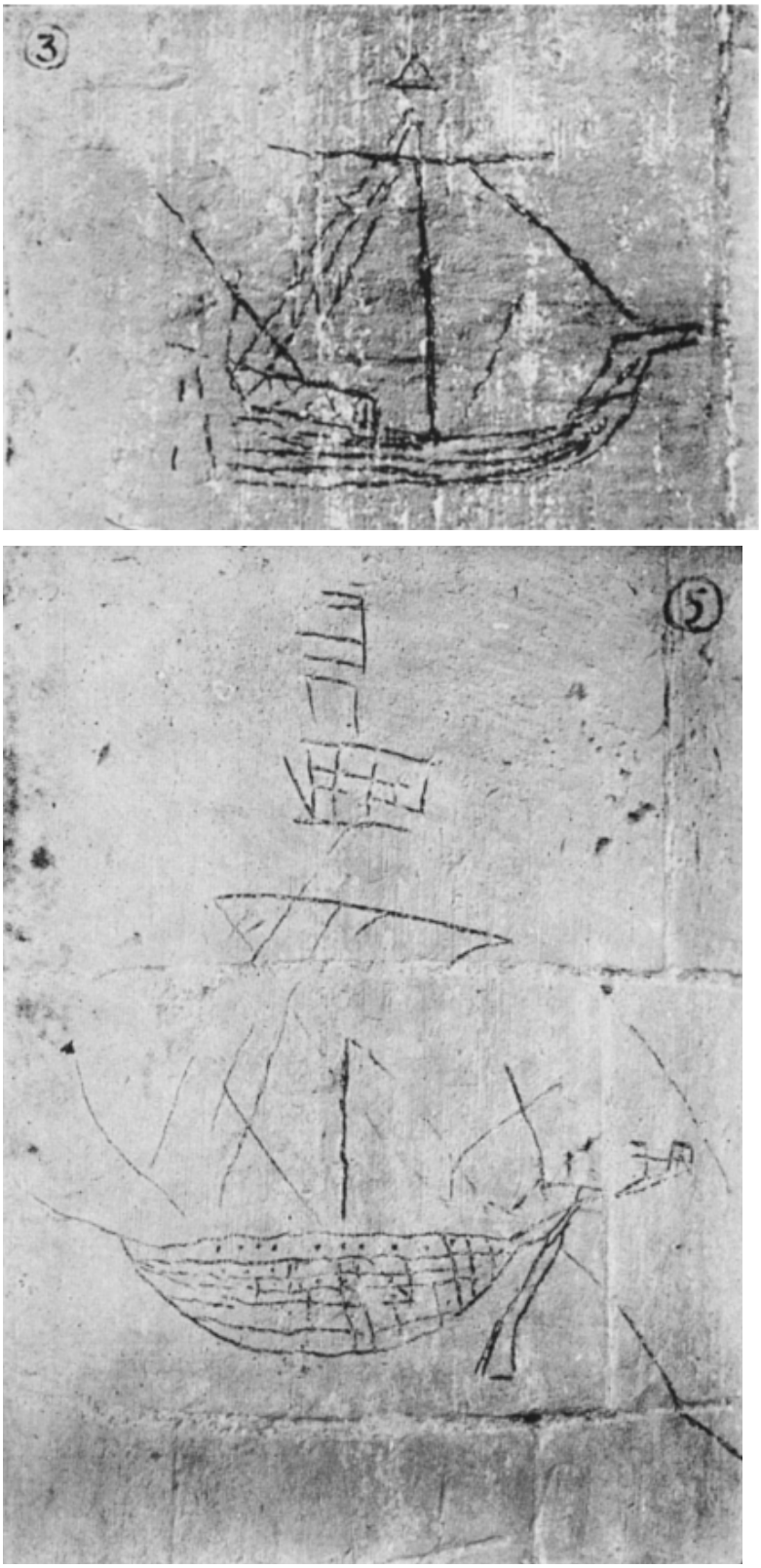
[31] Hammer, pp. 74–75. For the full Litany, see Appendix 1
[32] Margit Kuhn, 'Sau-Toni, Rochus und die Pest' <http://hvv-obernburg.de/html/sau-toni__rochus_und_die_pest.html>.
[33] Hammer, p. 49.
[34] Christina Hole, *Saints in Folklore* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1965), p. 74.
[35] Rosemary Guiley, *ES*, Kindle (New York: Infobase Publishing, 2001), p. 217.
[36] Mary Clayton and Hugh Magennis, *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1994), p. 5.
[37] Hole, p. 27.
[38] Guiley, *ES*, p. 217.
[39] *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV*, ed. by Jeff Denton and others (Sheffield: HRI Online, 2014) <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio>.

Margrete, the saint's links to Devon are not as clear. There are no dedications to Margrete in *Taxatio* for the county. However, there is evidence of a chapel attached to a hospital in Honiton,[40] which is roughly ten miles from the coast making it a possible connection to the ship name. The name Margaret has two aspects which connect it to the sea: the name itself comes from the Greek and Latin for 'pearl'. Further, the beginning part of the name, 'Mar' comes from the Old English *mere*,[41] which in turn comes from the Latin *mare* for 'sea'. A legend associated with St Margaret firmly roots her in the maritime world, where drowning was an occupational hazard. In the Auchinleck manuscript there is a story about Margaret and a tyrant named Olibrious. Olibrious tries to have Margaret put to death by drowning her in a vat of water: 'Fast þai were about/þat Mergrete schuld dye./Þai fild a fat ful of water/fast bi þe eiȝe,/To drenche Mergrete þerinne/ fast þai gun heye'.[42] However, before he has a chance, an angel comes to Margaret's recue saving her from drowning.[43]

There is one church in Bradsole, Kent, near Dover and Sandwich that is dedicated to St. Margaret.[44] This fact lends credence to ships being named for saints when looking at the ships John Frensh was associated with. Frensh was a shipmaster sailing primarily from Sandwich. There is record of a ship named the *Margrete* in 1362.[45] However, in 1364 there is record of his ship named *Margrete* sinking.[46] Several years later, in 1370, John Frensh is once again sailing on a ship named *Margrete* from Sandwich,[47] suggesting that he named his new ship *Margrete* once again. St. Margaret's at Cliffe, which had been around since at least the Domesday Book,[48] had interests in the maritime trade in Sandwich, making it a logical association for shipmasters and shipowners in the area. Several graffiti engravings of ships still remain today (Figure 5.15).

[40] Jeanne James, 'Medieval Chapels in Devon' (University of Exeter, 1997) <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/handle/10871/9914>.
[41] Jones, p. 25.
[42] 'The Auchinleck Manuscript: Seynt Mergrete', ll. 310–315, National Library of Scotland <http://auchinleck.nls.uk>.
[43] Jones, p. 25; Clayton and Magennis, p. 5.
[44] Denton and others.
[45] TNA E101/28/24 m1.
[46] Lyte, *CPR 1364-1367*, p. 13; Lambert and Ayton, 'A Maritime Community in War and Peace: Kentish Ports, Ships and Mariners 1320-1400'.
[47] TNA E101/30/24 m1.
[48] Diana Webb, 'St Margaret in Kent: Two Eleventh-Century Anecdotes', *AC*, 122 (2002), 335–42 (p. 337).

Figure 5.15: Graffiti Engravings from St Margaret's at Cliffe[49]



[49] A. B. Emden, 'Graffiti of Mediæval Ships.: From the Church of St. Margaret's-at-Cliffe, Kent', *MM*, 8.6 (1922), 167–73 (pp. 173–74).

While St Margaret's at Cliffe is the most likely reason that Frensh was drawn to the name, it is possible that her legend played a part. The dragon swallowing Margaret can be seen as a metaphorical drowning, one which she survives, in addition to literally being drowned in water, something she lived through as well. St Margaret could be seen as the 'un-drowned' and a powerful saint to call on, especially after his first ship sank.

There was also a St Margaret of Scotland who was Queen in Scotland in the late twelfth century, where she helped bring the Scottish court into higher esteem and reformed the Church in Scotland. Through her religious work, she helped found monasteries, churches, and hostels for pilgrims. Her sons Alexander and David both became future rulers of Scotland, and her daughter Matilda married King Henry I of England. She was made the patron saint of Scotland in the seventeenth century and is one of the only Scottish saints whose cult is recognised in the Roman calendar.[50] Margaret of Scotland's mark can be seen all throughout Scotland, where several places have been named for her, many of which have associations with the water. For example, there are wells named for her in Fife county, Aberdeenshire, Edinburgh, and Lasswade; Edinburgh also has a loch named for her; a body of water named St Margarets Burn in Fife county; and there is a bay in Fife county named St Margaret's Hope. On Orkney Island is a chapel named for her in St Margaret's Hope, which is where it is thought she and her family shipwrecked in 1068.[51] Despite these clear connections to water, there are very few ships named Margaret in the north of England, where it would be more likely for the saint to have crossed over into everyday life.

Another possible reason behind the name *Margrete* was Queen Margaret of France, King Edward I's wife beginning in 1299. Margaret was broadly popular, with many people writing to her to intercede with the king.[52] One example of such an intercession was when the citizens of Hereford petitioned her to request that the king grant them money to upkeep the town walls. Margaret was successful with her request; the chancery rolls show that the grant was given by the king 'at the insistence of Queen Margaret'.[53] The ship name *Margrete*, therefore, could be in reference to Queen Margaret rather than the saint. However, this seems unlikely as there are no instances of the name during the period that she was alive; the first record of *Margrete* is in 1322,[54] but Margaret died in 1318. It is possible that ships were named in her honour after her death, although by this time King Edward II had already begun his reign with his own queen, Isabella.

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[50] David Hugh Farmer, 'Margaret of Scotland', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).
[51] Thomas Own Clancy and others, 'Margaret of Scotland', *Saints in Scottish Place-Names*, 2013 <http://www.saintsplaces.gla.ac.uk/saint.php?id=639>.
[52] Lisa Benz St. John, *Three Medieval Queens: Queenship and the Crown in Fourteenth-Century England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
[53] 'SC1/30/106'; Benz St. John, p. 35.
[54] Lyte, *CPR 1321-1324*, p. 134.

Another saint associated with dragons is St George who is also one of the other Fourteen Helper Saints. *George* is the tenth most popular ship name in England during the fourteenth century. The name *George* can be directly correlated with social change. It occurred thirty times in the first half of the century, totalling 1.7% of the total ships from 1300-1349, and appeared 116 times, or 3.1%, in the second half of the century. That makes for a 1.4% rise from the first half of the century to the second. St George is the patron saint of England, and was made the patron of the Order of the Garter when Edward III created it in the late 1340s. St George and the Order of the Garter are intrinsically connected.[55] Awareness of the Garter took a firm root amongst the nobility in the first two decades of its creation, spreading and gaining traction from there.[56] This is backed up by the data, as eighty-five percent of the instances of George appear from the 1370s to the 1390s. The surge in ships named *George* can clearly be seen in the maps below, which visually show the increase in popularity from one half of the century to the next (Figure 5.16 and Figure 5.17). *George* appeared primarily in the southwest of the country from 1300-1349, with a small scattering of ships in the southeast and east. However, by the end of the century there had been a marked uptick in names in the northeast. The southwest, southeast, and east all grew at a relatively even pace, with a 0.76%, 1.18%, and 1.74% increase respectively. However, the northeast sees a 4.32% increase when observing the ships in that geographic region. There are a number of contemporary depictions of the Order, both domestically and on the Continent, which show that its symbolism was prominent throughout the later half of the century, including tentative connections to Geoffrey Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*.[57]

[55] Hugh E. Collins, 'Chapter 7: Projections and Perceptions of the Garter', in *Order of the Garter 1348-1461* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 237.
[56] Collins, p. 277.
[57] Collins, pp. 238, 258.

Figure 5.16: Instances of George, 1300-1349

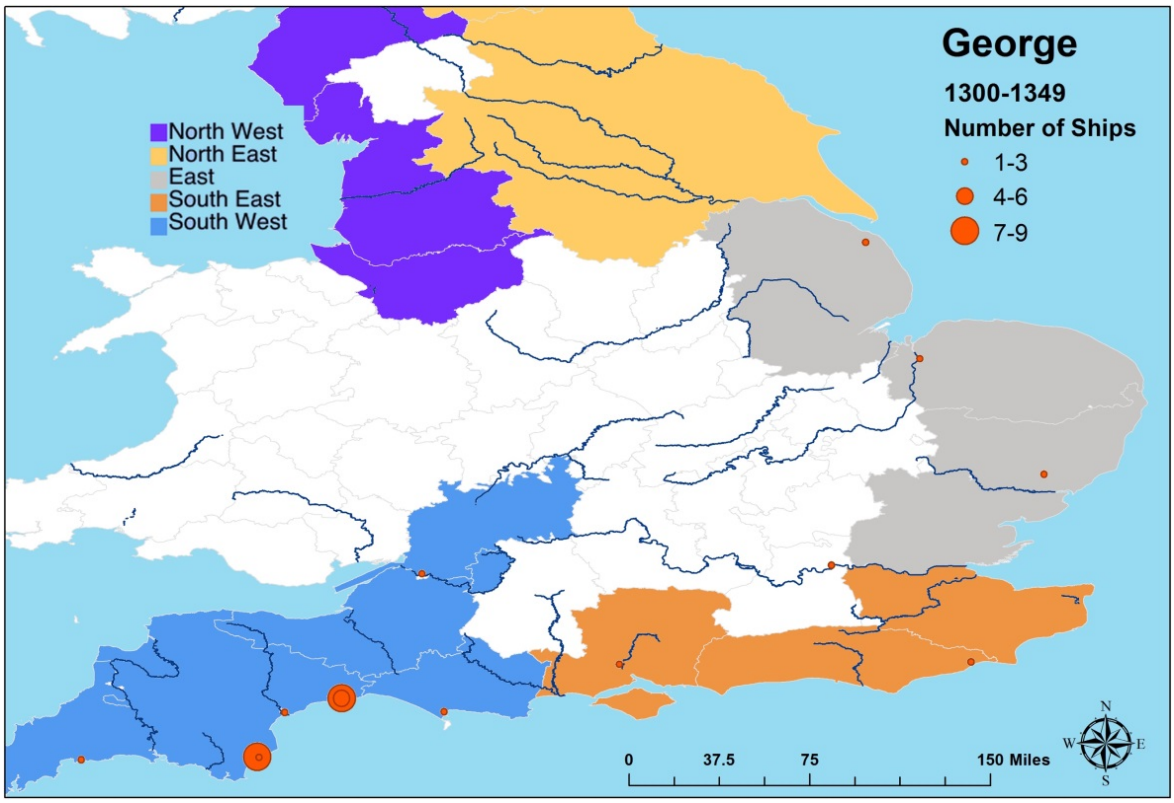
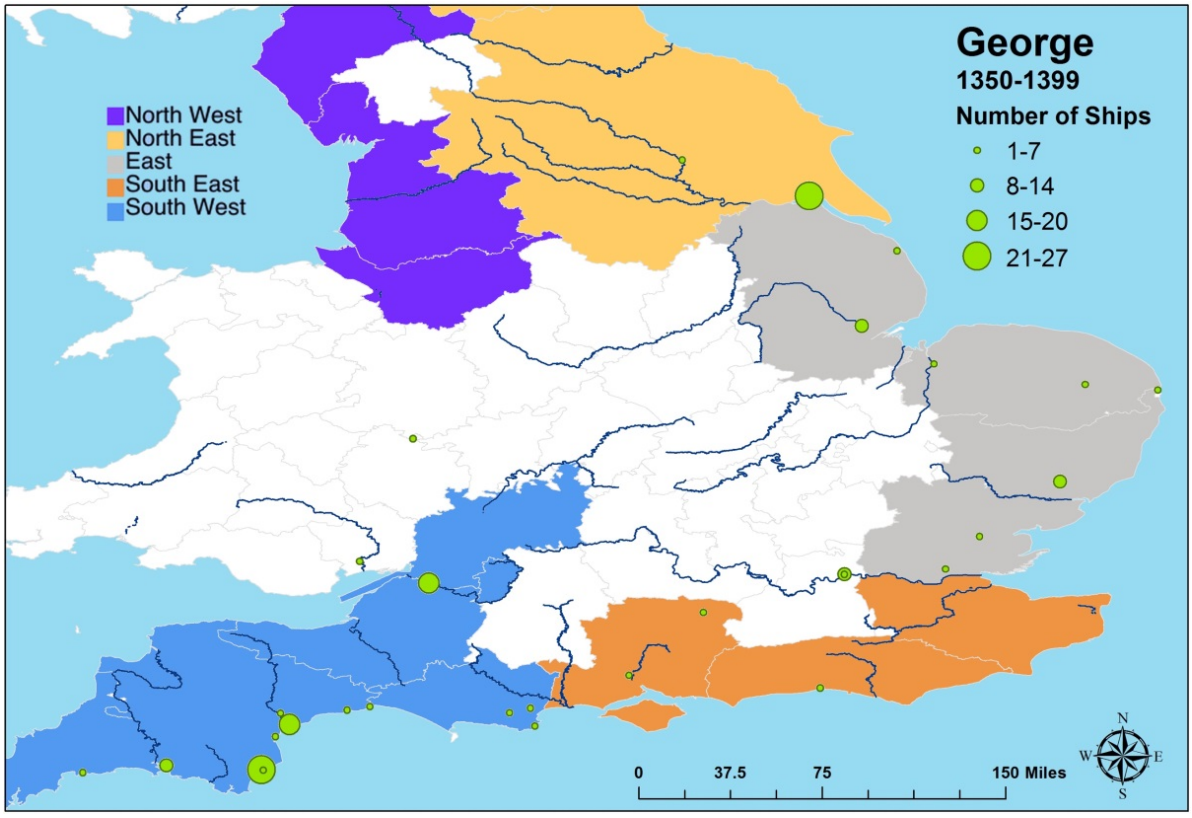


Figure 5.17: Instances of George, 1350-1399



There are two possible explanations for the ship name *Edward*, which is the twenty-fourth most popular name in the fourteenth century. The first is St Edward the Confessor. Before St George became the patron of England, St Edward held the honour for several centuries. Edward was king of England from 1042 until his death in 1066. He was said to be an extremely holy king throughout his reign, as he was generous to his people and the poor. Further proof of his holiness is the fact that he reportedly had visions and cured someone of scrofula (a form of tuberculosis) with his touch. Furthermore, his devotion to piousness was evident in the rumour that he never consummated his marriage with Edith, instead living ascetically as brother and sister, although there is no strong evidence to support this rumour.[58] His popularity as a saint remained even with the addition of St George as patron of England, as they were both invoked during the Siege of Calais in 1351.[59] However, by the time of Agincourt in 1415 Edward was in decline, as only St George was being called upon by those who fought.[60] This idea is memorialised in William Shakespeare's *Henry V* (c.1599) during the siege of Harfleur, where only George is called upon:

> And you, good yeoman,
> Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
> The mettle of your pasture; let us swear
> That you are worth your breeding; which I doubt not;
> For there is none of you so mean and base,
> That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.
> I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
> Straining upon the start. The game's afoot:
> Follow your spirit, and upon this charge
> Cry 'God for Harry, England, and Saint George!'[61]

However, the cult of Edward the Confessor did not remain popular for long: the miracles associated with Edward's tomb did not begin until around 1134, but the king's cult's popularity 'had hardly begun to show at Westminster when it virtually came to an end'.[62] Therefore, while it is possible that ships were named for him, the second possible explanation for the name *Edward* is much more likely, as three of the monarchs during the fourteenth century were named Edward and shipowners might have been keen to associate themselves with the ruling dynasty. The point that the popularity of the name stays relatively consistent, at 0.92% for the first half of the century and 0.98% for the second, might point more directly to the kings of the

[58] Donald Attwater and Catherine Rachel John, 'Edward the Confessor', *DS* (London: Penguin Books, 1995); David Hugh Farmer, 'Edward the Confessor', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).
[59] Farmer, 'Edward the Confessor'.
[60] Farmer, 'Edward the Confessor'.
[61] William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. by Dr Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 2015).
[62] Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, Kindle (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), loc. 6691.

period being a large influence on the choice. In fact, when looking at the ships named *Edward* by reign, an interesting trend takes shape:

Table 5.1: Ships Named Edward by Reign[63]

Reign	Number of ships	Percentage of Total
Edward I	0	0%
Edward II	3	7%
Edward III	34	81%
Richard II	5	12%

Clearly there is a strong correlation between ships named *Edward* and King Edward III (Table 5.1). This explains why the numbers stay relatively steady across the century, since Edward III reigned across both halves. Even the five ships during the reign of Richard II could be attributed to Edward III, as the recorded voyages all fall within the acceptable time frame of twenty years.

A stronger connection to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* than *George* are the names *Constance* and *Maudeleyne*, the forty-fourth and nineteenth most popular names, respectively. *The Man of Law's Tale* (*c.*1387) is Chaucer's take on the tales about Constance of Rome, depicted in Nicholas Trevet's *Les Cronicles* (*c.*1328-34). His chronicle also helped influence John Gower's "Tale of Constance" in *Confessio Amantis* (*c.*1390-93), which is a thirty-three-thousand-line poem that stands with *The Canterbury Tales* and William Langland's *Piers Plowman* as one of the most copied manuscripts in the Middle Ages.[64] The story of Constance, therefore, was widely disseminated, and had strong connections to the sea. In *The Man of Law's Tale*, Constance's

[63] TNA E101/37/20 m1; TNA E101/30/17 m1-2; TNA E101/80/12 m2; TNA E101/80/11 m2; TNA E101/27/23 m1; TNA E101/173/4 f69v; TNA E101/173/4 f102v; TNA E101/80/13 m2; TNA E101/31/23 m2; TNA E101/31/22' TNA E101/30/29 m3; TNA E101/79/24; TNA E101/79/23m2; TNA E101/30/29 m4; TNA E101/21/36 m5; TNA E101/167/16 f37r; TNA E36/204, pp. 226, 231, 240; TNA E36/203, pp. 363, 367, 381; TNA E101/78/14 m1; TNA E101/78/13 m10; TNA E101/78/12 m3; TNA E101/22/25 m2; TNA E101/21/13 m3; TNA E101/20/16; TNA E101/173/4 f127v; TNA E101/78/9 m1; TNA E101/182/6 f44v; TNA E101/34/25 m4; TNA E101/80/7 m1; TNA E101/79/10 m1; TNA E101/31/29 m7; TNA E101/29/39 m2; TNA E101/28/26 m1; TNA E101/27/36; TNA E101/27/15 m2; TNA E101/21/36 m5; TNA E101/20/39 n3, n32-33; TNA E101/19/3m8; TNA E101/39/2 m1, m7; TNA E101/38/19 m2; TNA E101/38/18 m1; TNA E101/37/7; TNA E101/37/25 m3; TNA E101/37/15 m2; TNA E101/37/14 m1; TNA E101/37/13; TNA E101/80/7 m3; TNA E101/80/11 m2; TNA E101/602/3 f22r; TNA E101/36/14 m7; TNA E101/30/29 m2-3; TNA E101/29/1 m6; TNA E101/28/9; TNA E101/27/19; TNA E101/23/22, roll 1; TNA E101/179/10 f27r; TNA E101/173/4 f9r; TNA E101/173/4 f85r; TNA E101/173/4 f71r; TNA E101/173/4 f59r; TNA E101/173/4 f43r; TNA E101/173/4 f39v; TNA E101/173/4 f117r; TNA E101/173/4 f102r; TNA E101/19/39 m3, m7; TNA E101/30/29 m5; TNA E101/17/24 m4; TNA E101/38/18 m1-2; TNA E101/37/8; TNA E101/37/14 m2; TNA E101/182/6 f27r; TNA E101/37/19; TNA E101/37/16; TNA E101/78/9 m2, m6; TNA E101/78/4a m1; TNA E101/17/24 m4; TNA E101/17/10 m1; TNA C47/2/35; TNA E101/40/8 m3-4; TNA E101/38/30 m2; TNA E101/29/1 m6; TNA E101/42/21 m4; TNA E101/39/17; TNA E101/38/30 m2; TNA E122/158/25; TNA E101/33/31 m3, m5; TNA E101/42/22 m8; TNA E101/38/19 m2; TNA E101/42/22 m9; TNA E101/28/24 m1; *Calendar of Memoranda Rolls, 1326-27*, ed. by R. Latham (HMSO, 1968), p. 130-131; *CPR, Edward III 1334-1338*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), p. 387; *CPR, Edward II 1324-1327*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Mackie and Co, 1904), pp. 62, 279; *CCR, Edward III: 1337-1339*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900), pp. 204, 216; *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, ed. by Maryanne Kowaleski (Exeter: Devon and Cornwall Record Society, 2001), pp. 180, 188, 205, 225, 236, 248-249, 261, 273; *CCR, Edward III: 1341-1343*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1902), p. 505; *CCR, Edward III: 1349-1354*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1905), p. 65; *CPR, Edward III 1338-1340*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), p. 491; BL, ADD 37494 f37r; BL, ADD 37494 f24v; BL, ADD 37494 f35v; ECR MICH 1368-MICH 1369 m1.

[64] Simon Horobin, *Studying the History of Early English* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 22.

father, a merchant by profession, agrees to marry his daughter to the Sultan of Syria under the condition that the Sultan converts to Christianity. When the Sultan's mother discovers this, she is so enraged that she kills her son and usurps his power, while also setting Constance adrift at sea:

The Sowdan and the Cristen everichone Been al tohewe and stiked at the bord, But it were oonly dame Custance allone. This olde Sowdanesse, cursed krone, Hath with hir freendes doon this cursed dede, For she hirself wolde al the contree lede. Ne ther was Surryen noon that was converted, That of the conseil of the Sowdan woot, That he nas al tohewe er he asterted. And Custance han they take anon, foot-hoot, And in a ship al steerelees, God woot, They han hir set, and bidde hire lerne saille Out of Surrye agaynward to Ytaille.[65]	The Sultan and the Christians each one Are all hacked to pieces and stabbed at the table, Except for only Lady Custance alone. This old Sultaness, cursed crone, For she herself wanted to rule all the country. Nor there was any Syrian that was converted, Who knew of the counsel of the Sultan (followed his advice), Who was not all hacked to pieces before he could escape. And Custance have they taken right then, immediately, And in a ship entirely without a rudder, God knows, They have set her, and told her to learn to sail Out of Syria back to Italy.[66]

Constance floats for over a year, through the Sea of Greece, into the Strait of Gibraltar ('Yeres and dayes fleet this creature/Thurghout the See of Grece unto the Strayte/Of Marrok…'[67]), eventually landing in Northumberland ('Fer in Northhumberlond the wawe hire caste'[68]). It is only through her devotion to God and Christianity that she is saved and able to continue her journey throughout the rest of the tale. She is once again tested in her faith while in Northumberland and once again partakes in a sea voyage. Constance is framed for murder and brought before the pagan king, Alla. Through the grace of God, Constance is shown to be innocent, which impresses King Alla so much that he immediately converts to Christianity. King Alla and Constance are married and she bears him a son while he is away at war. Through the trickery of Alla's mother, Constance is led to believe that Alla does not want the son and that she should leave, which she does:

And Custance, with a deedly pale face, The ferthe day toward hir ship she wente. But nathelees she taketh in good entente The wyl of Crist, and knelynge on the	And Custance, with a deadly pale face, The fourth day toward her ship she went. But nonetheless she takes in good faith The will of Christ, and kneeling on the strand,

[65] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 429–441.
[66] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: Interlinear Translations*, ed. by Larry Dean Benson, 2006, ll. 429–441 <http://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~chaucer/teachslf/tr-index.htm>.
[67] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 463–465.
[68] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, l. 508.

stronde, She seyde, "Lord, ay welcome be thy sonde! "He that me kepte fro the false blame While I was on the lond amonges yow, He kan me kepe from harm and eek fro shame In salte see, althogh I se noght how. As strong as evere he was, he is yet now. In hym triste I, and in his mooder deere, That is to me my seyl and eek my steere."[69]	She said, "Lord, always welcome be thy dispensation! "He that me kept from the false blame While I was on the land amongst you, He can keep me from harm and also from shame In the salt sea, although I see not how. As strong as ever He was, He is yet now. In Him trust I, and in his mother dear, Who is to me my sail and also my rudder."[70]

It should be noted that in this moment, Constance is not only calling upon Christ for guidance, but also on his mother, Mary. Even in fictional works, Mary was used to help guide those at sea. She further calls upon Mary to not only guide them, but to help protect her son:

"Mooder," quod she, "and mayde bright, Marie, Sooth is that thurgh wommanes eggement Mankynde was lorn, and damned ay to dye, For which thy child was on a croys yrent. Thy blisful eyen sawe al his torment; Thanne is ther no comparison bitwene Thy wo and any wo man may sustene. "Thow sawe thy child yslayn bifore thyne yen, And yet now lyveth my litel child, parfay! Now, lady bright, to whom alle woful cryen, Thow glorie of wommanhede, thow faire may, Thow haven of refut, brighte sterre of day, Rewe on my child, that of thy gentillesse Rewest on every reweful in distresse.[71]	"Mother," said she, "and maiden bright, Mary, True it is that through woman's instigation Mankind was lost, and damned forever to die, For which thy child was on a cross stretched. Thy blissful eyes saw all his torment; Then is there no comparison between Thy woe and any woe man may sustain. "Thou saw thy child slain before thy eyes, And yet now lives my little child, in faith! Now, lady bright, to whom all woeful (people) cry, Thou glory of womanhood, thou fair maiden, Thou haven of refuge, bright star of day, Have pity on my child, (thou who) of thy nobility Takes pity on every wretched person in distress.[72]

As mentioned above, Mary is sometime referred to as *stella maris* or 'star of the sea', an image reflected in Constance's words. Constance and her son eventually reach Rome, where by the end of the story her son has become the new Emperor.

[69] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 822–833.
[70] Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: Interlinear Translations*, ll. 822–833.
[71] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 841–854.
[72] Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: Interlinear Translations*, ll. 841–854.

In the *General Prologue* (*c.*1380-92), Chaucer introduces the Shipman, describing not only the Shipman's personal attributes, but also the fact that he is from Dartmouth and sails on a ship called the *Maudelayne*.

A Shipman was ther, wonynge fer by weste;
For aught I woot, he was of Dertemouthe.
He rood upon a rouncy, as he kouthe,
In a gowne of faldyng to the knee.
A daggere hangynge on a laas hadde he
Aboute his nekke, under his arm adoun.
The hoote somer hadde maad his hewe al broun;
And certeinly he was a good felawe.
Ful many a draughte of wyn had he ydrawe
Fro Burdeux-ward, whil that the chapman sleep.
Of nyce conscience took he no keep.
If that he faught and hadde the hyer hond,
By water he sente hem hoom to every lond.
But of his craft to rekene wel his tydes,
His stremes, and his daungers hym bisides,
His herberwe, and his moone, his lodemenage,
Ther nas noon swich from Hulle to Cartage.
Hardy he was and wys to undertake;
With many a tempest hadde his berd been shake.
He knew alle the havenes, as they were,
Fro Gootlond to the cape of Fynystere,
And every cryke in Britaigne and in Spayne.
His barge ycleped was the Maudelayne.[73]

A Shipman was there, dwelling far in the west;
For all I know, he was from Dartmouth.
He rode upon a cart horse, insofar as he knew how,
In a gown of woolen cloth (that reached) to the knee.
He had a dagger hanging on a cord
About his neck, down under his arm.
The hot summer had made his hue all brown;
And certainly he was a boon companion.
He had drawn very many a draft of wine
While coming from Bordeaux, while the merchant slept.
He had no concern for a scrupulous conscience.
If he fought and had the upper hand,
He sent them home by water to every land (they
walked the plank).
But of his skill to reckon well his tides,
His currents, and his perils near at hand,
His harbors, and positions of his moon, his navigation,
There was none other such from Hull to Cartagena (Spain).
He was bold and prudent in his undertakings;
His beard had been shaken by many a tempest.
He knew all the harbors, how they were,
From Gotland to the Cape of Finisterre,
And every inlet in Brittany and in Spain.
His ship was called the Maudelayne.[74]

Today 'Maudelayne' is thought to be the same as Magdalene.[75] Not to be confused with St Mary the Virgin Mother, as ships were specifically named *Maudelayne* and none of the names listed in the documents for the variations of 'Mary' mention the name Magdalene or Maudelayne. St Mary Magdalene had widely known links to maritime legends, without ever having a direct link to sailors. She was a follower of Christ, and told the Apostles of Christ's resurrection. She was

[73] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 388–410.
[74] Chaucer, *The Canterbury Tales: Interlinear Translations*, ll. 388–410.
[75] Ferris.

linked to Mary the sister of Martha of Bethany by Pope Gregory the Great, and therefore with Lazarus. Because of these connotations, she is linked with idea of life and death. Furthermore, Mary Magdalene is often described as weeping, and the imagery of her tears is associated with the salt water of the sea. An example of this can be found in the Gospel of John, where Mary Magdalene is continuously described as weeping with John repeatedly asking her why she wept: 'But Mary stood without at the sepulchre weeping: and as she wept, she stooped down, and looked into the sepulchre, And seeth two angels in white sitting, the one at the head, and the other at the feet, where the body of Jesus had lain'.[76] Furthermore, it is Mary Magdalene who wept at the foot of Jesus' crucifix: 'And stood at his feet behind him weeping, and began to wash his feet with tears, and did wipe them with the hairs of her head, and kissed his feet, and anointed them with the ointment'.[77] Perhaps because of this metaphorical link to the sea, there are two voyage legends associated with her that those living in the fourteenth century would have known. The first is a story about her being set adrift off the coast of the Holy Land, but finding her way back to shore through Providence. The second story is of the Queen of Marseilles, who is said to die in childbirth while sailing to Rome. However, St Mary and St Peter send another ship to their aid; this ship finds the mother and baby alive.[78]

As leader of Jesus' apostles, St Peter would have been an important symbol for medieval Christians: there were roughly 1,129 churches dedicated to St Peter in pre-Reformation England, as well as 283 dedicated to both St Peter and St Paul.[79] A fisherman by trade, St Peter had strong ties to the maritime world. In fact, it was Peter's boat from which Jesus preached on Lake Genesareth, when he performed one of his better known miracles by walking on the water.[80] Furthermore, St Peter is the patron of fishermen, netmakers, and shipbuilders.[81]

As with St Peter, St James the Greater and St John the Apostle were also fishermen by birth. James and John were brothers who fished on the Sea of Galilee. In fact, Jesus called James and John to follow him while they were mending their nets in their ship.[82] The maritime connections end there for John, although it should be noted that he is the only Gospel writer that has a significant number of ships of the same name, with two ships named Luke being the only other. James, however, has a much stronger connection to the sea, perhaps explaining why ships named 'James' far exceed those named 'John', which is the opposite of what is seen in church

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[76] *The Holy Bible*, King James Version, Matthew 20:11-29.
[77] *The Holy Bible,* Luke 7:38.
[78] Ferris.
[79] David Hugh Farmer, 'Peter', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).
[80] *The Holy Bible*, Matthew 14:22-33; Rosemary Guiley, 'Peter (d. ca. 67)', *ES* (New York: Facts of File, Inc, 2001), l. 6707. Matthew 14:22-33
[81] Guiley, 'Peter (d. ca. 67)', l. 6732.
[82] *The Holy Bible,* Matthew 4:21; Donald Attwater and Catherine Rachel John, 'John', *DS* (London: Penguin Books, 1995), p. 195. Constance Mary Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England to St James of Compostella* (London: Confraternity of Saint James, 1998), p.29.

and chapel dedications.[83] It is thought that after the Ascension, James went to Spain where he is credited with evangelising its people, although this is mainly in Spanish tradition: 'That he preached there is constantly affirmed by the tradition of that church, mentioned by St Isidore, the Breviary of Toledo, the Arabic books of Anastatius, Patriarch of Antioch, concerning the Passion of the Martyrs and others'.[84] It is said that he eventually went back to Jerusalem, where he was killed by Agrippa. His body was carried by his disciples to the shore, where they placed him on an unmanned ship that set sail on its own accord. It sailed for seven days, before coming into port on the north-west cost of Spain. He was eventually buried on a site known as Libredón, now called Santiago de Compostela.[85] His shrine at Santiago de Compostela was one of the most important pilgrimage sites between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, a journey that seafarers in the fourteenth century would have assisted travellers with.[86] The most common route was sailing to Bordeaux,[87] leaving from Southampton or the West Country,[88] although there were other routes used at the time. The shortest crossing was from Dover to Calais, with the pilgrims continuing their journey over land. The longest could take up to two weeks, leaving from the west, south, or east coasts of England and arriving directly in Galicia. These routes were more popular at different times of the Middle Ages, usually determined by the political atmosphere.[89] With the start of the Hundred Years War, journeys to Galicia were increasingly dangerous, although this did not stop English pilgrims from making the pilgrimage; however, the long sea journeys did become less popular.[90] While in the fifteenth rather than fourteenth century, it is interesting to note that Margery Kempe used the 'sea route' that took her directly to Galicia in 1417. Her father, John Brunham, was a prolific shipmaster, and eventually Lord Mayor, in King's Lynn. There are many records surviving that mention John Brunham during his career as a shipmaster, showing that he exclusively sailed on ships named *James*.[91] There was a chapel dedicated to St James, which was an auxiliary of St Margaret's Church in King's Lynn that was only two miles from the River Great Ouse. Interestingly, St James' Chapel was founded by Bishop

[83] Denton and others.
[84] Alban Butler, *The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs and Other Principal Saints*, ed. by B. Kelly, 6th edn, 5 vols (London: Virtue & Co, 1949), II, p. 837; Constance Mary Storrs, *Jacobean Pilgrims from England to St. James of Compostella* (London: Confraternity of Saint James, 1998), p. 30.
[85] Constance Mary Storrs, pp. 30–31; Donald Attwater and Catherine Rachel John, 'James the Greater', *DS* (London: Penguin Books, 1995); David Hugh Farmer, 'James the Great', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).
[86] Constance Mary Storrs.
[87] Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, *Las Peregrinaciones a Santiago de Compostela*, trans. by Alastair Spray (Madrid: Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas, Escuela de estudios medievales, 1949), I, p. 84.
[88] Constance Mary Storrs, p. 87.
[89] Constance Mary Storrs, p. 87.
[90] Constance Mary Storrs.
[91] TNA E101/34/25 m3; TNA E101/37/25 m7, m9-10, m14; TNA E101/34/25 m3; TNA E101/37/7; TNA E101/38/18 m1; TNA E101/37/13; TNA E101/37/14 m1; TNA E101/37/15 m1; TNA E101/37/17; TNA E101/37/18; TNA E122/7/13.

Turbus at the same time as St Nicholas' Chapel (which was also 'appropriated to St. Margaret's Church'), another saint related to the sea.[92]

Permits and licenses were used throughout the century to allow shipmasters to carry pilgrims. One such permit was granted to Otto Chambernoun, William Gilbert, and Richard Gilbert 'for the passage of 100 pilgrims' on the *Charite de Paynton,* which was commanded by Peter Cok out of Dartmouth.[93] While Chambernoun and the Gilberts do not appear in any surviving navy payrolls, there is record of Peter Cok sailing out of Dartmouth on other occasions, including a journey where he sailed on a ship named the *James* to Gascony in 1378.[94] There are several other instances of shipmasters that appear in the navy payrolls and other source documents being granted a license to transport pilgrims: Paul Portsmouth out of London;[95] Elias Spelly, John Adam, John Cornekey, Thomas Knapp, and Walter Derby out of Bristol;[96] Thomas Asshenden and John Baker out of Dartmouth;[97] John Hake and Roger Neel of Exmouth;[98] John Hacoun of Yarmouth;[99] John Russell of Fowey;[100] and Henry Bone, Walter Crokker, and John Bryan out of Plymouth.[101] These ships were named *Nicholas*, *Saint Mary*, *Grace Dieu*, *Michael, Gabriel, Andrew, Margaret, Jonet,* and *Cog John.* Of the forty-four ships named in ships' licences in the fourteenth century, only three were named *James*, showing that ships were most likely named for local or personal reasons, rather than where they may have been sailing.[102] Additionally, some contingents came to be in Compostela without necessarily making a pilgrimage there. For example, Jean Froissart gives several accounts of the Duke of Lancaster and his entourage arriving in Galicia after fighting in France.[103] The Duke of Lancaster and his host travelled to Compostela to winter, as the countryside in this area was better supplied. Froissart explains that after Compostela was surrendered to Lancaster, he and his family went immediately to the church where they 'made their prayers and offerings with great gifts'.[104]

William Cryer from Plymouth, Salman Henry from London, William Tye from Colchester, and John Laoy from Fowey all sailed in 1386 to Spain.[105] It should be noted that there was a St James' Church in medieval Colchester and London, as well as some small evidence pointing to

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[92] William Taylor, *The Antiquities of King's Lynn* (Lynn: J. Thew, 1844), p. 109; Denton and others.
[93] James Samuel Stone, *The Cult of Santiago: Traditions, Myths, and Pilgrimages* (London: Longman and Co, 1927), p. 236.
[94] 'E101/38/19'.
[95] Lyte, *CCR 1349-1354*, p. 65.
[96] TNA E101/40/21 m8; BL, 'Add MS 37494'; TNA E101/33/31; TNA E101/32/7; TNA E122/212/11 m2.
[97] TNA E101/38/19 m1; BL, 'Add MS 37494'; 'ECR MICH 1381-MICH 1382'; 'ECR MICH 1384-MICH 1385'.
[98] TNA E101/36/20, p. 5; TNA E101/30/29 m2; 'ECR MICH 1369-MICH 1370'.
[99] TNA E101/40/19 m4.
[100] TNA E101/41/27 n14.
[101] TNA E101/40/21; TNA E101/39/17 m4; TNA E101/41/37 m1; TNA E101/42/5.
[102] Constance Mary Storrs, pp. 173–75.
[103] Jean Froissart, *The Ancient Chronicles of Sir John Froissart, of England, France, Spain, Portugal, Scotland, Brittany, and Flanders, and the Adjoining Countries*, trans. by John Bourchier (London: W. McDowall, 1815); Luis Vázquez de Parga, José María Lacarra, and Juan Uría Ríu, I.
[104] Froissart, p. 279.
[105] TNA E101/40/19 m4-6.

the fact that there may have been markers for the pilgrim route to Compostella through Cornwall, showing there may have been strong links to the saint in these areas.[106] St James became the patron of pilgrims, and his emblems of a scallop-shell (a symbol of Compostela) and a pilgrim's hat were associated with pilgrims.[107]

A second possible explanation for the ship name *John* is St John the Baptist, who was the cousin of Jesus. He is first mentioned in the Bible when Gabriel the Archangel comes to Elizabeth, sister of Mary, to announce that she would give birth to John, despite the fact that she had previously been barren.[108] There is little about John until he is older and preaching about the coming of the Saviour. He was the one who baptised Jesus, where the Holy Spirit came down from the heavens and said, "Thou art my beloved Son, with thee I am well pleased".[109] John continued to preach the word of the Lord throughout his life, until he was beheaded by King Herod through the scheming of his wife, Herodias, and daughter, Salome.[110]

St Nicholas is perhaps most famous for his connections to Christmas. However, he has another connection that would have been essential to Medieval Christian seafarers: he is the patron of sailors. With this connection, it is unsurprising that *Nicholas* was one of most popular ship names of the fourteenth century. The fact that it is only the sixth most popular name however suggests that the influences determining seafarer's ship naming practices were more complex than might be expected. One story in particular shows how much these seafarers relied on St Nicholas to see them safely home. The story explains that groups of mariners off the coast of Lycia had met with a storm that put them in great risk of dying. Knowing that they needed help, the mariners called on St Nicholas for help, hoping that God would hear their prayers if they cried out to such a powerful saint. St Nicholas himself intervened on behalf of the sailors, coming before them on the ship and calming the seas. He then helped guide the sailors and their ship to safety. This tradition of praying to St Nicholas survives today in some areas, where sailors bless a voyage with good luck by saying, 'May St Nicholas hold the tiller'.[111]

Another saint that would have had close ties to Medieval seafarers is St Christopher, the patron saint of travellers. St Christopher has been honoured since at least the fifth century. By the Middle Ages, St Christopher would have been an extremely well known saint to mariners and shipmasters alike, as many parishes had his image painted on a wall of the church, usually the wall that was visible when entering the church, many of which survive today.[112] It was

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[106] Nicholas Orme, *The Saints of Cornwall* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2000); John Ashdown-Hill, *Mediaeval Colchester's Lost Landmarks*, 1st Edition edition (Derby: Breedon Books Publishing Co Ltd, 2009); Denton and others.
[107] Camerlynck; Farmer, 'James the Great'; Attwater and John, 'James the Greater'.
[108] *The Holy Bible*, Luke 1:26-38.
[109] *The Holy Bible,* Mark 1:11.
[110] *The Holy Bible*, Matthew 6:14-29.
[111] Hole, pp. 4–5.
[112] Hole, p. 53; David Hugh Farmer, 'Christopher', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011) <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-330>.

commonly believed if a person looked on the image of St Christopher, he or she would not die a sudden death that day, something that is further shown in a rhyme that has survived to today: 'thou the face of Christopher on any morn shall see,/Throughout the day from sudden death thou shalt preserved be'.[113] Ships named *Christopher* were numerous throughout the century, with *Christopher* ranking number 15 in terms of popularity.

Figure 5.18: The 'Monvaerni' Master, St Christopher, 1480-90.

Photo taken by Brenna Gibson at the Victoria and Albert Museum

[113] Hole, p. 57.

St Christopher (a name which in fact means 'Christ-bearer') is the patron saint of travellers,[114] and therefore as one of the Fourteen Holy Helpers, St Christopher's name was called upon by travellers on land or sea, specifically for help against tempests and flooding waters, as well as plague, contagious fevers, and infections.[115] St Christopher's strong connection to mariners comes as no surprise, as seafarers had to contend against all of these possibilities. Naming a ship 'Christopher' could have been the seafarers' way of invoking his name on a daily basis.

There were two archangels that appeared to be popular at various times during the fourteenth century: Michael and Gabriel, though there are no clear maritime links. This lack of maritime connections does not explain why ships named *Michael* were the fifth most popular ship name and ships named *Gabriel* the twenty-sixth most popular. Michael, whose name means 'Who is like unto God' is one of the 'chief princes' of the heavenly host of angels, and was the central fighter in the battle against the devil.[116] Gabriel, on the other hand, was the angel that brought the news to Mary of her Immaculate Conception.[117] There were over 680 churches dedicated to St Michael in the Middle Ages, while St Gabriel only had six.[118] Interestingly, however, when referring back to Figure 5.10, it would appear that while there were only six churches dedicated to Gabriel, the proportion of ship names is nearly within the average, making Gabriel about as common a church dedicatee as a ship name. However, when looking at the more popular Michael, it can be seen that the proportion of church dedications outnumbers the proportion of ships named for the archangel.

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[114]The image in Figure 5.18 depicts St Christopher carrying the baby Jesus. The legend from the *Golden Legend* revolves around St Christopher, who had recently converted to Christianity, being instructed by a hermit to help travellers across a river. At one point, a child asks Christopher to help carry him across, to which he agrees. It is here that, bowed under the unusual weight of the child, Christopher discovers that this child is in actuality Jesus Christ, who tells him: 'Christopher, marvel thee nothing, for thou hast not only borne all the world upon thee, but thou hast borne him that created and made all the world, upon thy shoulders'. The story in its entirety can be found in *The Golden Legend: Lives of the Saints*, ed. by Jacobus de Voragine, trans. by William Caxton (London: Catholic Way Publishing, 2015), pp. 53–56 <http://legacy.fordham.edu/halsall/basis/goldenlegend/goldenlegend-volume4.asp#Christopher>; Farmer, 'Christopher'.

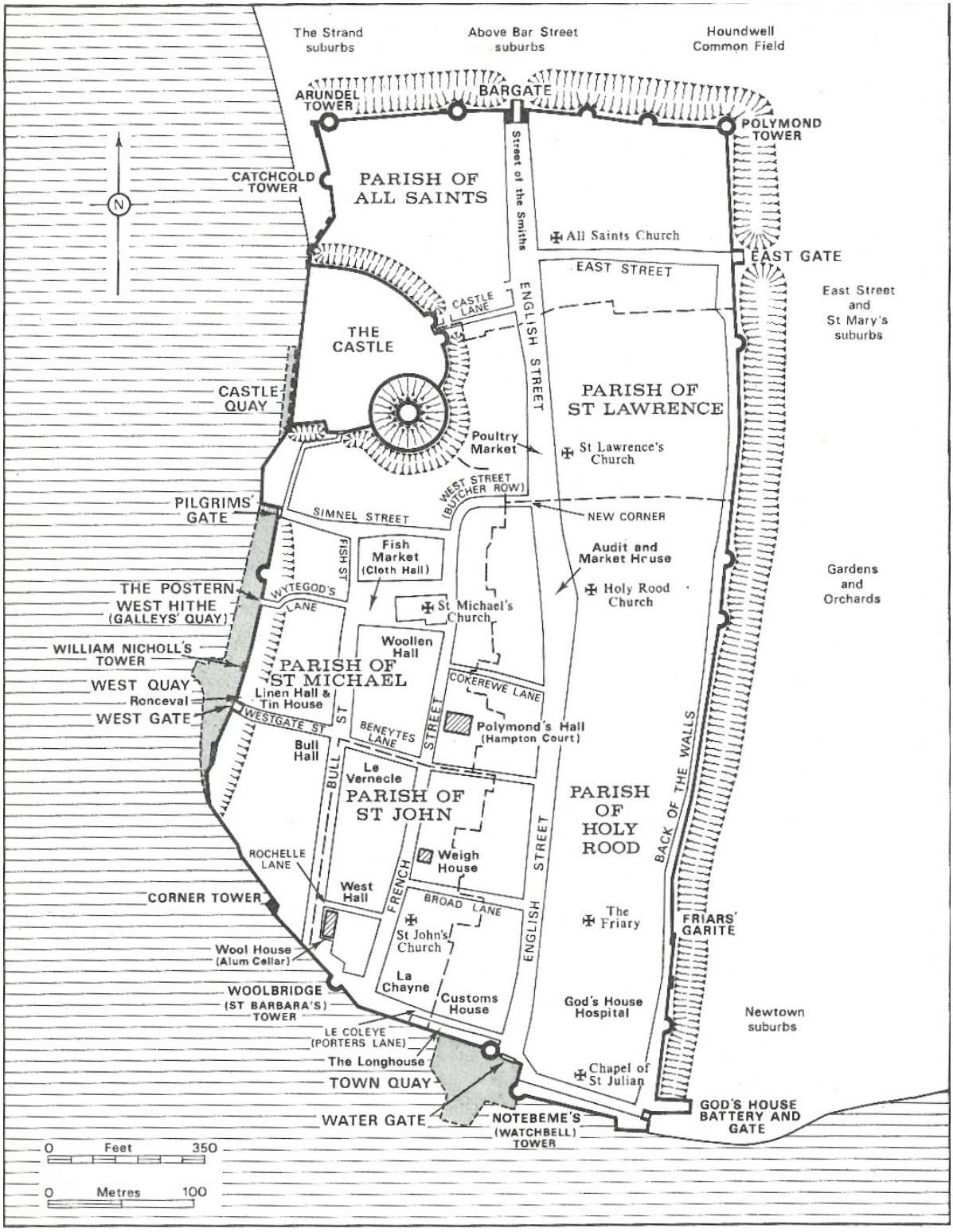
[115] Hole, p. 56; Farmer, 'Christopher'.

[116] *The Holy Bible*, Daniel 10:13; David Hugh Farmer, 'Michael', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).

[117] *The Holy Bible*, Luke 1:26-38.

[118] Francis Bond, *Dedications And Patron Saints Of English Churches Ecclesiastical Symbolism Saints And Their Emblems* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1914), pp. 2, 19.

Figure 5.19: Medieval Southampton



As can be seen in the above map, medieval Southampton had God's House Hospital near the Town Quay; attached to God's House Hospital was the Chapel of St Julian, a saint who has a story in the *Golden Legend* with links to the maritime world. The legend states that Julian, after being warned he would one day kill his parents, moves to another country to avoid fulfilling such a prophecy, where he marries and continues his life. Years later his parents, now old and infirm, travel to his home to seek help. Upon arriving, Julian's wife has them rest in their bed unknown to him, which is where Julian finds them. Not knowing they are his parents, Julian assumes the male and female heads in the bed are his wife and a lover, so he immediately kills them. Wracked with guilt after such an act, Julian and his wife leave for Rome on a pilgrimage, settling on a river where they built a shelter to help aid travellers across the river. One day, Julian helps a particularly troubled person across the river, much like St Christopher did with the baby Jesus. However, rather than being Christ, Julian's traveller is in fact an angel who forgives him of his sins. It is because of this that Julian is often connected with hostels, especially ones intended for use by seafarers. In addition to the chapel attached to God's House Hospital in Southampton, there were also hostels dedicated to St Julian in Colchester and Norwich (Figure 5.19).[119]

References to St Julian in the *Canterbury Tales*, specifically in the description of the Franklin in the General Prologue. The Franklin is described as an extremely generous man, who shares only the best with his neighbours, so much so that he is likened to St Julian, the patron saint of hospitality.

A Frankelyn was in his compaignye. Whit was his berd as is the dayesye; Of his complexioun he was sangwyn. Wel loved he by the morwe a sop in wyn; To lyven in delit was evere his wone, For he was Epicurus owene sone, That heeld opinioun that pleyn delit Was verray felicitee parfit. An housholdere, and that a greet, was he; Seint Julian he was in his contree. His breed, his ale, was alweys after oon; A bettre envyned man was nowher noon. Withoute bake mete was nevere his hous, Of fissh and flessh, and that so plentevous It snewed in his hous of mete and drynke; Of alle deyntees that men koude thynke[120]	A Franklin was in his company. His beard was white as a daisy; As to his temperament, he was dominated by the humor blood. He well loved a bit of bread dipped in wine in the morning; His custom was always to live in delight, For he was Epicurus' own son, Who held the opinion that pure pleasure Was truly perfect happiness. He was a householder, and a great one at that; He was Saint Julian (patron of hospitality) in his country. His bread, his ale, was always of the same (good) quality; Nowhere was there any man better stocked with wine. His house was never without baked pies Of fish and meat, and that so plentiful That in his house it snowed with food and drink; Of all the dainties that men could imagine

[119] R. W. H. Miller, *One Firm Anchor: The Church and the Merchant Seafarer, an Introductory History*, Kindle eBook (James Clarke & Co, 2014), loc. 1947.
[120] Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ll. 334–345.

Julian does not appear to have been a very popular name in the first half of the fourteenth century, with only 0.49% of ships bearing the name. Of the seven ships in the first half of the century, two of them were from Southampton, which is nearly a third of all ships named 'Julian'.[121] By the second half of the century, however, the name becomes slightly more popular at 1.39%. In this case, there were forty-one ships with the name *Julian*, with only two of them being from Southampton.[122] The most popular location in the second half of the century was Devon, with eleven from Dartmouth and ten from Plymouth. While it is unclear whether St Julian was a popular saint in Devon during this period, there is further evidence of his general importance as seen in a surviving rood screen from St Mary's Church in Wolborough, which is not far from Teignmouth (Figure 5.20).[123] Overall, *Julian* was the twenty-second most popular ship name throughout the century.

Figure 5.20: Rood Screen, St Mary's Church, Wolborough

Photo taken by Dr. R. Peters

[121] Lyte, *CPR 1338-1340*, p. 1; Lyte, *CPR 1327-1330*, p. 27.
[122] TNA E101/78/4a m3; TNA E101/39/3 m6; TNA E101/39/2 m1, m7; TNA E101/38/30 m2.
[123] Michael Aufrère Williams, 'Medieval English Roodscreens, with Special Reference to Devon.' (University of Exeter, 2008), p. 222 <https://ore.exeter.ac.uk/repository/bitstream/handle/10036/89276/WilliamsM.pdf>.

There were thirty-two individual ships named *Clement* across the fourteenth century, making it the thirtieth most popular ship name, the majority of which were leaving from Dartmouth.[124] Interestingly, St Clement (Townstal) is the only entry for Dartmouth in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate*, which is a surviving record of the valuation of English and Welsh parish churches that Pope Nicholas IV ordered in 1291-1292.[125] St Clement was an important figure in early Christianity, and was one of the earliest maritime patrons.[126] He was an early Pope, and is thought to have written the Epistle to the Corinthians.[127] The maritime links come into his story later in his life, after he is exiled to Crimea. Here he is sentenced to hard labour in a mine, and is eventually martyred by being tied to an anchor (now his emblem) and thrown into the sea.[128] It is here that the story becomes murkier. The least fantastical version states that angels made him a tomb that sat on the sea bed.[129] *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee* seems to support this version somewhat, as it is referenced within that the 'fair suffering of Clement among the sea's waves: his city is adored under the waves of the wide main'.[130] *The Early South-English Legendary* also mentions the chapel-tomb where his body was kept; however, it includes a story of St Clement aiding a boy by resuscitating him and keeping him alive under the sea for a year.[131] Representations of St Clement survive today primarily in East Anglia.[132] It should be noted that twenty-five percent of ships named Clement are from three counties in the east: Norfolk, Essex, and London.[133]

So far, this work has focused in on the names that can easily be connected to saints. There were, however, several different ship names that are not personal names, let alone ones that can be linked to a saint. For example, *Godyer* was extremely popular at a ranking of thirteen, with over 100 ships bearing the name throughout the century. At first look, this name appears to be connected to God in some way. However, it has been shown that it more likely means 'I hope to have a good year'.[134] This interpretation is further proven when connected to the less popular ship name, *Bonan* (ranked forty-seventh), which would be the French version of 'good

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[124] TNA E101/36/20, p. 5; 'ECR MICH 1337-MICH 1338'; 'ECR MICH 1338-MICH 1339'; 'ECR MICH 1340-MICH 1341'; 'ECR MICH 1365-MICH 1366'; Lyte, *CCR 1341-1343*, pp. 629, 651; TNA E101/25/9; Kowaleski, *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, p. 274.

[125] *Denton and others.*

[126] Miller, *One Firm Anchor*, l. 1814.

[127] David Hugh Farmer, 'Clement', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).

[128] Farmer, 'Clement'; Donald Attwater and Catherine Rachel John, 'Clement the First', *DS* (London: Penguin Books, 1995).

[129] Farmer, 'Clement'.

[130] Oengus the Culdee, *The Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. by Whitley Stokes (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1905), p. 236; Miller, *One Firm Anchor*, l. 1940.

[131] Carl Horstmann, *The Early South-English Legendary, Or, Lives of Saints* (London: N. Trübner & Co., 2006), pp. 338–40 <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/AHA2708.0001.001>; Miller, *One Firm Anchor*, l. 1937.

[132] Farmer, 'Clement'.

[133] Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 128; *CCR, Edward III: 1330-1333*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1898), p. 42; TNA E101/37/25; Macpherson, pp. 530, 586; TNA E101/29/35'; TNA E101/30/28'; TNA E101/36/14'; TNA E101/36/20'; TNA E122/148/20'.

[134] Jones.

Table 5.2: Fifteen Most Popular Names, 1300-1349 vs. 1350-1399

Rank	1300-1349	1350-1399
1	Mary	Mary
2	Nicholas	Katerine
3	Katerine	Margrete
4	Margrete	James
5	John	Michael
6	James	Trinity
7	Michael	Nicholas
8	Godyer	George
9	Peter	John
10	Trinity	Peter
11	Jonette	Christopher
12	Welfare	Thomas
13	Grace Dieu	Welfare
14	Rodecog	Jonette
15	Blithe	Grace Dieu

year'.[135] The name *Godyer* decreases in popularity over the century, which is surprising considering the society impact the Black Death had in England. Surely now more than even did seafarers wish to have a good year, but something clearly stopped them from using the name. The answer could be found in the comparison of the top fifteen names from the first and second half of the century (Table 5.2). As can be seen, there are four ship names that cannot be associated with a religious figure: *Godyer, Welfare, Rodecog*, and *Blithe*. However, by the second half of the century the only name under this classification was *Welfare* with *Godyer* no longer making it on the list. Names that can be connected to saints or religion in general were dominant in the second half of the century, perhaps in response to the huge loss of life during the plague.

Similar links can be made with the name *Godbyete* (ranked twentyith) to *Bonegayne* (ranked fifty-fifth). Once again, *Godbyete* at first glance should involve God. Instead, it is thought to be a variation of the word 'biyete',[136] which the Middle English Dictionary defines as: 'What has been acquired; property, possessions, goods' or 'gain, profit, benefit, advantage'.[137] Therefore, rather than referencing God, this name is actually calling for a 'good profit'. When translated from French, *Bonegayne* means the same. Additionally, the name *Richgaine*, ranked fifty-sixth with only one ship, can be said to have a similar meaning to both *Godbyete* and *Bonegayne*.

[135] Jones.
[136] O. Arngart, 'English Craft 'a Vessel' and Some Other Names for Vessels', *English Studies*, 25.1–6 (1943), 161–69 (p. 167).
[137] '[Biyete (N.)]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED5037>.

This is not to say that there were no ship names connected to, or calling on, God. They were, however, few and far between in comparison to the variations of 'Mary', with only about forty ships throughout the century. The variations of 'God' are ranked at number twenty-four and have two groupings of names: those calling on God for something and those directly linked to God. The later of these two groups include names such as *Godesgrace*, meaning 'by the grace of God'[138] or *Godeshous*, referencing a place of worship.[139] The former includes names such as *Godereste*, meaning 'may God grant you peace';[140] *Godespede*, meaning 'quickly';[141] and *Godefrend,* meaning 'with God's help or protection'.[142]

There is also a locative link to the naming of ships. Local saints, for example, were obviously attractive choices to those naming the ships. St Cuthbert was born in about 635 in Northumbria, where he went on to become a monk and bishop in Lindisfarne. St Cuthbert was extremely influential, and it was through his preaching that Christianity spread in Northern England. Eleven years after his death, it was discovered that Cuthbert's body was incorrupt. Because of this, and other associated miracles at his shrine, a pilgrimage cult formed that was unmatched in Britain for almost five hundred years. As such, St Cuthbert is Northern England's most famous saint,[143] something that is clearly reflected in the below map of the dispersion of the name *Cuthbert* in the fourteenth century. It can be seen that the furthest south that the twelve ships (with a ranking of forty-fifth) named *Cuthbert* appear are on the Humber River. Below in Figure 5.21, the divisions used in this project can be found, showing that the ship name *Cuthbert* only appears in the saint's native North-eastern England, which is where he is most strongly associated.

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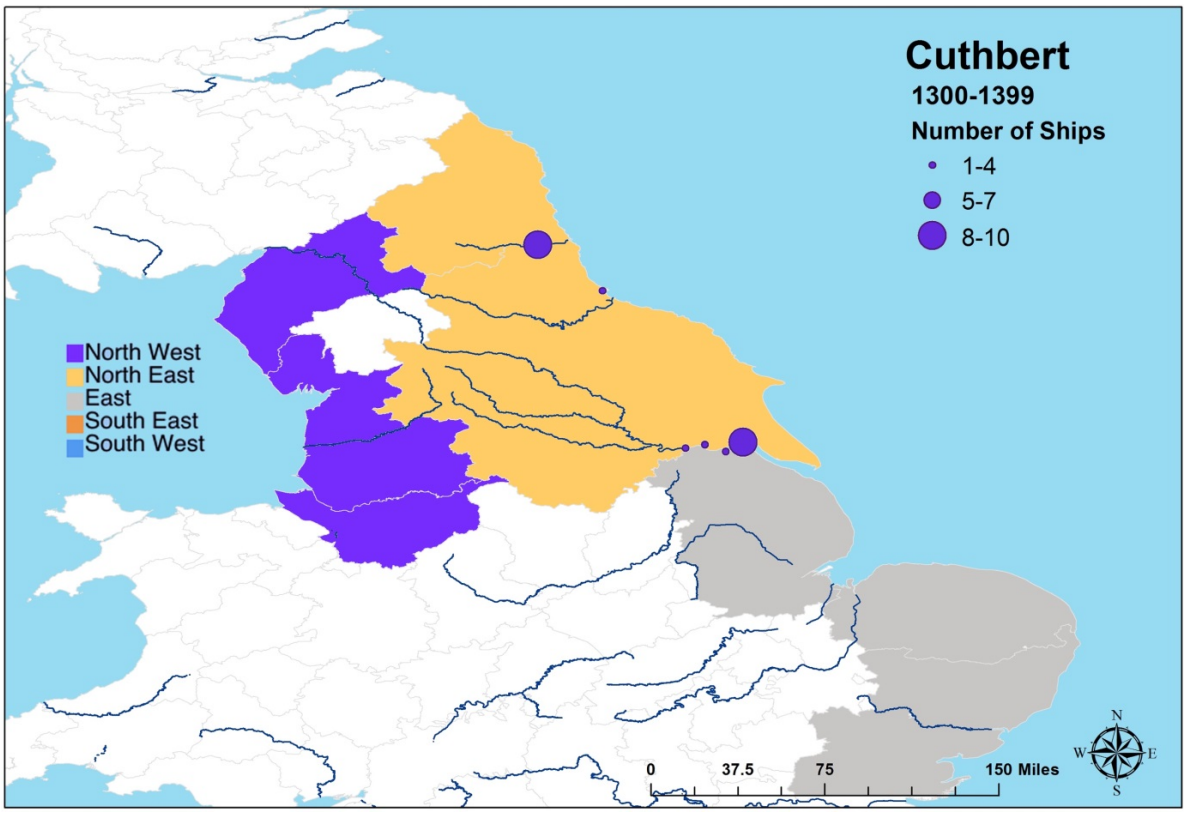
138 'God, n. and Int.', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford UP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/79625>.
139 'God's House, N.', *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford UP) <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/368263>.
140 'God, n. and Int.'
141 '[Gō̆d Spē̆de, Gō̆d-Spē̆de, Phr. & N.]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED19001>.
142 'God, n. and Int.'
143 David Hugh Farmer, 'Cuthbert', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011) <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-404>.

Figure 5.21: Cuthbert, 1300-1399

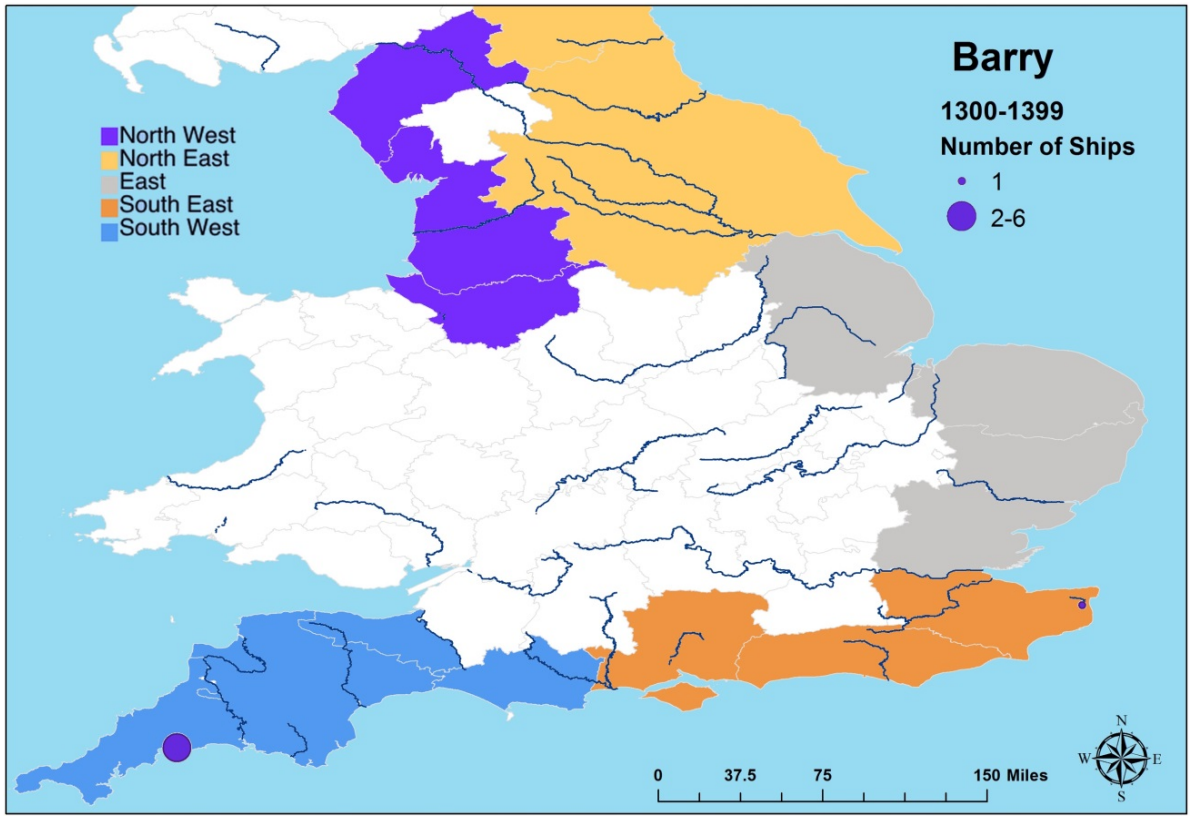


A similar situation can be seen with the ship name *Barry*, which with only six ships across the century was the fifty-first most popular ship name seen in England. At first glance, the ship name *Barry* seems better suited to the twenty-first century world rather than the fourteenth century. However, it appears to be a name almost exclusively linked to Cornwall mariners, specifically those in Fowey. Each of the instances of *Barry* are from Fowey, giving the first clue that this name's origins are as unique to this town. The church, St Fimbarrus, was dedicated in Fowey after being rebuilt in 1336.[144] Originally, Bishop Grandisson had dedicated the church to both Fimbarrus and Nicholas, with the former becoming the sole dedicatee after the residents of Fowey petitioned.[145] It is nearly impossible to tell whether this St Barry had any connections to the sea, as there is much discussion over who this saint actually was. St Barry was often identified as *Fimbarrus* in documents, leading some modern-day scholars to believe that this was the same individual St Finnbarr of Cork. It is clear that St Finnbarr certainly 'influenced the understanding of the saint at Fowey', as the two saints at one point shared a feast day. However, St Finnbarr is now seen to be the least likely candidate since there is no evidence

[144] 'Fowey, St Fimbarrus', *Cornwall Historic Churches Trust*, 2014 <http://www.chct.info/histories/fowey-st-fimbarrus/>.
[145] Orme, p. 68.

that there were ever any Irish saint-cults in medieval Cornwall.[146] Nicholas Orme, who has studied Cornwall's saints in depth, feels that there are two options that are more likely than St Finnbarr of Cork: St Barry of South Wales or a saint that is unique to Fowey.[147] St Barry's burial at the parish church seems to be a good chance, and is a belief that Cornwall Historic Churches Trust shares.[148] As can be seen in the below map of ships named *Barry*, all but one ship are located in Fowey (Figure 5.22).

Figure 5.22: Instances of Barry, 1300-1399



[146] Orme, p. 69.
[147] Orme, p. 69.
[148] Orme, p. 69; 'Fowey, St Fimbarrus'.

There are two possible explanations for ships named Anne, the thirty-third most popular ship name in the fourteenth century: St Anne and Queen Anne of Bohemia, the wife of King Richard II. St Anne is more plausible, although there is some evidence to show that the name gained in popularity after Richard married Anne. St Anne, on the other hand, as the mother of Mary would have been quite popular in the Middle Ages. St Anne is often shown teaching Mary how to read.[149] For example, St Nicholas Church in King's Lynn has a stained-glass window depicting just that (Figure 5.23). While Anne is not strictly associated with maritime themes, it is interesting that this window should appear in a major port city, near the River Ouse, in a church named for a saint with strong maritime ties.

Figure 5.23: St Anne and the Virgin Mary, St Nicholas Church, Norfolk.

Photo taken by Simon Knott, http://www.norfolkchurches.co.uk

[149] David Hugh Farmer, 'Anne', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011).

There are a few names that are specific to Chester, two of which appear to be connected with Ireland: *Cachel* and *Bride*.[150] There were very few of each name, with three ships named *Cachel* and one called *Bride*, ranking them at fifty-forth and fifty-sixth. In the fourteenth century, and indeed earlier, Chester and Ireland had important trade links.[151] Further, by the reign of Edward III, Chester and the River Dee were used as an assembly point for ships to transport officials, men-at-arms and horses to Ireland.[152] A 'cachel' was a word for a 'small bag'[153] in the Middle Ages, but does not have any direct maritime connotations. Therefore, the fact that this was an alternate spelling of Cashel, a city in Ireland, it is an easy assumption to make. It could be that this is where the names of the ships came from, or that there was some other connection with the city in Ireland. The second name, *Bride*, has very clear connections to both mariners and with Ireland. St Bride is second only to St Patrick in terms of popularity in Ireland.[154] While she never left Ireland, she is the patron of boatmen.[155] While it is only a handful of ships, Ireland clearly influenced the inhabitants of Chester to some extent—with only twenty-four records of individual ships in Chester, *Cachel* and *Bride* make up sixteen percent.

The ship name *Rodecog*, the seventeenth most popular ship name, has proven to be an interesting name to trace. There are several possible meanings behind the name, especially when taking into account that the spelling could be many different things, due to the chageable spelling of the time. It is unclear, therefore, whether this name is meant to be 'red cog' or 'rood cog'. In Kowaleski's edition of *The Havener's Accounts of the Earldom and Duchy of Cornwall, 1287-1356*, she states in the index that *Rodecog* could also be *Redecog*. According to the Middle English Dictionary, there are several definitions and variations of the word 'rode'. In the first instance, it is defined as 'redness, ruddiess, rosy hue', with a few examples of its use in this way from the fourteenth century.[156] For example, a line from Gower's *Confessio Amantis* reads: 'He seth hire rode upon the cheke'.[157] There is evidence of painted hulls and sails in medieval representations of ships, possibly pointing to this name indicating the redness of the ship in some way. An early example of this are the ships in the Bayeux Tapestry, which are depicted with red-striped hulls and sails (Figure 5.24). A further example of red-striped sails can be seen in the Holkham Bible, which was created between 1327-1335 (Figure 5.25).

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[150] TNA E101/28/23'; TNA E101/28/22'; TNA E101/29/10'; TNA E101/29/33'.
[151] Herbert James Hewitt, *Mediaeval Cheshire: An Economic and Social History of Cheshire in the Reigns of the Three Edwards* (Manchester: Manchester UP, 1929), p. 136.
[152] Hewitt, *Mediaeval Cheshire*, p. 136.
[153] '[Sachel, n.(1)) Also Sachelle, Satchel, Sac(c)Le, Sechel(Le, Cachel, Cechel(Le.]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED38201>.
[154] Donald Attwater and Catherine Rachel John, 'Brigid', *DS* (London: Penguin Books, 1995).
[155] Rosemary Guiley, 'Brigid of Ireland (ca. 450-453-ca. 523-525)', *ES* (New York: Facts of File, Inc, 2001).
[156] '[Rod(e, n.(1)]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED37728>.
[157] John Gower, 'Book 6: Gluttony', in *Confessio Amantis*, ed. by Russell A. Peck, trans. by Andrew Galloway (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 2004), III, l. 773 <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/peck-gower-confessio-amantis-book-2#constance>.

Figure 5.24: Bayeux Tapestry

Figure 5.25: Holkham Bible

These are just two examples of medieval depictions of ships featuring either a red-striped hull or sail. Furthermore, cloth painting is well documented from the fourteenth century, with 'heraldic textiles…used in both warfare and tournaments to identify individuals and their property, including ships'.[158] While there are no surviving textile evidence of sails from 450-1450, by looking at Viking textiles that survive it is possible to deduce how sails were made in England in the fourteenth century. It is not a difficult leap to make, then, that since there were Viking sails dyed colours[159] and since evidence of painted sails in the fourteenth century exists, that there were at least some ship owners who were painting or dyeing their ships in some way. This all makes a good argument for *Rodecog* to have been referring to the colour of the ship's hull or sail.

The second variation defines the word as a voyage, with an alternate spelling of 'rade'.[160] There is a single example from *Sir Tristrem* (*c.*1330): 'To his castel ful right/ He sailed the sevenday/On rade'.[161] This definition's connection with the maritime world is obvious and clear.

A third definition of the word, states that a 'rode' is a 'large crucifix placed on or above the screen between the nave and the choir, a rood'.[162] An example given of this is from a chronicle written by Robert of Gloucester (c.1260-1300): 'He wende him uorþ to chirche & biuore þe rode com/& mid mek herte, pitoslicche, is kinges croune nom/& sette is vpe þe rode heued, & sede þat he alone/Was worþe to croune bere & oþer kinges none'.[163]

The connections between a ship and a church might not be immediately apparent. However, the ship was an early symbol in Christianity, featuring in stories such as Noah's Ark (1 Peter 3:20-21) or Jesus protecting Peter's boat in the Sea of Galilee (Mark 4:35-41). Additionally, during the period in which Christians needed to hide their identities, the cross could easily be disguised as a ship.[164] While more popular in Scandinavian countries, votive ship offerings—a ship model given as a gift to a church—did happen in England with models in silver, wax, and wood given on behalf of seafarers.[165] Some have even suggested that ship graffiti in

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[158] 'Painted and Stamped Cloth', ed. by Maria Hayward, Gale Owen-Crocker, and Elizabeth Coatsworth, *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles, c.450-1450* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 401–2 (p. 401).
[159] 'Sails', ed. by Maria Hayward, Gale Owen-Crocker, and Elizabeth Coatsworth, *Encyclopaedia of Medieval Dress and Textiles of the British Isles, c.450-1450* (Leiden: Brill, 2012), pp. 472–75 (p. 473).
[160] '[Rode, n.(3)]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED37730>.
[161] 'Sir Tristrem', in *Lancelot of the Laik and Sir Tristrem*, ed. by Alan Lupack (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1994), ll. 799–801 <http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/lupack-lancelot-of-the-laik-and-sir-tristrem-sir-tristrem-part-i>.
[162] '[Rode, n.(5)]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=id&id=MED37732>.
[163] Robert of Gloucester, *The Metrical Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ed. by William Aldis Wright (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1887), ll. 6594–6596.
[164] Ralph F. Wilson, 'Ship as a Symbol of the Church (Bark of St. Peter)', *Early Christian Symbols*, 2016 <http://www.jesuswalk.com/christian-symbols/ship.htm>.
[165] Diana Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London; Blue Ridge Summit: Bloomsbury Academic, 2007); Matthew Champion, 'The Medium Is the Message: Votive Devotional Imagery and Giving amongst the Commonality in the Late Medieval Parish', *Peregrinations: Journal of Medieval Art and Architecture*, 3.4 (2012), p. 108.

churches was the 'poor man's votive ships'.[166] Furthermore, there are direct connections between the nave of a church and ships: 'The name of the main body of the Gothic church – the nave, navis, or "ship" of the building…shows that the wooden structure of the shipbuilder has given the idea and principles to the architect, who has only translated the wood work into stone, and reversed it, and raised it to be the roof instead of the bottom of a fabric'.[167] It is not difficult, therefore, to place *Rodecog* into this context, if the name is in fact 'rood cog' and references rood screens. A rood screen separated the chancel from the nave in a church primarily during the Middle Ages. During King Henry VIII's Reformation, almost all rood screens were destroyed.[168] This is an important piece of information, as there were no ships named *Rodecog* post-Reformation, possibly pointing to 'rood cog' as the more likely translation of *Rodecog*.[169]

Blithe, ranked eighteenth, is another ship name that has a slightly contentious definition. While the main definition of the word 'blithe' means 'joy' or 'happily', there have also been instances of this word being used to mean 'fast' or 'quickly'. Either version could work as a ship name and both have examples in contemporary writing, including Layamon's *the Brut*, which has examples of both 'happily' ('Heo sculden habbeon ȝiuen gode, þat heo mihte þa bliðere [Otho: þe bloþelokere] buȝen from heore ærde') and 'quickly' ('Þe cnihtes of Rome bliþe after come'); a further example of the word being used as 'quickly' is in Chaucer's *Parliament of Fowls* (*c.*1382-83) ('The kokkow..seyde blythe').[170] Another name that could be related to speed of travel is the *Lightfot*.[171] Lightfoot was a pet name that eventually became a surname throughout the Middle Ages,[172] and so the name could simply be the surname of the owner. However, we do not have any ownership information for these particular ships, with the exception of one instance where the shipmaster, Simon Randulf, was also listed as an owner of the *Lightfot* sailing out of Dartmouth in 1342.[173] Alternatively, the name was given to those who were fast runners or messengers, and in this way could be describing the quickness of the ship.[174] *Lightfot* was not an extremely popular name with only fifteen ships with the name across the century, ranking it at forty-second.

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[166] Christer Westerdahl, 'Medieval Carved Ship Images Found in Nordic Churches: The Poor Man's Votive Ships?', *IJNA*, 42.2 (2013), 337–47.
[167] *The Historians' History of the World*, 25 vols (London: The Times, 1907), XVI, pp. 97–98.
[168] 'Rood Screen | Architecture | Britannica.Com' <https://www.britannica.com/technology/rood-screen>.
[169] The information for post-Reformation names comes from an ongoing AHRC-funded project by Dr. Craig Lambert entitled 'The evolution of English Shipping Capacity and Shipboard Communities from the early 15th Century to Drake's circumnavigation (1577)', which can be found at: http://gtr.rcuk.ac.uk/project/D9ADAF4B-C81B-4927-BB9F-0C53A9C5CD9B. This project involves the creation of a database roughly between the years 1400-1580, in which there are over 2000 ships named *Rodecog*.
[170] '[Blithe (Adv.)]', *MED* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2014) <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/m/mec/med-idx?type=byte&byte=17803666&egdisplay=open&egs=17807263>.
[171] TNA E101/42/21; TNA E101/31/2'; TNA E101/39/1; TNA E101/30/28; TNA E101/33/27; TNA E101/78/5; TNA E101/78/8; TNA E101/25/9; TNA E101/23/22; 'ECR MICH 1339-MICH 1340'; 'ECR MICH 1340-MICH 1341'; TNA E122/193/8; TNA E122/193/9; TNA E122/193/8; Lyte, *CCR 1343-1346*, p. 131; TNA E36/204.
[172] P.H. Reaney and R.M. Wilson, 'Lightfoot', *ODES* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005).
[173] Lyte, *CCR 1341-1343*, pp. 629, 651.
[174] Reaney and Wilson, 'Lightfoot'.

Gaynepay, which is the forty-sixth most popular name and *Richegayn* with only two ships that hold the name, have no clear religious connotations. Where some names, such as *Welfare* (ranked 12th) or *Balinger* have logical maritime connotations: the ship was the life source of a shipmaster, and so naming it *Welfare* makes sense, as it is just that; similarly, a balinger is a type of ship, making the thinking behind both names clear. However, there are no clear connections to specific maritime themes with *Gaynepay* or *Richegayn*. The question, then, is what the person responsible for naming the ship was trying to convey? Was he hopeful that this ship would change his life and gain him money? Has this ship already done this and he is renamed it to reflect his rising amounts of money? The motivations here are perhaps slightly more selfish but this in a way makes it more interesting, especially when confronted with such a deluge of saints' names. As can be seen in the below maps, there are no instances of this name in northern England, with the few instances of the name being in the south and south-east of the country. Furthermore, the maps below show the sharp increase in the use of *Gaynepay* as a ship name throughout the century (Figure 5.26 and Figure 5.27).

The fact that the name *Gaynepay* increases from the first half of the century to the second half could be contributed to the Black Death. It is, of course, impossible to know the mind-set of a medieval person; however, by looking at the facts and interpreting them, it may be possible in this instance to infer with some certainty. The first outbreak of plague ended in 1353 and it was a few years later that the first new instance of a ship named *Gaynepay* is found.[175] Coming out of the devastation of the plague, survivors would have been trying to regain the losses they had suffered. These ships named *Gaynepay* reflect this need.

[175] 'ECR MICH 1356-MICH 1357'.

Figure 5.26: Gaynepay, 1300-1349

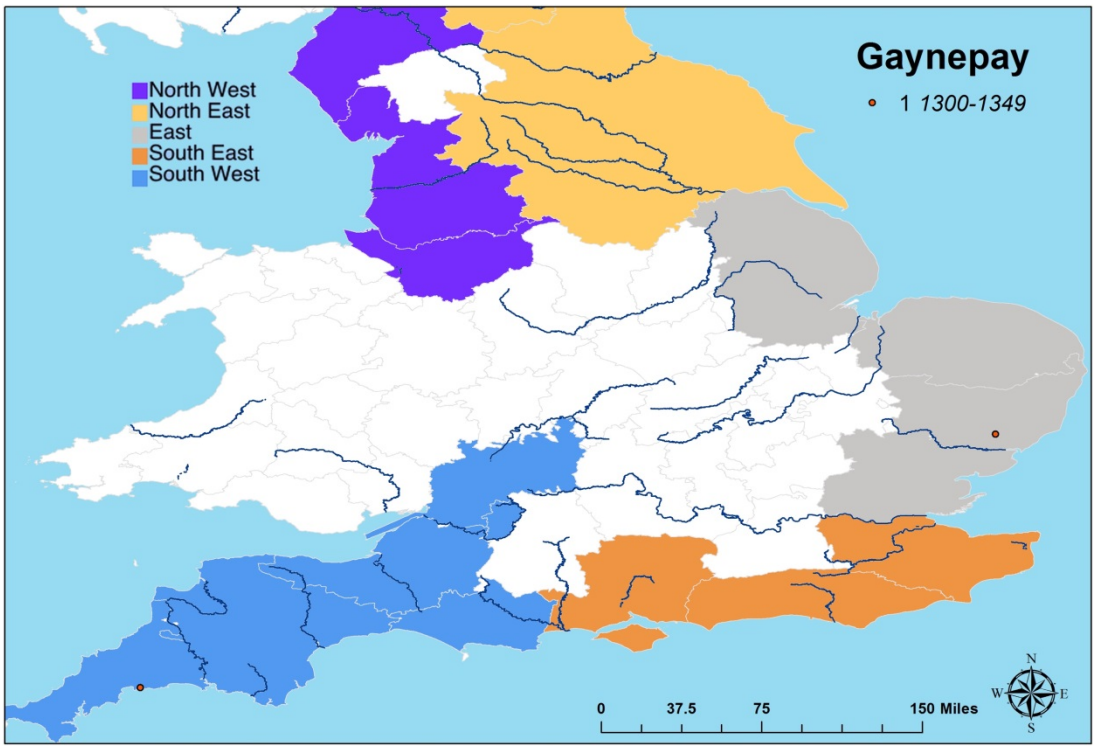
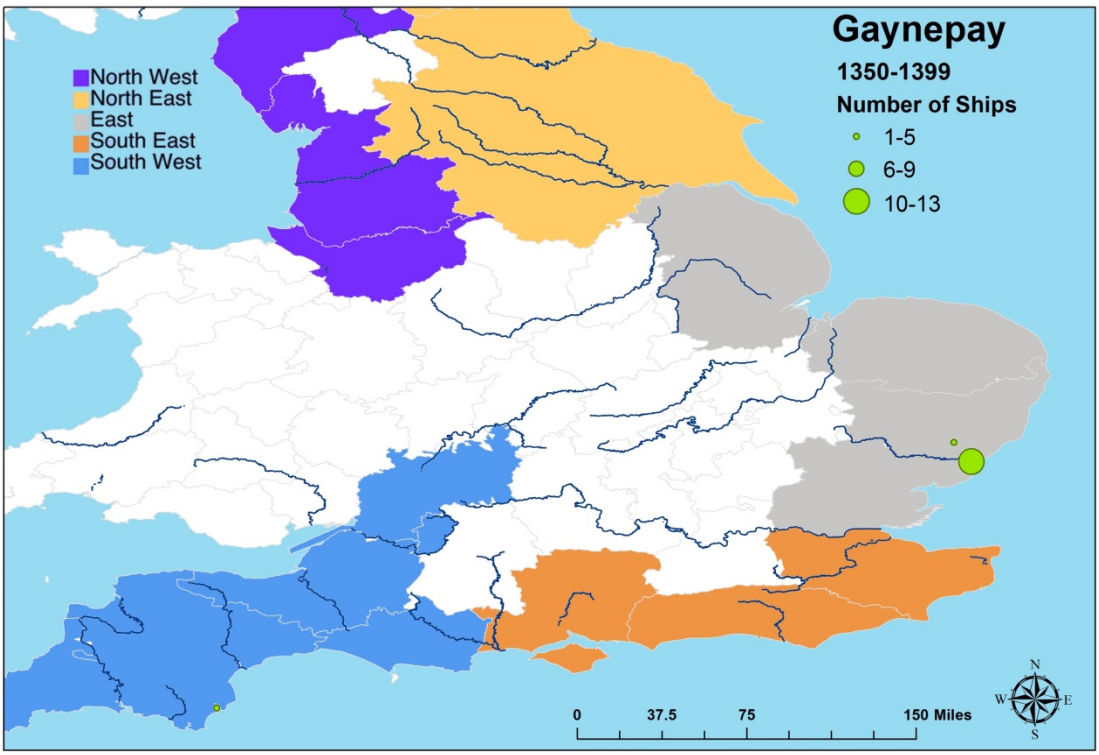


Figure 5.27: Gaynepay, 1350-1399



Chapter Six – Shipmasters in the Fourteenth Century: Some Conclusions

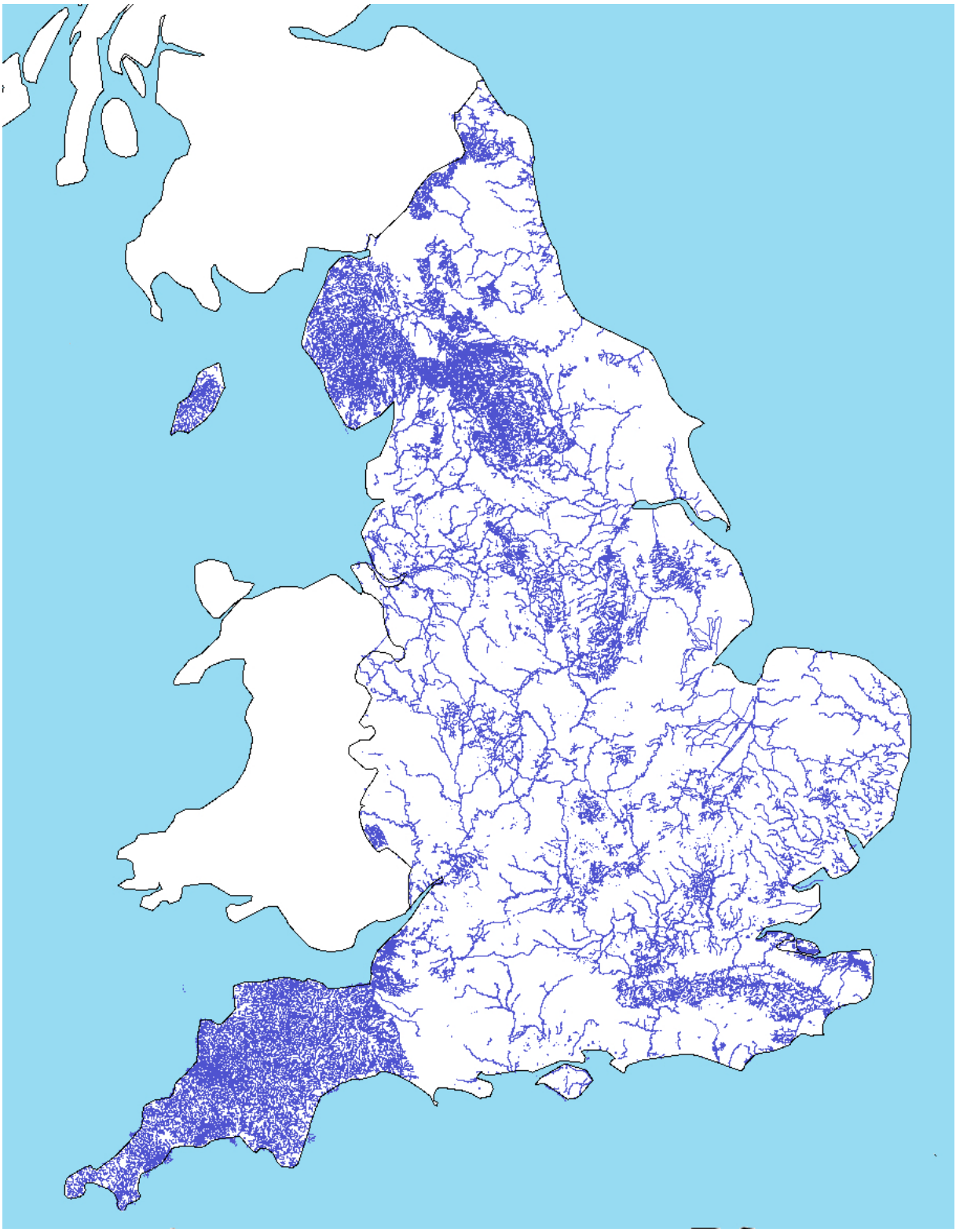
6.1 Overall Findings

> go forth once more, you must…
> carry your well-planed oar until you come
> to a race of people who know nothing of the sea,
> whose food is never seasoned with salt, strangers all
> to ships with their crimson prows and long slim oars,
> wings that make ships fly. And here is your sign —
> unmistakable, clear, so clear you cannot miss it:
> When another traveler falls in with you and calls
> that weight across your shoulder a fan to winnow grain,
> then plant your bladed, balanced oar in the earth
> and sacrifice fine beasts to the lord god of the sea,
> Poseidon — a ram, a bull and a ramping wild boar —
> then journey home and render noble offerings up
> to the deathless gods who rule the vaulting skies,
> to all the gods in order.
> And at last your own death will steal upon you…
> a gentle, painless death, far from the sea it comes
> to take you down, borne down with the years in ripe old age
> with all your people there in blessed peace around you.
> All that I have told you will come true.
>
> Homer, *The Odyssey*, Book Eleven[1]

In Homer's *The Odyssey*, Odysseus on his journey home is visited by a ghost, who tells him of the hardships that await him. Odysseus discovers from this ghost that he will not rest, even when he defeats all his enemies and reclaims his home and family; instead, the only way he can rest is by taking an oar and walking forth from his home, only stopping when the people he encounters mistake his oar for a shovel ('a fan to winnow grain'). Here, far from the hardships of the sea, he will set in motion the process that will lead him to a 'gentle, painless death, far from the sea'. While it might have been possible for Odysseus to walk from Ithaca and eventually find a settlement of people who did not recognise his oar for its intended purpose,[2] the same might not be able to be said about anyone living in England, with its island nature and seemingly infinite number of rivers (Figure 6.1).

[1] Homer, *The Odyssey*, trans. by Robert Fagles (London: Penguin Books, 1996), bk. 11, ll. 138-157.
[2] William F. Hansen, 'Odysseus and the Oar: A Folkloric Approach', in *Approaches to Greek Myth*, ed. by Lowell Edmunds (Baltimore: JHU Press, 2014), p. 257.

Figure 6.1: Rivers of England



Rather, the 'oar', and by extension the seafarer at the end of it, was an integral part of the country's economic, social, and cultural makeup throughout the fourteenth century. While speaking several centuries after the fourteenth century, Winston Churchill speaks of the United Kingdom (and through that, England) as 'our Island' several times in his recollections of World War II, such as 'our Island people' and 'our Island fortunes'. This term, Sebastian Sobecki claims, a 'twelfth- or thirteenth-century writer may have recognised…as an allegorical ship with "londisse" people bound together by "kynde", adrift in a hostile ocean and equipped with only the most necessary of victuals'.[3] This insular frame of mind became even more so as England began losing land in France throughout the Hundred Year War, where as a nation the realization that 'a larger part of England is above all the sea'.[4] By the time Shakespeare wrote *Richard II* (c. 1597), he has John of Gaunt describe Britain as:

> The fortress built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war
> This happy breed of men, this little world,
> This precious stone set in the silver sea
> Which serves it in the office of a wall
> Or as a moat defensive to a house.[5]

This depiction of Britain as a 'fortress' and the ocean as a 'moat' shows that by the sixteenth century, Britain had truly become the island nation, whose roots began in the fourteenth century.

There has always been a dichotomy between the land and the sea, to the point that culturally, those who live on the land and those who live on the sea have significant differences, including linguistic ones. This can be seen all the way back to the time of Cicero, where he recognised that the term *inhibere* was 'entirely nautical'.[6] It is this dichotomy in particular that makes this examination of fourteenth-century seafarers especially important.

This study has shown that it is possible to get a snapshot of seafarers' lives during the fourteenth century by examining their economic status, social events, and unique culture. It has been put forward by maritime historians for later periods that there was a sub-culture specific to the shipboard community, especially while they were on board ships.[7] This sub-culture would have had to expand on foundations set in earlier centuries, and it can therefore be posited that to some scale there was a unique culture specific to seafarers, especially on a linguistic (e.g.,

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[3] Sebastian I. Sobecki, 'Introduction', in *The Sea and Englishness in the Middle Ages: Maritime Narratives, Identity and Culture* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2011), p. 2.
[4] Sobecki, p. 3.
[5] William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. by A. R. Braunmuller and Stephen Orgel (New York: Penguin Classics, 2000)2.1.43-48.
[6] Sobecki, p. 10.
[7] J.D. Alsop, 'Tudor Merchant Seafarers in the Early Guinea Trade', in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 75–115; V.V. Patarino Jr, 'The Religious Shipboard Culture of Sixteenth and Seventeeth-Century English Sailors', in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1485-1649*, ed. by Cheryl A. Fury (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), pp. 141–92.

Cicero's *inhibere*) and religious level[8]. The economic study utilised the Lay Subsidy and Poll Tax documents in order to identify seafarers in the Lay Subsidies (of 1327, 1332, and 1334) and Poll Tax documents (of 1377, 1379, and 1381). Since this often involved going through by hand, there is a chance that some seafarers were missed. Furthermore, the men living in the Cinque Port coalition ports were exempt from paying tax, this often misrepresents the data for those counties. The taxation methods for the Lay Subsidies and the Poll Taxes were very different, with the Lay Subsidies based on a fraction of the taxpayer's moveable wealth and the Poll Taxes constructed around tax brackets. So, while a comparison of seafarers' economic standing of one half of the century to the next using the two taxation methods was not possible, comparisons can be made between the seafarers of different counties during each period.

For the Lay Subsidies of 1327-1334, Norfolk's and Kent's seafarers were taxed the highest at £0.52 and £0.38 (decimal) respectively. Both of these counties have easy access to the Channel and France, especially Kent, and Norfolk was in close proximity to fisheries. Gloucestershire's seafarers, on the other hand, had the lowest mean for taxation at £0.05 (decimal). Spatially, Gloucestershire is one of the most isolated of the counties analysed, which could explain the low amount of moveable wealth its seafarers appear to possess. There was a high variability within each county, as well as between the counties. While Norfolk's seafarers were the highest taxed, the county also showed the highest variation of those taxed, twice that of Kent. When compared to the overall county average, Essex, Gloucestershire, and Lincolnshire are the only counties whose seafarers' tax contribution was lower than the county average.

The Poll Taxes of 1377-1381 saw a reversal of standing for Norfolk's and Gloucestershire's seafarers. Norfolk's became one of the lowest taxed groups dropping by three percent from the Lay Subsidies to the Poll Taxes and Gloucestershire's grew to be the second highest taxed. Kent, however, remained at the top of the tax bracket. Sussex's seafarers were the lowest taxed and the only county during this period whose seafarers are not taxed more than the county average. Interestingly, Yorkshire's seafarers' taxation contribution increased by three percent from the Lay Subsidies to Poll Taxes. Apart from this significant uptick, as well as that seen in Norfolk, all other counties show changes less than 1.5%, keeping the seafarers' contributions to taxes relatively steady across the century.

A different method was therefore needed in order to compare seafarers' standing across the whole century, and for this a basket of consumables was created so that the socio-economic position of seafarers could be measured more accurately across the period. With the basket of consumables, seafarers' standing could not only be tracked year-by-year but also compared to other occupations. Using real wage has its risks, as Phelps-Brown and Hopkins and later Hatcher counsel, as for instance it is impossible to know how many days the average peasant worked,

[8] Miller, *One Firm Anchor*.

let alone seafarer, and this number could drastically affect real wage values. Furthermore, pricing the basket can prove difficult as records detailing what the average person spent on goods do not exist. However, when these risks are acknowledged, then real wages can be used to put all occupations on an even keel for investigative purposes. Out of the occupations observes—shipmasters, mariners, builders, labourers, thatchers, and carpenters—shipmasters are the only ones who earn enough to afford the basket, although this is not the case throughout the whole century.

The fact that shipmasters cannot always afford the basket is linked with the turbulent times fourteenth century seafarers lived through. The Great Famine (1315-1322), the Hundred Years War (1337-1453), and the Black Death (1348) and its subsequent reiterations disrupted life for everyone. The Great Famine and the Black Death both produced unprecedented demographic and economic changes. By using the standards of living, the impact the Black Death had on seafarers can be examined in detail. Since the nominal data for shipmasters comes predominately from naval records, investigating shipmasters' standard of living during the Hundred Years War is especially enlightening. The Hundred Years War, on the whole, was extremely positive for shipmasters' and mariners' spending power. The Black Death was the only negative impact, and one which was seen to rebound in concurrence with key stages of the Hundred Years War. The 1370s saw an increase in naval battles, which was when a clear positive shift in spending power can be seen for all occupations, but especially shipmasters and mariners. There is currently a debate over what sort of impact the Black Death had on those living in the fourteenth century. While this study cannot speak directly to other occupations, it is clear that although shipmaster and mariner buying power drops considerably after the Black Death, even the fourth instance of plague toward the end of the century was not enough to stop their recovery by the end of the century.

While a less quantitative approach than the economic comparisons, the use of shipmaster biographies and the examination of ship names brings more focus and depth the snapshot of the fourteenth century seafarer. Shipmasters had links to both land and sea , and tracing these dichotomous lives shows just how multifaceted seafarers were. By linking shipmasters, ports, and time periods to ship names, patterns begin to arise with a few different reasons behind them: piety, politics, and personal. Examples of pious names include the most popular name, *Mary*. Additionally, pious names could be named for parishes and saints. It is interesting that *Nicholas*, while widespread and important to the seafaring community, was not the most popular ship name considering he is the patron saint of seafarers and merchants. Several ships named *Hilda* near Whitby Abbey where St. Hilda was abbess in the seventh

century,[9] and John Frensh's multiple ships named *Margrete* on which he sailed, as previously discussed in Chapter Five.[10] Political names centred around the kings and queens of the time—such as *Edward*—and around a sense of national pride with names such as *George*. The number one name for King's ships was *Edward* and the second most popular *Mary* and *George*. Over eighty percent of these ships named *George* were after Edward III made St George the patron saint of England and created the Order of the Garter, which shows a clear political motivation in the naming. Personal names are perhaps the most interesting name choices, because they can show actual desires of the ship namer (such as *Richgayne*), but they are also the hardest to determine a reason behind. Ships' names even allowed for possible indicators of the ships' physical appearance, such as one of the possibilities behind the meaning of *Rodecog*. Furthermore, by linking to time periods, changes in these practices can be tracked across the century. However, some problems can arise in that it can never be 100% certain that a ship is the same ship, even when it has the same name, like Frensh's *Margrete*.

Much has been researched on the lives of peasants in the Middle Ages, by scholars like Dyer and Hatcher. Other occupations, however, are beginning to be added to the discourse of this period, deepening our understanding of what the men and women faced during times of immense social upheaval. Work by Lambert and Ayton has showed, on smaller scales, the importance of using a prosopographical study to examine seafaring communities, as the lives of seafarers were particularly multifaceted. This thesis takes the already large historiography on shipping, naval exploits, ports, pilgrimages, ships, and shipmasters, as well as taxation records and naval payrolls, and shows that it is possible to join these different facets together to form a more complete picture of the socio-economic status of seafarers. The findings in relation to shipmasters' standards of living, particularly in reference to the Black Death, show that while shipmasters were being paid more for their work, goods became more expensive. Therefore, while they saw some positive growth after the subsequent outbreaks of plague, they stayed relatively neutral to their pre-Black Death levels.

As England has been and always will be an island nation, seafaring is an integral part of its economy, as well as its societal and cultural makeup. This thesis has only scratched the surface of a rich well of possible further research. The most important being the expansion of the shipmaster standards of living, carrying on the work with the basket of consumables into other periods. Similarly, matching seafarers to taxation documents in later centuries. By carrying both of these studies into future periods might help clarify the effects of the social events in an extremely tumultuous fourteenth century by comparing data and establishing a natural variation. This could take the form of a more statistical approach where with enough

[9] David Hugh Farmer, 'Hilda (Hild)', *ODS* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2011); TNA E101/27/23; TNA E101/612/44; Lyte, *CCR 1364-1369*, p. 11; Lyte, *CPR 1361-1364*, p. 536; TNA E101/173/4.
[10] Lyte, *CPR 1361-1364*, p. 13; 'E101/30/24'.

information, it could be possible to calculate whether a given social change effects the ability to buy from the basket. Furthermore, the work done here on ship naming practices is a drop in the bucket of the possible research that could be conducted. While religion was shown to be a possible motivator in ship naming, a more in-depth study on the likelihood a particular ship name was religious or non-religious in motivation could be conducted. This would allow for an interesting perspective of the impact of social events, like the Black Death.

6.2 Further Work

In many ways, the work highlighted in this thesis represents only a small fraction of the rich possibilities afforded by the study of seafarers in the fourteenth century. There are several obvious areas in which this study could be expanded and added to by future research. First and foremost, a layer that could be added to a study of the fourteenth century is a similar examination of seafarers in Wales and Scotland. While not yet part of an united kingdom, these countries were all part of the same landmass, and therefore studying the similarities and differences between them and England would allow for a more complete picture of the seafaring history of the British Isles. Furthermore, an examination of these three countries could be taken into other time periods, similar to what Dr Craig Lambert is currently doing with his AHRC project, 'The evolution of English Shipping Capacity and Shipboard Communities from the early 15th Century to Drake's circumnavigation (1577)'.[11]

Analyses of other countries could also be beneficial to the more complete understanding of seafarers in both the fourteenth century and other time periods. In connection with research on Wales would be one on Ireland, as the two countries traded between one another regularly.[12] Similarly, an investigation of seafarers living in France in the fourteenth century would add an important dynamic to any discussion on the Hundred Years War. Further to this, comparing English seafarers with continental seafarers in general would allow for an examination of the consequences being an island nation had on England.

Along these same lines, any conversation about the effects of the Black Death on seafarers would benefit from parallel socio-economic studies across maritime nations. Additionally, its effect on maritime nations versus landlocked nations could possibly be assessed through the use of basket of consumables. Ordinary mariners could also feature in all of these studies, assuming enough documents have survived to shed light on these less well-known men.

The shipmasters and seafaring families that are known could benefit from more intensive research, as well. With more time, localised examinations of records, such as wills and deeds, would add to any discussion on this community. Additionally, a more focused study could potentially add more names the collection of known seafarers, expanding our understanding of the group even more.

Moving outside of the shipboard community, the method employed to study the economic standing of seafarers could be used on other occupations, which would help create snapshots of an overall county, rather than an individual occupational group. A study of this

[11] More information on this project can be found at: http://gtr.rcuk.ac.uk/projects?ref=AH%2FL004062%2F1.
[12] Richard Britnell, *Britain and Ireland 1050-1530: Economy and Society* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2004).

kind could also be taken into other time periods to help better understand the ups and downs of England, or other nations.

6.3 Wider Implications

This study has shown that it is possible to use large data sets to study the Middle Ages, specifically the socio-economics of shipmasters. This had been shown on a smaller scale numerous times by Dr Craig Lambert. Through the use of clear guidelines and an impartial adherence to them, a quantifiable prosopography of the fourteenth-century shipboard community, in addition to other occupations and time periods, is possible.

As always, any discussion surrounding the Black Death is fraught with conflicting opinions as to its effects on those who survived the reoccurring plagues throughout the century. However, this project has helped to shed some light on the Black Death's effects on an as yet unstudied group. There will always be more that can be found, but the use of a basket of consumables has allowed for a greater understanding of how conditions changed for seafarers in the years after the Black Death. Furthermore, it could be assumed by many that the Hundred Years War would have had a huge impact on the shipboard community, as the only way to bring soldiers to fight in France was by ship. Therefore, the use of the basket of consumables here helps to solidify any predictions made in this regard.

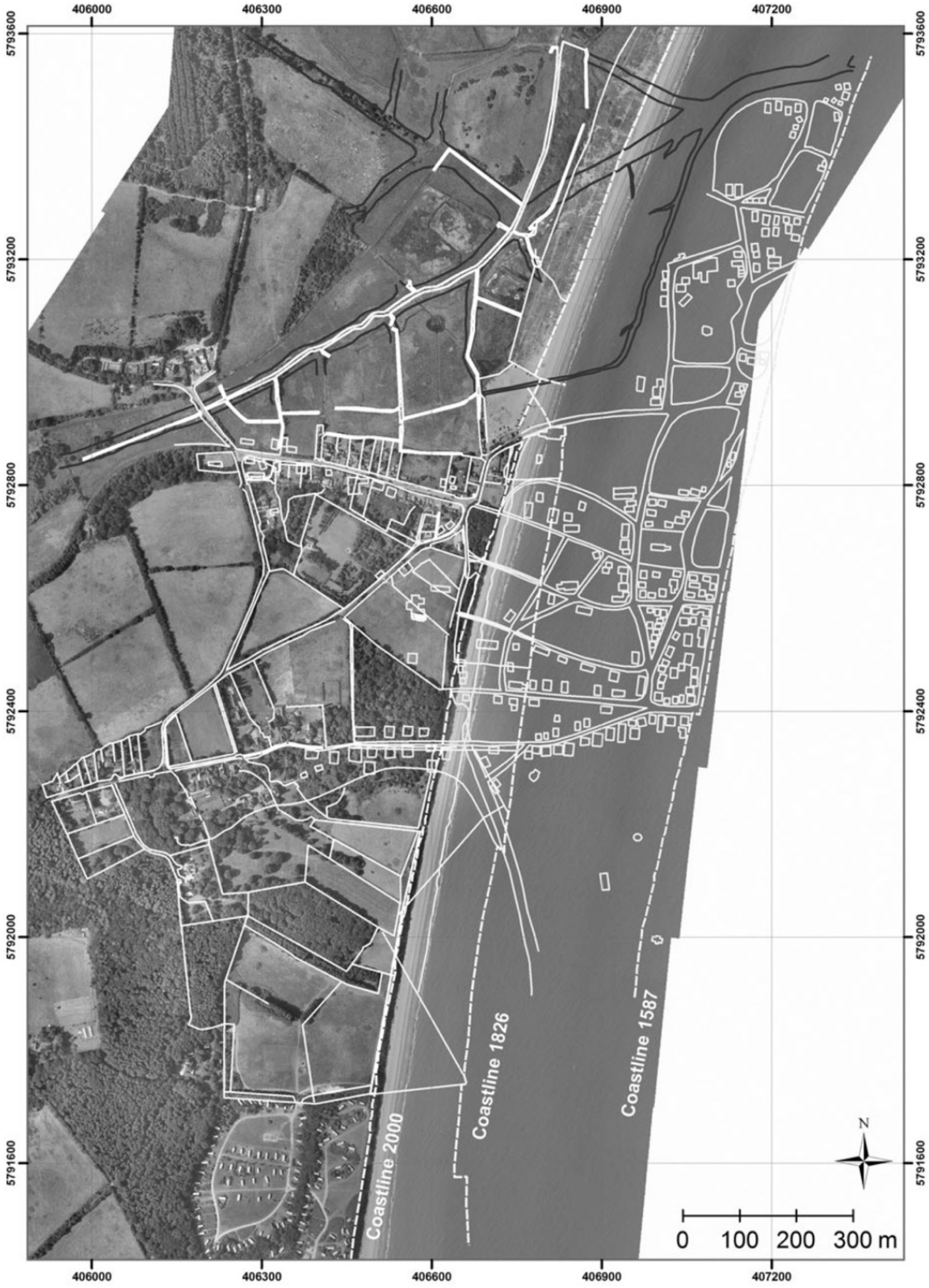
Appendix I – Summary of the 1379 Schedule of Charges[1]

The Dukes of Lancaster and Brittany	10 *marks*
Each Earl and widowed countess	£4
Each Baron, banneret and knight who can spend as much as a baron; Each widowed baroness and banneress	40*s*
Each bachelor and each squire who ought, by statute, to be a knight; Each windowed lady, whether wife of a knight or squire, by assessment	20*s*
Each squire of a lesser estate; Each lady, widow of such a squire or of a sufficient merchant	6*s* 8*d*
Each squire not owning lands, rents or castles, who is in service or arms	40*d*
The chief Prior of the Hospital of St John in England	40*s*
Each Commander of this order in England	20*s*
Each other brother knight of the order	13*s* 4*d*
All other brothers of the order	40*d*
Each Justice of either of the two Benches; and those who have been Justices of the Benches; and the chief Baron of the Exchequer	100*s*
Each sergeant and great apprentice of the law	40*s*
Other apprentices who follow the law	20*s*
All other apprentices of less estate and attorneys	6*s* 8*d*
The mayor of London	£4
Each alderman of London	40*s*
All other mayors of the great towns of England	40*s*
Al other mayors of the remaining small towns according to the extent of their estate	20*s*, 10*s* or 6*s* 8*d*
All the municipal officers of large towns and the great merchants of the kingdom	20*s*
All other sufficient merchants	13*s* 4*d*
All lesser merchants and artificers who have profit from the land, according to the extent of their estate	6*s* 8*d*, 3*s* 4*d, 12*d or 6*d*
Each sergeant and franklin of the country according to his estate	6*s* 8*d* or 40*d*

[1] Fenwick, 'Introduction', I, pp. xv–xvi.

Farmers of manors and parsonages and great merchants dealing in stock and other lesser trade, according to their estate	6*s* 8*d*, 40*d*, 2*s* or 8*d*
All advocates, notaries and procurators who are married	40*s*
Apprentices of the law and attorneys, each according to his estate	40*s*, 20*s* or 6*s* 8*d*
Pardoners and summoners who are married, according to their estate	40*d*, 2*s* or 12*d*
All hostlers who do not belong to the estate of merchants, each according to their estate	40*d*, 2*s* or 12*d*
Each married man, for himself and his wife if they do not belong to the estates above and are over the age of sixteen years, genuine beggars excepted, is to pay	4*d*
Each single man and woman of this last estate and of the same age	4*d*
Each foreign merchant of whatever condition is to pay according to his estate like the others above	20*s*, 6*s* 8*d*, 40*d*, 2*s* or 12*d*
Each pleader	6*d*

Appendix II – Dunwich Town Deterioration



'Dunwich town digital map. Buildings recorded on Ralp Agas's map of 1587 are shown in light grey. Buildings on the OS 2000 Landline maps are in white. The course of the present and 1587 Dunwich river is shown in bright white and dark grey respectively. Shrinkage of the river is evident, and demonstrates the reduction in tidal influence over the intervening period.'

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The National Archives, London

Chancery

C47 Chancery Miscellanea

C61 Gascon Rolls

Exchequer

E36 Treasury of Receipt, Books

E101 King's Remembrancer, Accounts Various

E122 Exchequer: Particulars of Custom Accounts

E372 Lord Treasurer's Remembrancer, Pipe Rolls

Special Collections

SC1 Ancient Correspondence

British Library, London

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